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THE MYSORE GAZETTEER

VOLUME II

HISTORICAL

PART III

CHAPTER XI.

MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

From the Foundation of the Vijayanagar Kingdom to the destruction of Vijayanagar by Tipū Sultān in 1776 A.D.

In Part I of this volume, we studied the pre-history of Mysore and the sources available for a study of the historical period. In Part II, we dealt at some length with the early dynasties which held sway over Mysore and parts of the adjacent territories included in the modern Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and the Province of Coorg. In particular, we saw how the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Hoysalas, who were among those essentially native to the State, built up large kingdoms and helped to foster the growth of a civilized life in the land. Their cultural contribution to the greatness of Mysore has been referred to, especially of the Hoysalas, in the departments of sculpture and architecture. In this Part, the story of the rise, development and decay of the great mediæval Empire of Vijayanagar which brought under its sway the whole of Southern India, except small parts of the west coast and the extreme north-eastern part of the Madras sea-board, is traced. Its relationship with Mysore from the earliest times is set out at every successive stage with the aid of inscriptions and literary works. How Mysore developed in the fourth dynasty of kings of the Empire from a small chieftainship into a strong kingdom and how its then ruler eventually displaced the local Imperial Viceroy and annexed Seringapatam, his capital, is re-told in the light of recent research. The history of Vijayanagar is sought to be studied from the original authorities available for such a study, supplemented by the aid of the latest researches of scholars in the fields of epigraphy and numismatics and the general literature that has survived in the Sānskrit, Kannada and Telugu languages. An attempt is also made to sketch not merely the political history of Southern India, including Mysore, during the period but also the social and religious conditions prevailing in it during the centuries the Empire, in one form or another, continued to hold sway throughout its length and breadth. For the first time, the history of the Empire is brought down to its latest phase, the final sack of the capital during the distressful times of Tipū Sultān's rule in Mysore. The history of the Fourth Dynasty of Kings is set out at some length, the circumstances that brought about its downfall and of the Empire itself receiving the attention their importance deserves. Finally, the good that Vijayanagar wrought in the South of India and the contribution that it made to enrich its arts, literature, religion and general civilization is summed up at some length.

Vijayanagar Kingdom, A. D. 1336-1565. Introductory Traditionary tales of its origin.

While Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla *alias* Hampeya-Vodeya the last of the Ballālas, was still ruling in 1343 A.D., there had arisen a new dynasty which soon came to occupy the whole of Southern India. This was the Vijayanagar dynasty, which, according to tradition was founded in 1336 A.D. Though the details vary, all accounts agree in attributing the origin of this dynasty to the five sons of Sangama I, of whom the most prominent were the first three, Harihara I, Kampa or Kampana I and Bukka or Bukka-Rāya I. The first and the last of these are commonly spoken of in tradition as Hakka and Bukka and to them is set down, with the assistance of the celebrated scholar Mādhava surnamed Vidyāranya of the Sringēri Mutt, the actual establishment of the kingdom at Vijayanagar, now represented by the little village of Hampe in the Bellary District. Sangama I, the founder of the line, is described as of Yādava line and the Lunar race. Vijayanagar inscriptions are nearly as numerous in this State as those of the Hoysalas. The earliest of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings are found north and west of Mysore, and they were probably Mysorean by origin and feudatories of the Hoysalas. Dōrasamudra and Orangal, the respective capitals of Karnātaka and Telingana, had fallen a prey at about the same time to the Muhammadans. But amid the general revolts occasioned by the rash measures of Muhammad Toghlak, the two brothers Harihara and Bukka took advantage of a period of public commotion to lay the foundation of a new State: to which they were moved, according to the tradition, by the sage Mādhava or Vidyāranya, who, besides experience and talent, may, it has been suggested, have brought pecuniary aid to the undertaking. He belonged to the school of Sankarāchārya, and was the *Jagat Guru* of Sringēri, the members of which establishment, alarmed on the approach of the Muhammadans, may have contributed their wealth and influence to the aggrandisement of the sons of Sangama. The actual truth of this story is discussed at some length below.

Its capital.

The capital Vijayanagar was, according to tradition, called Vidyānagara (city of learning) at first, in honour, it is said, of the sage Vidyāranya, who was chiefly instrumental in its foundation; but by a natural transition it passed ere long into Vijayanagara (City of Victory), the Bijanagar of Muhammadan historians, and the Bisnagar of the French. It is also commonly known as Ānegundi, properly the name of a village on the other side of the river, said to have been the capital of the Yādanas, regarding whom so little is known. Ānegundi, a Kannada name meaning "elephant pit," was translated into Sanskrit as Hastināpura and Hastināvati, which is the designation in the *Mahābhārata* of the capital of the Pāndus, near Delhi. The site selected for the new capital was a remarkable one, on the banks of the Pampa or Tungabhadra, where the ancient Kishkindha had stood. In the words of an inscription, "its rampart was Hemakūta, its moat the auspicious Tungabhadra, its guardian the world-protector Virūpāksha, its ruler the great king of kings Harihara." Captain Newbold has described it in language that deserves to be quoted. He writes:—"The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanagar on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, and of its suburb Ānegundi, on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoidal gneiss separated by rocky defiles and rugged valleys, encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river, and appear like so many verdant oases in this Arabia Petræa of Southern India. Indeed some parts of the wilderness of Sinai reminded me, but on a far grander scale, of this huddled assemblage of bare granite rocks on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The formation is the same; the scantiness of vegetation, the arid aspect of the bare rocks, and the green spots marking the presence of springs few and far between in the depths of the valleys, are features common to both localities. The peaks, tors and logging stones of

Bijanagar and Ānegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient Hindu metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite, which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry." (*J.A.S.B.*, XIV).

Its Kings and their emblem.

The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted the *varāha* or boar as the emblem on the royal signet, and their family god was Virūpāksha, the name under which Siva was worshipped in a celebrated temple erected at the capital. Their grants are signed *Srī-Virūpāksha.* Among their titles were, *ari-rāya-vibhāda, bhāshege tappuva rāyara ganda, pūrva-paschima-dakshina-samudrādhipati, Hindu rāya-Suratrāna.*

Dynasties of Vijayanagar Kings.

The Vijayanagar kingdom was ruled over in succession by four dynasties of kings. The first of these was the Sangama dynasty, who were Yādavas. They held the throne from A.D. 1336 to 1486-7. The throne was then usurped by a Sāluva chief named Sāluva Narasimha or Narasinga, who was succeeded by his son, Immadi Narasimha or Sāluva Narasimha II. There were thus only two kings of the Sāluva dynasty, also Yādavas, and they occupied the throne from A.D. 1486 to 1505. Then followed the Tuluva dynasty, consisting of six kings, who ruled from A.D. 1505 to 1567. This was the third (though often wrongly designated the second) dynasty of kings. The fourth or last dynasty, often called the Āravīdu or the Karnāta, started with Tirumala-Rāya I, the younger brother of Aliya

Rāma-Rāya, the son-in-law of Krishna-Rāya of the third dynasty. It consisted of a number of kings whose exact number is not fixed (some 10 to 14) and occupied the throne from about A.D. 1567 to 1665. There were, according to later inscriptions, a number of "kings," down to even 1793 A.D., but they do not disclose their relationship to the kings of the Karnātaka line or the extent of the territory they actually ruled over. Literary and oral tradition, however, connects them with Chāma-Venkata III, one of the last rulers of the Karnāta dynasty, after its final fall from power. Until the contrary is proved, they may be treated as the last offshoot of the Karnāta line which survived its practical extinction and bore rule over an extremely limited extent of territory and to which for some time certain local chiefs owed nominal allegiance.

List of Kings.

The following is the list of the Vijayanagar kings, based mainly upon the evidence of inscriptions :—

VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

First (Sangama or Yādava) Dynasty.

Name	Period
Harihara I	1336-1356 A.D.
Bukka I	1356-1376 ,,
Harihara II	1376-1404 ,,
Bukka-Rāya II	1404 ,,
Virūpāksha II	1404 ,,
Bukka-Rāya II (again)	1404-1406 ,,
Dēva-Rāya I— (Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya)	1406-1422 ,,
Vīra-Vijaya I— (Vijaya-Bukka or Bukka III)	1422-1424 ,,
Dēva-Rāya II— (Praudha-Dēva-Rāya or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya II)	1424-1446 ,,
Mallikārjuna— (Vijaya-Rāya II, Praudha-Dēva-Rāya II or Dēva-Rāya III)	1446-1487 ,,
Virūpāksha III	1465-1485 ,,
Sāluva-Narasimha's Revolution and end of the first Dynasty	1486-1487 ,,

Second (or Sāluva) Dynasty.

Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya-Odeyar (or Narasimha I)	1486-97	A.D.
Immadi-Narasinga (or Sāluva Narasimha II)	1493-1504	,,
Revolution of Narasa Nāyaka, father of Krishna-Rāya, and establishment of the Tuluva Dynasty completed	1499	,,

Third (or Tuluva) Dynasty.

Narasa, (or Narasa-Nayak)	1499-1503	,,
Vīra-Narasimha	1504-1509	,,
Krishna-Rāya	1509-1530	,,
Achyuta-Rāya	1530-1542	,,
Venkata-Dēva-Rāya (or Venkatādri) ...	1542	,,
Sadāsiva-Rāya	1542-1570	,,
According to the Bārakūr record, Sadāsiva should have continued to live up to 1586 A.D., though only as a puppet king (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 140). It has been suggested that the information supplied by this record is of "doubtful" import. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 199).		
Usurpation of all sovereign power by Rāma-Rāja, his brother-in-law. After the death of Rāma-Rāja, his place was taken by his brother Tirumala, who subverted the Tuluva Dynasty and established the Āravīdu or Karnāta Dynasty	1542	,,

Fourth (Āravīdu or Karnāta) Dynasty.

Tirumala I	1570-1574	,,
Srī-Ranga-Rāya II (or Ranga II) ...	1574-1586	,,
Venkatapati-Rāya I (or Venkata I) ...	1586-1614	,,
Srī-Ranga-Rāya III (Ranga III) ...	1614-1615	,,
Rāma-Dēva......(Rāmachandra or Rāma-Dēva IV)	1615-1630	,,
Venkatapathi-Rāya II	1630-1642	,,
Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI (Ranga VI) ...	1642-1664	,,
Defeated by Bijāpur and Golkonda Sultāns, he sought refuge of Sivappa-Nāyaka of Bednur. He set up rule at Belur for a time	...	

End of the Vijayanagar Dynasty.

FIRST (OR SANGAMA) DYNASTY, 1336-1486 A.D.

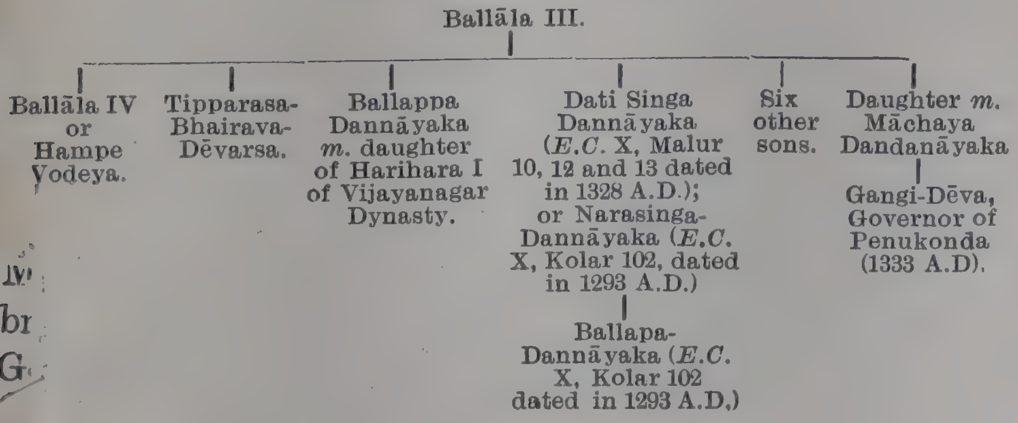
Sangama I, *Circa* 1300 A.D.

Of Sangama I we have hardly any particulars worth knowing. In certain inscriptions he is described as the son of Māyāmbika or Māgāmbika and as the father (by Mālāmbika or Mārāmbika) of Harihara I and his four brothers. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 70, Mulbagal 158 and Goribidnur 56). Though in the last two records he is spoken of as a king and in one of them as "illustrious," "invincible" and "displaying good qualities," he was probably no more than a mere chief, who probably had distinguished himself in the warfare of the time and had made a name for himself. If the Dambal plates of Harihara II may be believed, he performed the feat of damming the Cauvery, seized the enemy alive and took possession of Tanjore and Seringapatam. (*M.A.R.* 1918, para 105). These are feats attributed usually to Narasa, a later king. The same plates attribute to him the conquest of the Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya kings, together with the Lord of Madhura-Mānabhūsana, the Turushka (Muhammadan) king and the Gajapati king. He is also said to have performed the sixteen great gifts at Rāmēsvaram and other holy places. We have, however, no records directly bearing on his reign or recording any of his grants. He is more famous as the progenitor of the first Vijayanagar kings than as a ruler by himself.

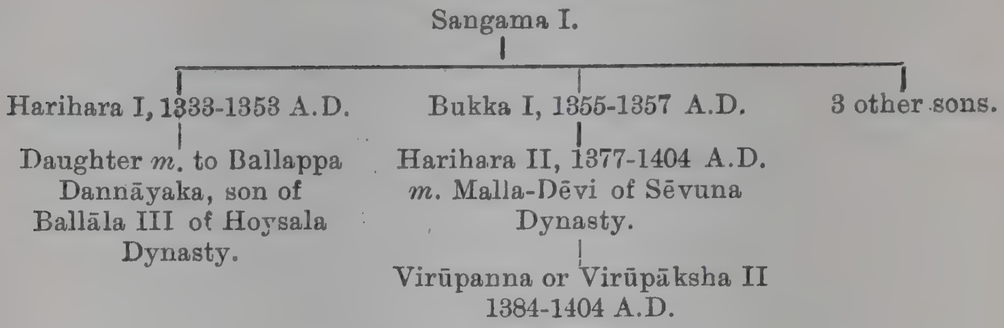
Harihara I, 1336-1353. A.D.

Sangama had five sons who laid the foundations of their kingdom. These were Harihara I, Kampa I (also called Kampana I), Bukka-Rāya I, Mārapa and Muddapa; of these Harihara and Bukka early distinguished themselves. These were probably at first feudatories of the Hoysalas, though the exact relationship they bore to the Hoysalas is not yet determined. They were, however, powerful enough to exercise much influence in the Hoysala kingdom long before they declared their independence of it. Ibn Batuta (1333-1342 A.D.), for instance, speaks of a Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honavar) on the Western Coast who was subject to Haraib or Harib, *i.e.*, Hariyappa or Harihara I (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 7). The fort of Bādāmi was built by a subordinate of Harihara I in A.D. 1340. (*I.A.* X, 6 In 1336, Harihara also reduced the Bairasu Wodey of the West Coast and made them acknowledge suzerainty. (*South Canara Manual* I, 55). About the same time he also built a fort at Bārukūru, apparently to strengthen his position there against the aggressive Muhammadans. (*Ibid*, 65). The repeated incursions of the Muhammadans of Delhi as far south as Madhura, involving as it did the destruction of cities and the plunder of sacred edifices, and the cruelties inflicted by Muhammad Toghlak and his permanent occupation of Dēvagiri, the Sēvuna capital, apparently led to mutual searchings of heart among the Hindu kings of the South. Of these, the two old houses of the Hoysalas and Sēvunas combined with the rising chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I, and cemented their good-will towards each other by marital alliances. Thus it came about that about that time. Ballappa-Dannāyaka, a son of Ballāla III of the Hoysala dynasty, was married to the only daughter of Harihara I (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 1, dated in 1346 A.D.), and Harihara II son of Bukka I, married Malla-Dēvi, the daughter or grand-daughter of Rāma-Dēva, of the Sēvuna dynasty (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 55; *E.I.* VIII, 299). The following table of inter-relationship shows the close connection that the two chief founders of the new dynasty—Harihara I and Bukka I—established with the two ancient families of the Hoysalas and the Sēvunas, apparently with the view of offering an united front to the Muhammadan invaders from the north:—

HOYSALA DYNASTY.


Ballāla III.
Ballāla IV or Hampe Vodeya.
Tipparasa-Bhairava-Dēvarsa.
Ballappa Dannāyaka m. daughter of Harihara I of Vijayanagar Dynasty.
Dati Singa Dannāyaka (E.C. X, Malur 10, 12 and 13 dated in 1328 A.D.); or Narasinga-Dannāyaka (E.C. X, Kolar 102, dated in 1293 A.D.)
Ballapa-Dannāyaka (E.C. X, Kolar 102 dated in 1293 A.D.)
Six other sons.
Daughter m. Māchaya Dandanāyaka
Gangi-Dēva, Governor of Penukonda (1333 A.D).

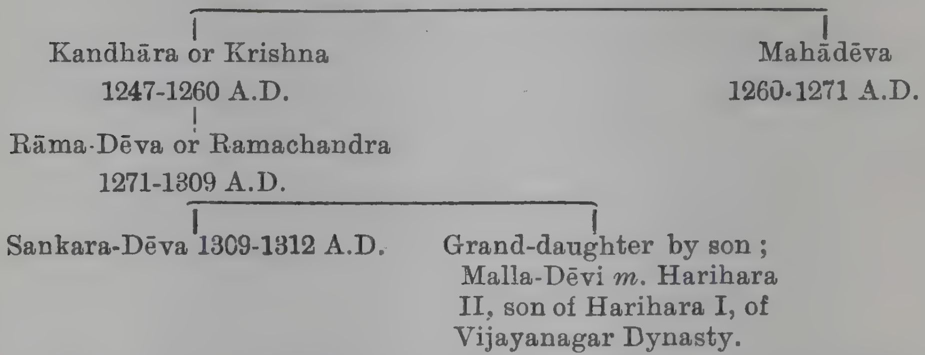
VIJAYANAGAR DYNASTY.



Sangama I.

- Harihara I, 1333-1353 A.D.
  - Daughter *m.* to Ballappa Dannāyaka, son of Ballāla III of Hoysala Dynasty.
- Bukka I, 1355-1357 A.D.
  - Harihara II, 1377-1404 A.D. *m.* Malla-Dēvi of Sēvuna Dynasty.
    - Virūpanna or Virūpāksha II 1384-1404 A.D.
- 3 other sons.

SĒVUNA DYNASTY.



- Kandhāra or Krishna 1247-1260 A.D.
  - Rāma-Dēva or Ramachandra 1271-1309 A.D.
    - Sankara-Dēva 1309-1312 A.D.
    - Grand-daughter by son; Malla-Dēvi *m.* Harihara II, son of Harihara I, of Vijayanagar Dynasty.
- Mahādēva 1260-1271 A.D.

[Malla-Dēvi is described in the *Nārāyani-vilāsa* as the *daughter* of Rāma-Dēva. But the Soraikkāvvur plates make her the *grand-daughter*, (*pautri* or son's daughter) of Rāma-Dēva. The Ālumpūndi plates, however, state, she was "of the race (or family) of Rāma-dēva." Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that she may be the daughter of an otherwise unknown son of Rāma-Dēva. Judging from the known dates of Rāma-Dēva and Harihara II, Mr. Sewell has remarked that it is quite impossible that Harihara II could have married a daughter of Rāma-Dēva. (See *E.I.* VIII. 299)].

His early history.

Of the earlier history of Harihara I and his brother Bukka I, we know little or nothing from inscriptions. Tradition states that they were officers in the service of the king of Warrangal (Orangal) at the time of the destruction of that kingdom by the Muhammadans in 1323 A.D., and that they had escaped with a small body of horse to the hill country about Ānegundi, being accompanied in their flight by Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya. It is added that by some means not mentioned they became lords of that tract and afterwards founded the city of Vijayanagar. Another story states that the two brothers were officers in the service of the Muhammadan governor of Warrangal subsequent to its first capture in 1309 A.D. They were, it would appear, despatched against the Hoysala king Ballāla III in the expedition undertaken by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D., but that they formed part of a force which was defeated and in consequence they fled to the mountainous tract near Ānegundi. Here they met, it is added, Mādhava, who was living as a recluse and with his aid, established the capital city and the kingdom. Another variant of the story states that the two brothers left Warrangal direct to Ānegundi, which would indicate their connection with that royal house. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, II Edn. 21-22; see also Wilks, *Mysore* I. 8). Mr. Sewell has suggested that they probably took service under the "petty Rajah of Ānegundi." Here, he adds, they rose to be minister and treasurer respectively. Though this is possible, there is nothing to support it. Ballāla III was still the Hoysala king at the time these incidents are said to have occurred. Muhammadan inroads had been, as mentioned above, the order of the day and their excesses filled the Hindus with horror and disgust. On the destruction of Dōrasamudra, Ballāla transferred his capital to a place variously called Hosdurga, Virūpākshapura or Hosavīdu, etc., said to be in the Hoysala dominions, which has been identified by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri with Hospet, near Hampi, where the famous temple of Virūpāksha stands. Ballāla III was here about 1329 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 43; see also above under *Hoysalas*). A manuscript in the Mackenzie series called *Kumāra Rāmacharitra* mentions "Hosdurga near Vijayanagar" as the capital of a chief named Kampila Rāya. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 326). Mr. Krishna Sāstri's identification seems to be further supported by the discovery by him in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi of an unpublished lithic record which refers itself to the reign of a Hoysala king. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, 236, *f.n.* 2).

Ballāla IV, son and successor of Ballāla III, was, as we have seen, probably crowned at this very place, he being named Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla-Dēva. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 105). His other name Hampeya Vodayaru (lord of Hampi) is suggestive of his formal rule over Hampi and the surrounding country. The coronation took place in 1340 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 111). The Hoysala move towards Virūpākshapura at the very time the chiefs of Ānegundi were rising to prominence at their ancestral seats may perhaps be taken to indicate that they were being slowly ousted out of the place by the Ānegundi chiefs, under Harihara I and Bukka I, who, in the interval between 1323 A.D. and 1340 A.D., had managed to fight out the Muhammadan marauders and even driven them out of the south of India. The fact that Harihara I and Bukka I and his descendants of the first Vijayanagar dynasty were also Yādavas—the tribe to which the Hoysalas, Sēvunas and Warrangal kings belonged—indicates that they might have been all connected with each other, a suggestion which is supported by the marriages that took place between them and the Hoysala and Sēvuna families, as mentioned above. As Harihara I and Bukka I rose in power, Ballāla IV appears to have been forced out of his royal position, with the result that he is no more heard of after 1343 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmaglur 105).

A silent Revolution: Political geography of South India, *Circa* 1330 A.D.

How Harihara I and Bukka I managed to effect this revolution may be briefly told here. At about the time Alā-ud-dīn Khilji made his descent on Southern India, the country below the Vindhyas was in a peculiarly weak state. The Sēvunas and the Hoysalas by their mutual wars had weakened themselves; the Hoysalas had by the partition of their kingdom and the internecine warfare they indulged in lost their vigour, while their fight for the supremacy of the south with the Pāndyas had dissipated their strength by being drawn away from their homelands, which in consequence became less invulnerable; the Chōlas had ceased to be a power for some time owing to their frequent wars against the Pāndyas and Ceylonese and the repeated attacks on their kingdom by the Pāndyas, Kākatiyas and others, not to speak of the local chiefs, who had proved too strong for the kings of the time and had set up practically independent rule; and the Kākatiyas of Warrangal had also exhausted themselves by their frequent raids southwards. There was accordingly no central power down south to prevent these warring principalities from fighting against each other and thus paving the way for Muhammadan inroads from the North. The Chōlas had failed in their attempts at the complete subjugation of the Pāndyas; the Pāndyas had failed in their turn to win any certain victory against the Chōlas, though they opened up opportunities for the Hoysalas to eventually raid, if not effectually conquer, the whole of the south as far as Rāmēsvaram; and the Hoysalas had equally failed to make good their attempt at an empire in the south of India. The frequent wars in the south cannot but have had an effect on the Muhammadans in the north. Their ambitions were thus roused and though the first raids may have been for pure plunder, there is hardly any doubt that the later ones were expeditions of the regular type which aimed at the conquest of the whole of the south. The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Dēvagiri by Mahomed Toghlak, though a mad and unpracticable venture, was probably aimed at giving effect to this ambition. The fall of Dēvagiri saw the establishment about 1318 A.D. of a new Muhammadan province with its capital at that place under the ægis of Delhi. Mahomed Toghlak, as the result of the aggressive warfare he carried on against the Hindu states of the south, penetrated as far as Rāmēsvaram and left governors at different points of the country, such as

Kannanūr, the Hoysala capital in the south, Madura, the Pāndyan capital and possibly even farther south. (See under *Chōlas*). About 1330 A.D., he counted at least four among his twenty-three provinces in the south of India. These were: Deogir (Dēvagiri), Malabar (the country of the Chōlas and the Pāndyas), Tilank (Telingana) and Tilang-Darussamund (the Telugu and Kannada countries as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysala capital). Harihara I and Bukka I perceived the position and made good their opportunity. They decided to oppose the onrush and to prevent the ruin and devastation of the Hindu kingdoms of the south and the annihilation of their religion, their temples and their cities. They combined with the Hoysalas and Sēvunas on the one side and the Kākatiyas of Warrangal on the other and thus organized, they soon offered a solid wall of opposition and for 250 years southern India was saved.

Mahommed Toghlak's Invasion and its consequences.

Mahommed Toghlak was an eccentric and ambitious prince. Though he reigned only for 26 years (1325 to 1351 A.D.) he made it his business to extend his power over Bengal in the east, Gujarāt in the west and as far as Rāmēsvaram in the south. Ferishta mentions among his conquests Dōrasamudra, Malabār, Kampila (identified by Mr. Sewell with modern Kampili, one of the provincial capitals at first of the Western Chālukyas, and then of the Hoysalas), Warrangal, etc., and these, he says, "were as effectually incorporated with his empire as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi." (Briggs, *Ferishta* I. 413). He also held Gujarāt firmly and recovered, in 1333, Bengal from Ghiyasuddin Bahadūr Bura, who had made himself independent. (Edward Thomas, *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings*, 200). In 1334, Mahommed was compelled to turn his attention once again to the south. In that year he proceeded against his rebel nephew, Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtasp, who, Ibn Batuta says, had taken refuge at the court of the "Rāi of Kambila," the Kampila of Ferishta, a fortified place, not far away from Ānegundi. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 17). On the arrival of the troops, the Rāi—Ibn Batuta says—sent away his guest to a neighbouring chief, probably Ballāla III, the Hoysala king. His queens and the wives of his nobles, ministers and principal men immolated themselves in a huge fire-pit and he then sallied forth with his followers to give battle to the enemy and was slain. The town was taken and his "eleven sons" were, we are told, "made prisoners and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Mussalmans." The Sultan, however, treated the sons with great honour, in admiration of their father's conduct. Ibn Batuta adds that he himself became intimate with one of these. He, indeed, states that they were both "companions and friends." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 17). Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, gives a long account of this event, though he antedates it by a century and states that only six of the followers of the king escaped from the general massacre that followed and that among these, all taken captives, were the minister and the treasurer of the Hindu king. Nuniz mentions the fact that the Hindu king had been at war with the Sultan for twelve years previously and he identifies the Hindu king with the king of Ānegundi. After a stay of two years, the Sultan left the place, being called away by rebellions in his northern dominions. Before retracing his steps, he appointed one Mileque Neby (apparently Mālik Nabi) as commander and governor with a sufficiency of troops. (*Ibid*, 291-296). His departure, however, was the signal for an attempt to recover the country from the invaders. The people in hiding returned and those who had pretended to submit joined hands, rose against Mālik Nabi and prevented provisions from going to him and refused to pay the taxes that had been forced on them. Mālik Nabi sent news of the sorrowful plight to which he had been reduced. The Sultan took counsel and released forthwith the six captives he had still with him, nominating the minister "though not related by blood to the kings" to the throne. The minister accordingly became the king and the treasurer, the governor, and these repaired to their country with the four others. On their arrival home, Mālik Nabi delivered up the capital to the king, called by Nuniz, Deorao, nominated to it and departed to Delhi. The new king entering on his rule pacified the people, by securing their good-will by travelling about their fortresses and towns. Mr. Sewell has identified Nuniz's "Deorao" or "Dēva Rāya" with "Harihara Rāya I." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 7). This might well be so, as in the next chapter, Nuniz tells us that "Deorao" (*i.e.*, Harihara I) was succeeded by "Bucarao" (*i.e.*, Bukka-Rāya I) and that the latter was succeeded by "Pureoyre Deorao" (*i.e.*, Harihara-Rāya II), all of which statements are, we know, quite correct from many lithic and other records. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300-301). He must have been fairly advanced in age for, Nuniz states that on taking over charge of the kingdom, he abandoned the idea of re-gaining his lost territory, for he could not re-gain it, partly because he had no army or forces for such work and partly because he had no cause for making war; but more especially, as he puts it, "he was very old." (*Ibid* 299).

The story of Nuniz confirmed.

If Harihara I was, as seems likely, the "Deorao" of Nuniz and was the king nominated by Mahommed Toghlak, who was his master, who so valiantly fought and died on the battle field? Nuniz styles him the "king of Bisnaga" (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar), meaning doubtless the "king of Ānegundi" as "Bisnaga" had, as he himself later admits, not yet come into existence. The question arises, was he any chief of Ānegundi? It seems probable he was. The battle in which he fell occurred about

1334 A.D. and Harihara I became king two years later, *i.e.*, in 1336 A.D. About this time, Ballāla III was still king of the Hoysala kingdom. It was probably as a counter blast that he appointed his son Ballāla IV to Hosdurga, near Vijayanagar, and had him crowned at Virūpākshipura and called him " Vīra-Virūpāksha " and " Hampeya-Odeya " setting him up openly as king of the country which Mahommed Toghlak had made over to Harihara I. This act it was that apparently brought on Ballāla III a fresh Muhammadan invasion of his territory in 1342 A.D., in which he fell fighting at Bereli. (See *ante* under *Ballāla III*). Harihara I followed up the defeat and death of Ballāla III by a rapid movement into the Hoyasala dominions, which ended in the conquest of the Konkan. The Rāni of Barselore yielded (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25) ; the Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honavar) acknowledged his supremacy ; the forts of Bādāmi and Bārukūru had been built to protect his new acquisitions in the west. Even a dash against the home province of the Hoysalas is suggested in an inscription, which states that a son of Vīra-Bukkana-Odeyar (*i.e.*, Bukka I) whose date is wrongly given, attacked the town of Settihalli. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 65). This rapid growth in the power of Harihara I apparently ended in a friendly settlement between him and the Hoysala king Ballāla III, one of whose sons, " Aliya " Ballāla-Dandanāyaka became not only his son-in-law but also a Mahāmandalēsvara under him. (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 1 dated in 1346 A.D.). About the same time (1341 A.D.), Ballāla IV was crowned and he was set up as ruler of Hampi and the surround-country. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 111). But he was no more than a nominal ruler, for Harihara I and his brother Bukka I had by then become powerful enough to attract the attention of foreign travellers like Ibn Batuta (1333-1342 A.D.) and had all but declared formally their independence.

Founding of Vijayanagar, 1236 A.D.

Harihara I is credited with the founding of Vijayanagar, now represented by the little village of Hampi, in the Bellary District, and to have made it his capital in place of Ānegundi. Nuniz gives the traditionary story told in his time (16th century) as to how Harihara came to select this site for his capital. While out hunting one day amongst the mountains south of the river, a hare, instead of fleeing from his dogs, flew at them and bit them. The king, astonished at this incident, turned back homewards, lost in meditation as to whether it was really a hare or some prodigy. Arriving at the river, he met the hermit Vidyāranya (Nuniz calls him Vydiajuna) who advised him to build a city on the spot, which would prove the strongest in the world. "And so the king did," says Nuniz, "and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about; and that done, he left Nagundyam (Ānegundi) and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name of Vydiajuna (*i.e.*, Vidyāranya) for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him to construct it." Nuniz adds that after the hermit's death, he built "a very grand temple" (identified with the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi) "in honour of him and gave much revenue to it." In memory of the occasion, Nuniz states, the kings of Vijayanagar, on the day they were crowned, visited the temple before they went to their residence and offered prayers in it. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300). The saint Vidyāranya of Nuniz has been, with some reservation, identified with Mādhavāchārya, who had the surname of *Vidyāranya* (or Forest of Learning) and who was a *guru* of the Sringēri Mutt. The city, according to Nuniz, was first known after Vidyāranya. Though the actual name of *Vidyānagara* is not mentioned by Nuniz, there is hardly any doubt that that is the name he refers to when he says that "he (Harihara I) gave it the name of *Vydiajuna*, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him to construct it."

Date of foundation and identity of Vidyāranya.

The identity of Vidyāranya in whose name the city was named and the year in which the city was actually founded have been discussed at some length by different authorities. As regards the latter, the event has generally been assigned to about 1336 A.D. In a work known as *Vidyāranya Sikka*, quoted by Buchanan-Hamilton in his *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (III. 110-115), it is stated to be mentioned in it that the city was founded by Vidyāranya for the two brothers in the *Saka* year 1258 and that it took seven years to build the whole city. It is also said to be mentioned in this work that Vidyāranya performed the coronation ceremony of Harihara on "the 7th day of the moon in *Vaisākha*, being Wednesday, under the constellation Makha and bestowed the kingdom on him in the *Kaliyuga* year 4437 or A.D. 1335-1336." (*Ibid*, 114). There is nothing inherently improbable in this date. The work referred to by Buchanan may or may not be the same work as *Vidyāranya Kālagnāna*, which is a prophetic account of the foundation of city of Vijayanagar in *Saka* 1258 (1335-6 A.D.) and of the succession of its princes, attributed to Vidyāranya or Mādhavasvāmi, the minister of Harihara (I) and Bukka (I), the first princes of Vijayanagar. The work is accompanied by a commentary by Krishna Bhārata (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 322). But the date given in the two works agree and in both the foundation of the city is attributed to Vidyāranya, who in the *Kālagnāna* is further identified with Mādhava. In the Bestarahalli copper-plate inscription, of which the original is not forthcoming and whose authenticity is for this reason doubted by Mr. Rice, the story of the founding of Vijayanagar is given exactly as in Nuniz's *Chronicle* and what is of greater interest, it is dated in *Saka* 1258, or 1336 A.D. (This date is given in words thus: *ashta-pancha-yugalaika-sankhyayāsamyute Saka-nripasya vatsare Dhātri-Mādhava-valaksha-saptamīsh* *ahni satyanagha-lagna-tārakē*). The inscription gives us the additional information that Vidyāranya directed the building of a city called Vidyā with nine gates wherein he might reside, like Purandhara (*i.e.*, Kubera), in wealth acquired by victory in war on all sides. Harihara, we are told, following this direction, built a city called Vidyā (Vidyā-nagara) of vast dimensions and established his throne there and crowned himself there making the sixteen great gifts. The inscription records the grant of a village named Yaragudi, renamed Vidyāranyapura, in the Penukonda kingdom, to one Pampāvirūpāksha. It was apparently one of certain *agrahāras* formed by Harihara on the occasion of the *phalābhishēka* festival of Pampā-Virūpāksha-Mahēsvara at the capital. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 70). In the Hosur copper-plates, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1370 A.D., we have a grant by Bukka I, who is represented as jointly ruling with Harihara, being described as seated on the jewelled throne in the city named Vidyā made by Vidyāranya (*Vidyā abhidāna-nagari Vijayōnnati-sālini Vidyāranya-krita tasyām ratna-simhāsanē stitah*) and making the sixteen gifts. These copper-plates record the grant of the village of Penchukaldinne, renamed Bukkarāyapura, in the Gutti kingdom to Nāchana-Sōma, a great poet, who was proficient in eight languages. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 46). The Kapalur copper-plates, dated in *Saka* 1258 (or 1335-36 A.D.), similarly record a grant by Harihara, on his coronation, of the village of Anamēdu renamed Hariharapura, in the Chandragiri kingdom. This grant is in many places identical in language with the Bestarhalli plates, with which it agrees in regard to the naming of the new city as *Vidyā* at the instance of Vidyāranya. Mr. Krishna Sāstri suggests that the date of the Bestarhalli and Kapalur plates may be accepted as genuine, being based on tradition, though the grants recorded on them may not be beyond suspicion. (*A. S. I.* 1907-8, 239, *f.n.* 9). He also throws out the hint that seeing that the building of the new capital and his coronation took place in the same year, 1336 A.D., it is not improbable that Harihara I in this year actually made an attempt to declare his independence and in order to secure that object befriended a teacher of the Sringēri *Matha.*

Mādhava and Vidyāranya.

This brings us to the second point: the identity of Vidyāranya, at whose instance the new city was founded. The *Vidyāranya Kālagnāna* identifies him with Mādhava. According to the *Sankara Vijaya*, which gives a list of the *gurus* of the Sringēri *Math*, Vidyāranya was the disciple of Bhārati-Krishna-Tīrtha and came next after him in succession. Bhārati-Krishna-Tīrtha was in his turn the disciple of Vidyā-Sankara-Āchārya, whom he succeeded. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 324). The succession of these three *gurus* Vidyāsankara, Bhārati-Krishna-Tīrtha and Vidyāranya one after the other is entirely in conformity with the position assigned to them in the Sringēri *Math* list, where also they come in succession to each other, though the two lists widely differ, especially in the earlier part, from one another. According to the Sringēri *Math* list, Vidyāsankara was consecrated in 1228 A.D., and lived till 1333 A.D.; Bhārati-Krishnā-Tīrtha was consecrated in 1328 A.D., and lived till 1380 A.D.; and Vidyāranya was consecrated in 1331 A.D., and lived till 1386 A.D. All these three *gurus* were accordingly contemporaries and lived in the time of Harihara I and his four brothers. There need be nothing incredible in this, as a *guru* has not infrequently his next successor consecrated in his own time, but also the latter's successor. That they succeeded one another in the order mentioned and that Vidyāranya lived down to 1380 A.D. is confirmed by a *kadita* copy of a copper-plate grant made by Harihara II in that year in which all the previous grants made are recounted and confirmed by him in the presence of Vidyāranya. (*M.E.R.* 1916, para 94). The grants thus enumerated and confirmed are referred to below. The Sringēri lithic grant dated in *Saka* 1268, or A.D. 1346, which invokes the blessings and friendship of Vidyātīrtha who was evidently still living at the time of this grant, and records the gift of nine villages by a number of people, chief among whom were Harihara I and his four brothers, Ballappa-Dannāyaka, the son-in-law of Harihara I and prince Sovanna-Odeyar, son of Kampa I, to the forty Brāhmans of Sringēri, who attended on Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda and his disciples in order that the latter might continue to perform their austerities at the place, is suggestive of the inference that the Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda mentioned in it is identical with the Bhārati-Krishna-tīrtha of the *Sankara Vijaya* and Sringēri succession lists. On this basis, the invocation addressed to Vidyātīrtha at the head of this grant is perfectly intelligible, for Vidyātīrtha, who should be identified with Vidyā-Sankara-Āchārya of the *Sankara Vijaya* and the Sringēri lists, was the *guru* of Bhārati-Krishna-Tīrtha. Vidyātīrtha was alive in 1356 A.D., for in that year Bukka I paid a visit to him at Sringēri and made a grant of lands to him for providing for the servants of the *Matha* and for the food of the ascetics. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 93). This shows that the statement in the Sringēri *math* list that he died in 1333 is not correct. Vidyā-Tīrtha is mentioned in the Inam Office copper-plate grant of Harihara II dated in 1386 A.D. as the *guru* of Bukka I, the latter being described as having been the worshipper of the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtha. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Paras 54-55). Vidyātīrtha was besides the temporal adviser of Bukka I and Bukka I is spoken of as having become very great in the Hebbasuru copper-plate grant of his son Harihara II, dated in 1376 A.D., with the assistance of Vidyā-tīrtha-muni. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46). This statement is confirmed by Mādhava in his work *Nyāyamālāvistāra*. This Mādhava, whom we may call, for distinguishing him from others of his name, Māyana-Mādhava, was the author, besides, of *Dēvyaparādhastōtra* and *Parāsara-Mādhavīya.* He was evidently a man of profound learning and subsequently became Vidyāranya. He and his younger brother Sāyana were both disciples of Vidyā-tīrtha, to whom they refer in the introductory verses to their works, where they describe him as an incarnation of Mahēsvara. That this was the current belief in 1386 A.D. is proved by the fact that the composer of the Inam office grant of Harihara II above referred to gives the name of *Vidyātīrthēsa* in place of *Vidyātīrtha*, the ending *īsa* meaning *Īsvara* or *Mahēsvara*. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Paras 54-55). Vidyāranya set up an image of his *guru* under the name of Vidyāsankara at Sringēri. Certain grants are recorded to this temple in 1389 and 1392 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 11 and *E.C.* VI, Sringēri 22). If Vidyāranya was already famous as an ascetic in 1336 A.D., when, according to Nuniz, he advised Harihara I to found the city of Vijayanagara, the statement in the Sringēri *math* list that he was consecrated in 1331 A.D. may be taken as correct. But this list gives 1386 A.D. as the date of his death, which is not confirmed. He was certainly alive at the time the Inam Office plates were drawn up, *i.e.*, in 1386 A.D., for we are told that the grant mentioned in it was made in *his presence* by Harihara II. Two other grants dated in 1378 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19 and 30), which are expressly stated to have been made in the presence or by the order of Vidyāranya, indicate that he was alive at least up to that year. According to the *Dēvyaparādhastōtra*, he appears to have lived more than eighty-five years. But there is direct testimony available from a copper-plate grant dated in that very year in the reign of Harihara II, which records that he made a gift of lands on the death of Vidyāranya in that year (corresponding to the cyclic year *Kshaya*). These lands were, it is said, made into 100 *vrittis* under the name of Vidyāranyapura and bestowed on the *mahājanas* of Sringēri. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). From the *Kadita* copy of the grant dated in 1380 A.D., at Sringēri, referred to above, it is learnt that Vidyāranya went on pilgrimage to Benares (in or about 1356 A.D.) and that he returned to Sringēri by order of Vidyātīrta, his *guru*, and at the request of Bukka I. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Paras 94-95). This same grant mentions that Chick-rāya, son of Harihara II, also made a grant, as Governor of Araga, to Vidyāranya, which was also confirmed by Harihara II. (*Ibid* Para 94). One other grant of Harihara II dated in 1384 A.D. in favour of Vidyāranya's disciples is also known. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 96). In this grant, Harihara II is said to have acquired by the grace of Vidyāranya the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings. In this grant, dated in 1386 A.D. and mentioning Vidyāranya's death, Vidyāranya is described, among other kings, as " the supreme light incarnate." (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). And another *Kadita* at Srīngēri states that Vidyāranya died at Hampi and that his *samādhi* or tomb is situated behind the Virūpāksha temple. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 97). This place is still pointed out at Hampi and there is nothing improbable in the story that it marks the place where he was buried. This *kadita* adds that Vidyāranya on his way back first came to Vijayanagar and was then sent by Bukka I to Sringēri, where he asked Mādarasa, Governor of Araga, to grant lands for the maintenance of Vidyāranya and his disciples. This Mādarasa, identified with Mādhava, the Saiva Scholar, and Vidyāranya should accordingly be different persons. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Paras 94-95). The statements that he is the person mentioned as Mādhava (in *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147), that he was minister even as a *sanyāsin*, etc., seem to be made as the result of the confusion arising from mixing up the facts relating to the personal histories of two different Mādhavas. (See *M.A.R.* 1907-08, Para 55). This question is considered below. Vidyāranya has been identified with Bhārati-tīrtha-srīpāda himself. This has been due to the attribution by Dr. Burnell of the authorship of certain works mentioned in the Tanjore Catalogue (*Catalogue of Tanjore Mss.*, 88; also *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* by Cowell and Gough, 273, *f.n.*1.) to Bhārati-tīrtha Vidyāranya (Mādhavāchārya). This, however, is now accepted as wholly erroneous (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 237, *f.n.*1.) Vidyāranya evidently lived through the reigns of Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. Both before and after his consecration, he appears to have been famous as an author. Three of his works have been named above. Of these, the *Parāsara Mādhavīya* deserves a word or two. The part of it known as *Vyavahāra Kānda* is a distinct work by itself, for it is not based on *Parāsara Smriti.* Mādhava found the advance made since Parāsara's time so great and supplied the omission by collecting what is said in the other *Smritis* for ready use. The work is really a digest of jurisprudence based on the *Smritis* treating of it, for ready use. The founding of a new kingdom required apparently a practical treatise on substantive and adjective law and Vidyāranya supplied it. It has been suggested that what is described by Mādhava in this work as law and procedure should have been actually in force in Southern India about the middle of the 14th century when the Vijayanagar kingdom came to be established. (J. Ramayya Pantulu, in *Āndhra Historical Research Society's Journal* II, 106). In composing the famous commentaries on the four *Vēdas*, Mādhava and his brother Sāyana seem to have had the active aid and co-operation of three scholars, mentioned in the Inam Office grant above named and in certain other grants, in which gifts to them are mentioned. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 54; *E.C.* Sringēri 23 and 34). These may be the progenitors of the three families which receive to this day special honours at the Sringēri-matha. They are spoken of as the promoters of the commentaries on the four *Vēdas* (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 54). Two other scholars who helped Sāyana in his work are mentioned in the Agrahāra-Bachahalli copper-plates of Harihara II dated in 1377 A.D The first two donees whose names appear in this grant are Sāyana and his son Singana. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Paras 88-89).

Māyana-Mādhava and his brothers.

The Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya referred to above was of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and the son of Māyana and Srīmati or Srīmayi. His younger brothers were Sāyana and Bhōganātha. Of these, Sāyana was the author of *Alankārasudhānidhi*, *Dhātuvritti* and *Subhāshita-sudhānidhi*. Whether the last of these works is the same as the one known as *Sāyanīya-Subhāshitam* (*Madras Government Oriental Mss. Triennial Catalogue of Mss.* for 1910-1911 to 1912-1913, page 1054) identified with *Subhāshitanivi* (*Ibid* page 245) remains yet to be determined. The latter is a collection of choice and pithy stanzas on various subjects. In a copy of the former, it is stated that it was composed by Kampābhūpati of Vijayanagar, who may be identified with Kampa (or Kampana) I, brother of Harihara I and father of Sangama II. Sāyana also took a prominent part in the composing of the celebrated commentaries on the *Vēdas* which go by his name. According to his work *Alankāra-sudhānidhi*, he was the minister of Sangama II, son of Kampa (or Kampana) II. Being posthumously born, Sangama II became a ward of Sāyana, who taught him from his childhood. During his minority, Sāyana was practically regent, marched against Champanarēndra and defeated him. This Champanarēndra may be identifie with Champarāya (Sambavarāya), the Drāvida chief who ruled over Tundīra-Mandala (Tondai Mandala) at the time. (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam,* Introd. 5-6). Sāyana's father's name is correctly given as Māyana and his two brothers Mādhava and Bhōganātha are also mentioned in the work. He is spoken of as having written a work on medicine. Some of Bhōganātha's works are named in it and are quoted from. These are *Ramōllāsa, Tripuravijaya, Sringāramanjari, Udāharana-māla, Mahāganapatistava* and *Gaurināthāshtaka.* He was, besides, the composer of the Bitragunta grant (*E.I.* III, 23) dated in 1356 A.D., in which he calls himself the "born companion" of Sangama II, son of Kampana I, who was the ward of Sāyana, his brother. There is a tradition that he became the *guru* of Srīngeri Mutt under the title of *Bhārati-tīrtha* the period 1328-1386 being assigned to him. This assertion lacks foundation judging from the manner in which he describes himself in the Bitragunta Plates. At the time of this grant, 1356 A.D., he could not have been a *sanyāsin* and the inscriptions mention only *Bhārati-tīrta* and not Bhārati-krishna-tīrtha. (See *M.A.R.* 1916, para 95). Of these, *Udāharanamāla* appears to have been specially written in praise of Sāyana. Sāyana had, according to this work, three sons by his wife Himāvati. They were Kampana, Māyana and Singana. The first became, it is added, a musician, the second a poet and the third a Vēdic scholar. This Māyana has been identified with Mādhava, the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha.* The basis for this identification appears to be that in an inscription founded in the Arulāla-Perumāl temple at Kānchi, consisting of a verse addressed to Sāyana, which gives the names of his parents, brothers and patron, the name Māyana appears to be used in place of Mādhava. (*E.I.* III, 118; see also *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 91). That Sāyana had a son of the name of Mādhava is evident from the opening verses of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha.*

In verses 3 and 4 of the Prologue to this work, th author describes himself as "Sāyana-Mādhava," th son of Sāyana. The term "Sāyana-Mādhava" seems designedly used in this work to distinguish its author from Māyana-Mādhava, who became famous as Vidyāranya. Cowell and Gough believing as they did in the tradition that Mādhava, the son of Māyana, was the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*, explain the term "Sāyana-Mādhava" in this somewhat curious fashion: "Mādhava elsewhere calls Sāyana his younger brother, as an allegorical description of his body, himself the eternal soul. His use of the term Sāyana-Mādhava here (not the dual) seems to prove that the two names represent the same person. The body seems meant by the Sāyana of the third *slōka*. Māyana was the father of Mādhava, and the true reading may be *Srīman-māyana*." Neither an allegorical interpretation nor any change in the reading is necessary, if the identifications of Sāyana-Mādhava (*i.e.*, Mādhava the son of Sāyana) with Māyana, the son of Sāyana, is accepted. Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar, who has suggested this identification, has invited attention to the fact that as Sāyana-Mādhava quotes verses from the Vaishnava author, Vēdāntāchārya, who was a contemporary of Māyana-Mādhava, we would be right in assuming the lapse of at least a generation for Vēdāntāchārya's work being quoted from. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 91). That Mādhava (*i.e.*, Māyana-Mādhava), the author of the *Commentaries on the Vēdas*, cannot have been the author of the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* and is different from him is also proved from the fact that the explanations given of particular passages in his *Commentaries* do not agree with the explanations given of them in the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*. A notable illustration of this is to be seen in the different interpretations given in the two works of the curious text: "A blind man found a jewel; on without fingers seized it; one without a neck put it on; and a dumb man praised it." This passage occurs in the *Taittirīya-Āranyaka* (i. 11, 5). Mādhava in his *Commentaries* explains it of the soul and quotes the *Svetasv. Up.* III. 19. Mādhava in the *Sarvadarsana-sangraha* takes *avindat* as "he pierced the jewel." Cowell, in translating the passage, follows the *Commentaries* which he regards as "correct." (*Sarvadarsana-sangraha*, 272, *f. n.* 1). It stands to reason that though different authors may legitimately take differing or even conflicting views of the same passage, the same author would not give two different meanings to it in two independent works. The well-known philosophical work *Panchadasi*, which has been attributed to Māyana-Mādhava, is neither his work nor that of Sāyana-Mādhava. Its author praises in his opening verses (1 and 2) his *guru* Srī Sankarānanda, while the *guru* of Māyana-Mādhava was Bhārati-Krishna-tīrtha and of Sāyana-Mādhava Sarvajna-Vishnu. Sankarānanda-Bhārati, to give him his full name, was a *guru* of the Sringēri-matha, who l e a century later. He was consecrated in 1428 A.D. th died in 1454 A.D. (See Sringēri-math succession list). ie is identical with the Sankara-Bhārati of the list of *urus* mentioned in the *Sankara-Vijaya*. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 324). The author of *Panchadasi*, whoever he was, should accordingly be set down to bout the middle of the 15th century. The account of Vidyāranya given by the translators of *Panchadasi* (Sri Vani Vilas Press edition, 1927) who attribute this work to Vidyāranya is a medley of the lives of the three Mādhavas. (See Introd. IX, XV). The *guru* of Sāyana s, according to the Arulāla-Perumāl temple inscription, shnu-Sarvajna (*E.I.* III, 118); he was probably the ue person as Sarvajna-Vishnu, son of Sārangapāni, who raised by Sāyana-Mādhava in the second verse of the 'ogue to his *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*. It is evident that the *guru* of father and son—Sāyana and Sāyana-Mādhava—was one and the same person, Sarvajna-Vishnu.

Chāunda-Mādhava, or Mādhava-Mantri.

There was, besides Māyana-Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya and Sāyana-Mādhava, nephew of the former, a third Mādhava, a contemporary of Māyana-Mādhava, who was also known as Mādhavānka and Mādarasa-Odeya. He was the minister of Mārapa, one of the brothers of Harihara I in his government of the Kadamba country. He was the son of Chāunda (or Chāundi-bhatta) and Māchāmbika and of the Āngirasa gōtra. (Goa Copper-plate inscription, *J. B. Br. R. A. S.* IX 228). His *guru* was Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti. Unlike Māyana-Mādhava, he was a follower of pure Saivism and not the Advāita. The facts relating to his life and his literary works have been, under a misapprehension, mixed up with those relating to Māyana-Mādhava and Sāyana-Mādhava. (Weber, *I.A.* VI, 162, *f.n.* 11). Chāunda-Mādhava, as he has been called to distinguish him from the two others, was also a Vēdic scholar but unlike Māyana-Mādhava also exercised secular authority, as a warrior and minister. According to one record dated in 1347 A.D., he was born a "pilot," who by the power of his wisdom is said to have overreached even Brihaspati. He is further spoken of as the conqueror of foreign countries for Mārapa. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). The reference apparently is to the conquest of Goa effected by him for Mārapa. (*I.A.* VI, 162 *f.n.* 11). He was in charge of the Jayanti (or Kadamba) country and was Mārapa's minister. From another inscription, dated in 1368 A.D., which records a grant by Mādhava himself, we learn he was the minister of Bukka I. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281). He apparently became the minister of Bukka I when the latter ascended the throne in succession to Harihara I, about 1353 A.D. This record seems to suggest that his valour, though a "holy man," was so great that it obtained recognition at his sovereign's hands. He was ordered, about 1368 A.D., the date of the record, to accept the charge of the government as far as the Western ocean. This is confirmed by an inscription dated in 1391 A.D., which tells us that Mādhava was the governor of Banavāsi, that he defeated the Turushkas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) and wrested Goa from them, and that he made a grant in that year to twenty-four learned Brāhmans, who co-operated with him in the composition of works bearing his name. (*J. B. Br. R.A.S.* IV, 115; *I. A.* VI, 162 *f.n.* 11). The Shikarpur record of 1353 A.D. describes him at great length. He was, we are told:—

> "Invested with authority for punishing the evil, and with Brāhman purity and Kshatra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear. Born from the Brāhman Chāunda who was an austere ascetic in the Āngīrasa-*gōtra*, he is an astonishing expert in policy, like Brihaspati in exceeding wisdom; and though a *sūri* (or learned man), is always composing poetry which gives new pleasure to the minds of all,—what wonder is he, who through the astonishing favour of his master Kāsivilāsa (Kriyāsakti), a manifest incarnation of Girīsa, gained celebrity as a Saiva; by his masterful energies subdued this world and the next and was speedily the conqueror of how many countries on the shores of the Western Ocean; what more can be said in his praise? Who cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *Upanishads*, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents, the proud advocates of evil doctrines; so that though Brahma's dwelling is so far, he was ever helping the worthy to go there without a guide, and was praised by the wise as the *guru* who established the path of the *Upanishads*."

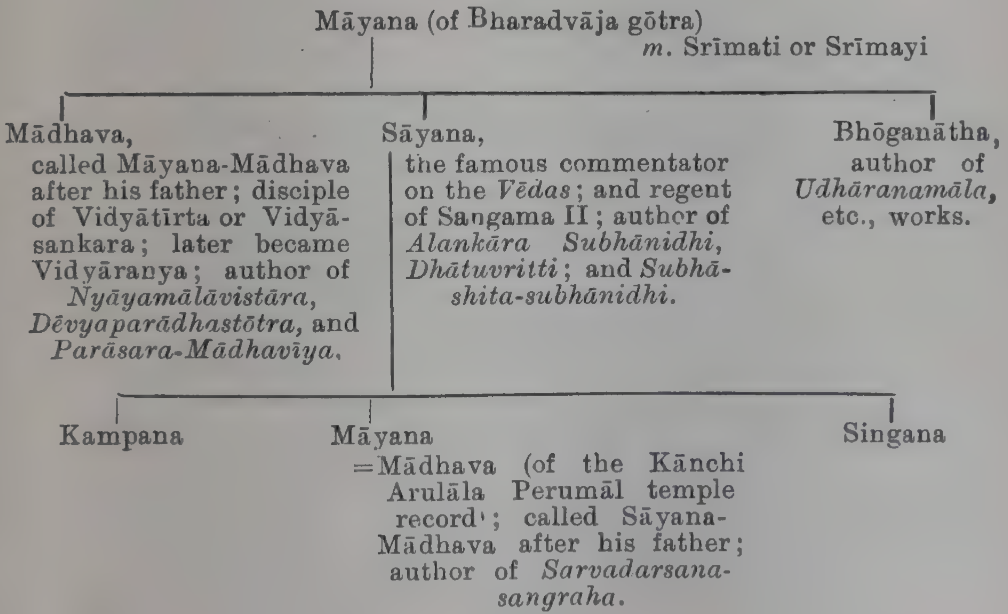
Mādhava-Mantri, with a view to obtain success in his administration and to keep his charge "without trouble" carried out, at the instance of his guru, Kriyāsakti, a special Saiva vow, lasting a year, at the end of which he made a grant, with the permission of Bukka I, of the village of Muchchandi in Nāgarakhanda, bought as he puts it, "from the funds of my own property," to eighty learned Kāshmir Brāhmans who were well versed in the

Saiva rites and devoted to the Saiva creed. It is stated in the record that the village was renamed at the time of its gift into Vidyēsvarapura, "after the eight Vidyēsvaras, who were objects of adoration in his vow." This record definitely shows that Mādhava-Mantri was a strict follower of pure Saivism of the Kāshmir school and was a devoted disciple of Kriyāsakti, who belonged to the Pāsupata (or Lakula) school. Another grant connected with his name is that recorded in the Goa copper-plates above referred to, which mention the gift of a village by him in his mother's name, naming it Machalapura. A lithic inscription at Balehalli dated in 1369 A.D. records a grant in his own favour during the reign of Bukka I, while it would appear from another record at the same place (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 6) dated in the same year, that he was governor of Āraga and other places—which were in charge of Mārapa—and that he had a son named Boltarasa. (See *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 93). He helped Mārapa in the production of a work called the *Saivāgama-sārasangraha*, a work devoted to the commandments of Siva. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). He claims to have written on the *Upanishads*. He was, besides, the author of *Sūtasamhita-Tātparya-Dīpaka*, a commentary, as its name indicates, on the *Sūtasamhitā*. (Burnell, *Catalogue of Tanjore Mss.* 194 A; see also the Colophon to his work on the *Sūta-Samhitā*, in which he calls himself the establisher of the *Vēdas* and the *Sāstras*). The *Sūta-Samhita* itself is a collection of doctrines of legendary illustrations, especially according to the Yōga practices, collected from and forming part of the *Skānda Purāna*. It is usually divided into five or six sections, *viz.*, the *Siva-Mahātmya-khānda*, the *Manayōga-khānda*, the *Muktiyōga-khānda*, the *Yagnavaibhava-khānda*, and *Brahma-Gīta*, the last of which being sometimes divided into the *Brahma-Gīta* and the *Sūta-Gīta*. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 124).

Tables of descent of the three Mādhavas.

It will thus be seen that the three Mādhavas we have mentioned above, who were contemporaries, were different persons, each being a learned scholar and each remembered by the literary work or works he has left behind him. There is justification for the confusion that has prevailed for some time in regard to them and their works. It is now all but certain that Māyana-Mādhava and Sāyana-Mādhava, related as uncle and nephew to each other, were not only different persons and great scholars, but also each in his own way wielded considerable influence at the Vijayanagar court. Māyana-Mādhava, indeed, as Vidyāranya, helped in the establishment of the kingdom and the capital, though there is nothing to show he held any temporal office under either Harihara I or Bukka I. Sāyana, as we have seen, held the position of regent and general of Sangama II, son of Kampana I. Mādhava-Mantri, the third of the name, distinguished himself as soldier, governor, poet and Saiva devotee under Mārapa and Bukka I. The following two tables of descent indicate clearly the parentage of these three different Mādhavas:—

TABLE I



Māyana (of Bharadvāja gōtra) *m.* Srīmati or Srīmayi

Mādhava, called Māyana-Mādhava after his father; disciple of Vidyātīrta or Vidyāsankara; later became Vidyāranya; author of *Nyāyamālāvistāra*, *Dēvyaparādhastōtra*, and *Parāsara-Mādhavīya*.

Sāyana, the famous commentator on the *Vēdas*; and regent of Sangama II; author of *Alankāra Subhānidhi*, *Dhātuvritti*; and *Subhāshita-subhānidhi*.

Bhōganātha, author of *Udhāranamāla*, etc., works.

Kampana

Māyana =Mādhava (of the Kānchi Arulāla Perumāl temple record); called Sāyana-Mādhava after his father; author of *Sarvadarsana-sangraha*.

Singana

TABLE II

Chāunda (of Angīrasa gōtra)
| *m.* Māchāmbika
|
Mādhava-Mantri
(also called Mādhavarasa and Mādarasa-Odeya; disciple of the Saiva teacher Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti; governor of Goa and Kadamba country; Saiva devotee and scholar; author of a commentary on the *Sūtasamhita* and compiler with Mārapa of the *Saivāgamasārasangraha*)
|
Boltarasa
(*E. C.* VI, Koppa 6 dated in 1369 A.D.)

Conquests of Harihara I and Bukka I.

Harihara I and Bukka I appear to have been indefatigable in extending the limits of the new kingdom. According to the Sringēri record (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 1) dated in 1346 A.D., Harihara I had already brought under his control the whole country between the Eastern and the Western oceans. He was evidently in personal charge of the western and parts of the southern districts which had previously belonged to the Sēvunas of Dēvagiri. His brother Bukka I seems to have been governing the Eastern and Central divisions of the new kingdom. Certain inscriptions found in the Bangalore and Kolar districts suggest that prior to 1254 A.D., the last year of Harihara I, both these brothers were ruling jointly. But as about this same period we find in the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts independent records of Bukka I, and in the Kadur, South Canara and Bijāpur Districts, those exclusively of Harihara I, Mr. Krishna Sāstri has remarked that though joint rulers, they had actually administered well defined parts of the kingdom. (*E.C.* IX and X, Introd.). Kampana I, another brother, was in charge of Nellore and Cuddapah districts, while Mārapa administered the Shimoga and North Canara Districts.

Kampana II (Hiriya-Kampana), son of Bukka, recovered the south from the Muhammadans and was in independent charge of it about 1361 A.D. Bukka I transferred the capital from Dōrasamudra to Hospattana between 1352 or 1354, about the last year of the reign of his brother Harihara I and his own first year, and thence to Vijayanagar, it being more central and convenient for administering the affairs of a large kingdom. Though Vijayanagar had been founded 18 years before, it had not yet been occupied as the capital as much of the country in the west and south had yet to be recovered or brought under control. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46; XI, Chitaldrug 46 and 2; *E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256).

Administrative Organisation.

Harihara I and his brothers not only conquered the whole of Southern India but also provided for its rule. The country appears to have been divided into provinces, some of which were ruled by themselves in person, while others were looked after by Viceroys. Thus, the north-western portion of the present Shimoga District and a good part of North Canara formed the province of Āraga, with its capital at Chandragutti or Gutti, a little to the south of Banavāsi, and was ruled over by Mārapa, a brother of Harihara I. It is stated of him that he conquered the whole of the Kadamba country (or Banavāsi 12,000) and was ruling at Chandragutti in 1346 A.D., with the learned Chāunda-Mādhava as his minister. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). Santalige 1000, which lay to the south of this Province, and included parts of modern Shimoga and South Canara Districts, was in 1347, A.D. governed by a feudatory chief who called himself Pāndya-Chakravarti. (*E.C.* VIII, 126, *f. n.* 4; and Tirthahalli 154). He was probably connected with the old Ālupas (or Ālva) who bore the title of *Uttama-Pāndya* (*E.I.* IX, 21-22) and an ancestor of Pāndya-Chakravarti Vīra-Pāndyadēva who in 1386 A.D. was ruling over parts of

South Canara district. (*M.E.R.* 1890, No. 50). The northern part of Tuluva (the Canara country) beginning from somewhere near Sringēri was governed by a Viceroy, who was stationed at Bārakūr, a little to the north-west of Nagar. Ballāla III had a Viceroy at Bārakūr, which stronghold he visited (see above). Sankara-Nāik, the last representative of the Hoysalas, apparently, surrendered to Bukka I, for it is said that on the latter's approach, he was filled with fear. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). Southern Tuluva, with Mangalore as its capital, was another province. It was in 1349 A.D. governed by Hadapada Gautarasa, a minister of Harihara I. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 57; see *A.S.I.* 1907-8, 237, *f.n.*7). As pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, from the fact that *Gadyānas* were issued in the names of both these capitals, it should be inferred that their Viceroys were empowered to issue coins in their own names. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, 237-238). A record from the Kolar District suggests that Mahāmandalēsvara Ariya (or Aliya) Ballappa-Dandanāyaka, son of Ballāla III and son-in-law of Harihara I, was governing it. (*E.C.* X, Malur 61). Muluvāyi-rājya including the modern Kolar, Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts and the adjacent country were ruled over by Kampana I, the son of Harihara I and Bukka's son Hiriya Kampana or Kampana II. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 202 and 222 and 162). Tekkal-nādu, to which Harihara I and his brother Muttanna Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Muddappa), issued jointly an order in 1346 A.D., was doubtless included in this *rājya* or province. (*E.C.* X, Malur 39). Kampana II conquered Sāmbavarāya and acquired Padaivīdu, his stronghold and perhaps Kānchi, the capital of his kingdom known as Rājagambhīrarājya about 1361 A.D. (*Madhurāvijayam*, Introd. 20-25). Muluvāyi-rājya took its name from Mulbagal, its headquarters, which was the viceregal seat of government during Vijayanagar period of the eldest son of the reigning king, (*E.C.* X, Introd. XXXIV). Udayagiri, including the present Nellore and Cuddapah Districts, was governed by Kampana I about 1346 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, 780, No. 28). His son Sangana II was in charge of Nellore in 1356 A D. (*E.C.* III, 24). About the same time, Vīra-Srī-Sāvannodeya, another son of Kampana I, was ruling over Udayagiri, as "the lord of the eastern ocean." (*M.E.R.* 1906, Nos. 500 and 503). The province of Udayagiri must have formed, in the middle of the 14th century, the eastern part of the new kingdom. Then there was the province called Penugonda-rājya, which later included the Gutti-rājya, both together comprising a great part of the modern Bellary, Anantapur, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts. This province was in 1333 governed by Gangi-Dēva, son of Māchiyadannāyaka, a son-in-law (Aliya) of Ballāla III, with his capital at Penukonda. It appears to have passed into the hands of Bukka I, for we find him, about 1370 A.D., making the grant of a village included in it, (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 40) and in 1397 A.D. a daughter of his arranging for the water supply of a place included in it. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 10). Another province called the Sadali kingdom is mentioned and it seems to have included Chikballapur and the adjoining country, which was in Nāganna-Odeyar's charge under Bukka I, in 1371 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 63). In the copper-plate grants of Harihara I, dated in 1336 A.D., above referred to, the Penukonda and Chandragiri rājyas are included in the dominions of Harihara I. (*E.C* X, Bagepalli 70). The interest of Harihara I and his brothers was evidently a joint one in the kingdom and the grant recorded by them in the Sringēri inscription (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri I) seems to confirm this inference. Little by little they soon came to occupy the whole of Southern India, spreading between the Eastern, Western and Southern oceans, and thus justifying the assumption of the title of "lord of the

Eastern and Western oceans" by Harihara I. and Bukka I. (*E.I.* III, 114 and VI, 327, *f.n.* 2.; see also *E.C.* X, Chikballapur 63 dated in 1371 A.D.).

Rule of Harihara I.

Harihara I is known to tradition as Hakka, a name which is confirmed by a record (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 68) dated in 1357 A.D., where he is called Hakkanna. Of the five brothers, Hakka and Bakka (he is so called in many epigraphs) were the most prominent in building up the new kingdom. Harihara's rule over the south does not appear to have been as universal as that of his brother Bukka I later proved to be. Parts of the country were either in foreign hands or in the possession of chiefs who affected independence of the new kingdom. Harihara's chief work seems to have been to guard the Northern Frontier and prevent the Muhammadan incursions. In this he succeeded fairly well. The reduction of Muhammadan garrisons in the south left by Malik Kāfur was not attempted by him. That work was reserved to Bukka I and his eldest son Kampana II. Similarly, the duty of bringing to subjection recalcitrant chiefs, who, like the Sāmbavarāyas of Kānchi, practically helped to break up the Chōla empire, was also not attempted by him.

Harihara I and his brothers.

In view of the abovementioned fact that Harihara I and his brothers were all active members of a confederacy which made strenuous attempts to recover the country from the Muhammadans and re-establish Hindu rule in it, it seems necessary at this stage to note briefly a few facts about them. Kampa I (or Kampana I), his immediate younger brother, became, as mentioned above, the ruler of Udayagiri-rājya. His name appears as Sankara in one record. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375, dated in 1347 A.D.). He probably died before the demise of Harihara I. The Bitragunta plates which refer to a grant made by him on the annual ceremony of his father probably refer not to his *first* anniversary but to a later one. His son Sangama II being posthumously born, the government of the province was under Sāyana, as Regent. It was during his minority that Sāyana led a campaign against Champanarēndra, identified with Sāmbavarāya, and defeated him. (See below). Kampana seems to have left another son, probably he was the eldest, named Vīra-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1907. Para 52; Appendix Nos. 500, 503 and 504 of 1906). In two of these records (Nos. 500 and 503) grants are made for the merit of his father Kamaparāja and his mother Manga-dēvi-amma. They are dated in *Saka* 1275 and 1273 or 1353 and 1351 A.D. The other record (No. 504 of 1906) is dated in *Saka* 1283 or A.D. 1361. According to the Bitragunta grant, Sangama II was ruling over the same province (Udayagiri) in *Saka* 1278 or A.D. 1356. A possible explanation is that Vīra-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeya was co-regent of his father until his death and then ruled by himself. According to an inscription found at Kālahasti, Vīra-Srī's 15th year corresponded to the Cyclic year *Subhakrit* or *Saka* 1285. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 188). His accession should, therefore, have taken place in *Saka* 1270-71 or 1348-49 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 52). Two other inscriptions of his dated in his 7th and 9th years (=1355 and 1357 A.D.), one of which comes from Tiruvorriyūr, (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 188 and 240 of 1903) are also known. They refer to the suppression of certain local disturbances. His son Singanna-Odeya is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 681). An inscription of his dated in *Saka* 1299 (=A.D. 1377) has been found at Terusomula in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. 481). He may be identified with the Singanna-Odeya who in *Saka* 1314 (=1392 A.D.) was in charge of Tulu and Malarājya with his capital at

Bārakūru. (*A.S.I.* 1907-08, Page 243). Another inscription of his dated in the 14th year (or A.D. 1363) comes from Conjeeveram (*M.A.R.* 1920, Appendix B. 523 of 1919). Harihara's second younger brother was Bukka I, who later succeeded him on the imperial throne. His next brother was Mārapa, who ruled over the Āraga or Male country. A record dated in 1347 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375) refers at length to his conquests. He was established, we are told, "in Gomanta-saila, the excellent Chandragupti," modern Chandragutti or Gutti, in the west of Sorab, which he appears to have made his capital. It is described as the *pradhāna-rājadhāni* of Banavāsi 12,000. He was praised by eulogists as *Rājādhirājā, Yuvarāt, Paramēsvara*, a great kite to the serpents, the kings Bhōja and Tailinga, opposer in war of three kings, terrifier of foreign kings (apparently Muhammadan invaders), etc. He is said to have conquered the Kadamba country, to have visited Gokarna and worshipped god Mahābala at that place, and in honour of the occasion granted Kantapuri, re-named Marapapuri, to learned Brāhmans dependent on him, who were all emigrants from the Āndhra country. His minister was the great scholar and soldier Mādhava, son of the ascetic Chāunda referred to above. Mārapa is said (in the record quoted already) to have given, in conjunction with his minister, to mankind "from love to the world and affection to the minister," the commandments of Tryambaka in the compilation *Saivāgama-sāra*, which, it is stated, was produced after a study of the *Vēdas* and *Purānas*. Mārapa left a son Sōvanna-Odeya. He is probably identical with prince Sōvanna-Odeya mentioned in a record dated in 1369 A.D. in the reign of Bukka I. Apparently he held office in a part of the Shimoga District. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 132). A brother of his was Hariappa-Odeyar, who probably ruled over Āraga for a time. He is referred to in certain inscriptions. (See *E.C.* VI, Koppa 7 where he is given one of the supreme titles). Curiously enough, in another record (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 58) he is called Mangaraya-ātmaja. Muddappa, the last brother of Harihara I, was a joint donor with his brothers of the grant mentioned in Sringēri I (*E.C.* VI) dated in 1347 A.D., to Bhāratitīrta-srīpāda (See above). He should have lived at least up to 1379 A.D., as he made a grant in that year of an *agrahāra* to certain Brāhmans of whom one was Sāyana. He left a son named Kōnappa. Kōnappa appears with certain of the usual Vijayanagar titles in a grant of his made in the reign of Kampa II (Vīra-Kampa-Udaiyār) dated in *Saka* 1296 or 1374 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1928, Para 38, Appendix B. No. 662 of 1919). This record comes from Conjeeveram. Two other records of his dated in 1373 A.D. come from Dhārāpuram in the Coimbatore District. These state that the temple of Nāgēsvaram-Udaiyār in which they are found and which had been desecrated by the Muhammadans was reconsecrated by a local chieftain of the name of Avudaiyarāja. These inscriptions make it possible that Kongu was, at about the period of these records, a Vijayanagara possession. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 38).

Records relating to Harihara I.

Inscriptions of the time of Harihara I, though not very numerous, are not by any means scanty. At least twenty-one records of his reign are known, of which four are on copper-plates and the rest are lithic. These have come from such widely scattered parts of Southern India as Tanjore in the south and Shimoga and Mangalore on the west. They range in date from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1356. They are tabulated chronologically below:—

(1) 1336 A.D. *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 70 dated in 1336 A.D. (Bestarhalli copper-plates). Records a grant and states that Harihar I ruled in Kunjarakōna and that he founded the

city of Vidyānagara in accordance with the instructions of Vidyāranya.

(2) 1336 A.D. *Nellore Inscriptions*, No. 15, dated in 1336 A.D. (Kapalur copper-plates). Records a grant and states that Harihara I conquered all the quarters of the earth and that his capital was Kunjarakōna. Narrates the circumstances under which he founded the city of Vidyānagara under the instructions of Vidyāranya, where he ascended the throne, *i.e.*, was crowned.

(3) 1340 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 19, dated in 1340 A.D. Records a grant of Harihara I, who is described as *Mahāmandalēsvara* and as *Chatussamudrādhipati* or ruler of the country bounded by the four oceans.

(4) 1340 A.D. *I.A.* X, 63, dated in 1340 A.D. Fort Bādāmi built by one Chāmeya-nāyaka, under the orders of Harihara I.

(5) 1342 A.D. *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 263, dated in 1342 A.D. Records the death of a Jain *guru* at Kuppatūr in Nāgarakhanda (corresponding to Shikarpur Taluk of Shimoga District) which was being governed by one Gōpēsa, under Harihara I.

(6) 1343 A.D. *E.C.* V, Arsikere 159, dated in 1343 A.D. In the reign of Harihara I, who is described as Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīrapratāpa Harihara-mahārāya, a private grant was made.

(6*a*) Approximately 1344 A.D. *E.C.* IV, Hunsur 114, dated in 1344 A.D. A Vīrakal set up for certain Gaudas of Chapparadahalli, who fell in the service of Harihara I.

(7) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* X, Malur 39, dated in 1346 A.D. In the reign of the subduer of hostile kings Hariyappa-Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Harihara I) and Muttanna-Udaiyar (*i.e.*, Mudanna) an order was issued to the inhabitants of Tēkkal-nādu that a certain village situated in that *nādu* was granted to one Vaiyannan Komuppan, exempt from taxes.

(8) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* X, Malur 61, dated in 1346 A.D. In the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara, subduer of hostile kings, Harihara I, a grant made by his son-in-law Mahāmandalēsvara Vallappa-dandanāyaka was recorded. The land granted was in the Māsandi-nādu.

(9) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* VI, Sringēri 1, dated in 1346 A.D. Having conquered the Earth from the Eastern to the Western

ocean, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, *Mahāmandalēsvara*, subduer of hostile kings, etc., Harihara I and his brothers granted nine villages in Sāntalige-nād to Bhārati-tīrtha-Srīpāda, his disciples and others and the forty Brāhmans residing in that village for the performance of rites and service.

(10) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 154, dated in 1346 A.D. In the increasing victorious reign of Harihara I, master of the Eastern, Western and Southern oceans, Pāndya chakravarti made a grant of land in Sāntalige 1,000 to Naraharidēva, who is described as *Vēda-mārga-pratishtāchārya* (establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*).

(11) 1346 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 59, dated in 1346 A.D. Records a private grant of land in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I and Bukkana I in Sanainādu in Rājēndrasōla-valanādu in Nigarili-sōla-valanādu (*i.e.*, modern Kolar District).

(12) 1347 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 97, dated in 1347 A.D. Records a private gift of land in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(13) 1347 A.D.; Inscription at Dammalur, in Malur Taluk, dated in 1347 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land by a general of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(14) 1348 A.D. *E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 50. This inscription records the grant of a village by the Elahaka (Yelahanka) nād prabhu Bairidēva when *Mahāmandalēsvara*, master of the country bounded by the four oceans, Harihara I, was ruling the kingdom of the world.

(15) 1348 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 43, Appendix A. (Copperplate record No. 9). Copper-plate grant from Khader-pēta, Anantapur District. Describes Harihara I as ruling from his capital Vidyānagara.

(16) 1349 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 57 of 1901. (Lithic inscription at Kāntēsvara temple at Kāntavara). Records a gift of money. Hadapada Gautarasa, minister of Harihara I, is mentioned as ruling over Mangalore-rājya.

(17) 1354 A.D. *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 104, dated in 1354 A.D. Records a *sati* in the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara*, destroyer of hostile kings, the *Suratala* (*i.e.*, Sultan) of Hindu kings Srī-Vīra-Hariyappa-Vodeya.

(18) 1355 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 85. Inscription at Vagata, Hoskote taluk, records a private grant during the reign of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Harihara I.

(19) 1356 A.D. *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 111, Records the consecration of a Jain image at Rayadrug, Bellary District, during the reign of Harihara I.

(20) Date not known, *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 29; Appendix A. No. 18. Copper-plate grant from Komal, Tanjore District. Only last plate discovered. Appears to record the grant of a village during the reign of Harihara I.

Main features of his rule.

From the above synopsis of the records of his period, it might be broadly inferred that Harihara I ruled from about 1336 to at least 1356 A.D.; that his first capital was Kunjarakōna (or Ānegondi); that he founded the capital of Vijayanagara, under the inspiration, if not under the guidance, of Vidyāranya, the great Sringēri *guru*, whose original name was Māyana-Mādhava; that he crowned himself king at this place in or about the year 1336 A.D., making the sixteen great gifts; that the original name of this capital was Vidyānagara (=the city of Vidyāranya) which subsequently became corrupted into or was designedly changed into the Vijayanagara (=the city of Victory); that Harihara I subsequently greatly honoured Vidyāranya, visiting, with all his brothers and son-in-law and grandson, Sringēri for the purpose of making a grant of nine villages to him for enabling him and his disciples to continue their austerities in peace; that by about 1336, Vijayanagar had become the capital of the newly established kingdom and that Harihara I ruled from that place as his capital seat, while Bukka I and his other brothers ruled from other centres; that by 1340 A.D., Harihara I had become the ruler of the country bounded by the four oceans, *i.e.*, roughly the territory south of the Krishna; that about this time, between 1340 and 1343 A.D., he assumed the full sovereign titles of

Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīrapratāpa Harihara-mahārāya as even private grants issued in 1343 A.D. show; that though some later records describe him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, there is no reason to believe that he was a mere governor at the time, but actually a sovereign exercising full authority over practically the greater part of the Southern, Central and Western districts of the country south of the Krishna; that many of the records above quoted show that his authority was recognised in the ancient Kadamba kingdom, the Sāntalige-nād, Nigarili-chōlamandalam, Tēkkal-nād, Elahanka-nād, Penukonda country, and Mangalore; that he caused to be built a fort at Bādāmi in 1340 A.D., apparently to guard the frontier against Muhammadan aggressions; and that he celebrated a great festival of victory in 1346 A.D., which might be taken as the year in which his power was finally recognized as the sovereign of the South.

His struggles against the Muhammadans.

Inscriptions of later sovereigns describe Harihara I and his four brothers, each in his turn, as having conquered the Muhammadans. This might be taken as indicating not merely that each took a personal part in the struggle against the northern aggressors but also that the aggressors did not easily yield but put up a continuous fight against the Hindu chiefs. The direction from which the invaders made their descent into the south seems to be indicated by the several records of Harihara I found in the north-west of Mysore. The subjugation of this part of the Hoysala dominions, including the Kadur and Shimoga districts of Mysore, as far as Bādāmi, appears to have been Harihara's special work until about 1340 A.D., when the fort at Bādāmi was built by Chāmeyanāyaka, his subordinate there. Gautarasa governed the Mangalore-rājya on his behalf and Gōpēsa held Kuppatur in the Nagarakhanda (Shimoga District). The fact that he was acknowledged ruler of the country as far north as the Kaladgi district, north of the Malprabha, may be taken to indicate that he had recovered part of the territory overrun by Muhammad Toghlak. Partly by force of arms and partly by the aid of Vidyāranya, Harihara I and his brothers became masters of a large portion of Southern India. As the sequel will show, they met with opposition from certain of the local chiefs and from Muhammadans who had established themselves at Madura and a few other places, but they were either soon subdued or deprived of all power.

Duration of his rule; Nuniz corrected.

Harihara I doubtless played, with Bukka I, a great part in the struggles of the period. It is now beyond dispute that it was he who made Vijayanagar his capital, from where he ruled from 1336 A.D. and onwards. Nuniz says that he reigned for seven years and "did nothing therein but pacify the kingdom which he left in tranquility." The latter may be taken to be quite correct but the former (that he ruled for *seven years*) seems wide of the mark. As we have lithic inscriptions dated in his reign up to 1356 A.D., a reign of seven years allotted to him by Nuniz seems unacceptable. Reckoning the seven years from his coronation (*i.e.*, 1336 A.D.), he should have ruled, according to Nuniz, till 1343 A.D. This is plainly contradicted by the records referred to above. It is possible that "seven years" is a mistake for "seventeen years" which would bring down his rule to 1353-1354 A.D., which is not far removed from 1355-1356 A.D., the date of the latest lithic record so far known of him. Taking this record as nearer the actual fact, his death may be taken to have occurred—perhaps at Vijayanagar—in or about 1356 A.D. If this be so, he should be taken to have been instrumental in affording an asylum at Vijayanagar to Krishna, son of

Pratāpa-Rudra of Warrangal, and to have actively joined him and the surviving Ballāla princes in driving back the Muhammadans and rescuing part of the Southern Deccan country and thus preparing the way for the overthrow of the sovereignty of Delhi south of the Vindhyas. It is highly significant that the first record that gives the high sounding imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Vīrpratāpa-Harihara-Mahārāya* is dated in the year 1343 A.D., the very year of this driving back of the Muhammadans. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 159). In 1344 A.D., it is equally significant, his brother Bukka I assumes for the first time the title of "Rāya" and in the record in which he is so described a grant is made "for the success of his sword and arm." (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 89 dated in *Kaliyuga* 4449, cyclic year Tārana which should have actually fallen in Kali 4445). Within a couple of years, he also assumed the full regnal titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēsvara* and described himself as "ruling the world." (*E.C.* X, Kolar 201 dated in 1346 A.D.). This indicates that the conquest of the Muhammadans was over. This is further confirmed by an inscription of Sangama II dated in 1356 A.D., which states that Harihara I "defeated the Sultān," which is a direct statement and should be taken to refer to his re-conquest of the conquered territories from the Muhammadans. Harihara's reign cannot have been a quiet one, at any rate, until 1343 A.D., though it is certain he left the kingdom in a tranquil state to his successor. Nuniz states that Harihara I built the "very grand temple" of Virūpāksha at the capital in honour of Vidyāranya and "gave much revenue to it." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 300). This may be taken to mean that he enlarged and rebuilt the temple, for we have inscriptions of an earlier date, of a Hoysala king, for instance, in them testifying to its previous existence. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, 236 *f.n.* 2).

Confederacy of Hindu kings against Muhammadans.

From Ferishta's account of the abovementioned war against the armies of Muhammad Toghlak (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I. 427), we learn that the combination of Hindu kings was brought into being by Krishna Naik, son of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva of Warrangal and that Ballāla-Dēva agreed to the proposal on the understanding that Krishna would induce all the Hindus of Telingana to join in the attempt. Next, we are told, Ballāla *built* the city of Vijayanagara, raised an army and the war began. Of course, this can only be taken to mean that there was a sufficient interval of time between the *building* of the city of Vijayanagar and the beginning of the war, as there actually was between the foundation of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D., and the commencement of the war in 1343 A.D. The question of a combination of Hindus against the Muhammadans should have been under consideration for some years before it was actually brought about. That seems to be the idea underlying Ferishta's account. Ferishta, who wrote nearly two centuries after the events he recorded, says that Ballāla *built* the city of Vijayanagar; it is just possible that Ferishta is here referring to the foundation of Hosapattana, which should have been not far away from the city of Vijayanagar; which a few years later supplanted it. As Hosapattana is described as being in the Hoysala country, its identification with Vijayanagar has been objected to by Mr. Rice. (*E.C.* XI, *Introd.* 24). If Hosapattana was not far away from Vijayanagar, as already remarked, it must have been in the Hoysala limits. Sir Walter Elliott says (*Numismata Orientalia*, 91) that the first name of Vijayanagar was Hosapattana, which, Mr. Rice agrees, is quite possible, as the word merely means "new town." However this might be, the Hindus of the south headed by the confederate chiefs of Warrangal, Dōrasamudra and Vijayanagar succeeded in wresting Warrangal from the hands of Imad-ul-mulk, the Muhammadan Governor of Warrangal, who retired to Daulatābād. Other Hindu chiefs joined the confederacy, which seized the whole of the Deccan and expelled the Muhammadans from it so effectively "that within a few months Muhammad Toghlak had no possessions in that quarter except Daulatābād." That Harihara I was in the confederacy is evident from the Nellore plates of Sangama II (*E.I.* III, 24) wherein Harihara I is said to have defeated the Sultān, meaning Muhammad Toghlak. The Hindus, however, soon retired south of the Krishna, leaving the evacuated territories a prey to temporary anarchy. Three years later, in 1347 A.D., Alā-ud-dīn Bāhmani occupied it and was crowned sovereign of the Deccan at Kulburga, thus establishing a new dynasty which lasted nearly for a century and a half.

Bukka-Rāya I, 1356-1376 A.D.

Bukka I succeeded Harihara I. In one record he is called *Abhinava-Bukka-Rāya*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 102). This is to distinguish him from Bukka, the father of Sangama I, the progenitor of the family, (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 46; Bagepalli 70; Mulbagal 158). It has been suggested by Mr. Sewell that on the death of Harihara I, the succession was apparently disputed, the claimants being his immediate younger brother Kampa I or Kampana I and his next younger brother Bukka I. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 27-28). This suggestion seems to rest on a slender basis. Harihara I does not seem to have had any son, his only daughter being married to Ballappa-dandanāyaka, a son of Ballāla III, the Hoysala king. This Ballappa-Dandanāyaka was still living in 1361 A.D., in which year he joined with some others in making a joint grant. He thus survived his father-in-law, Harihara I, by about five years. (See *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 101 dated in 1361 A.D., which, it should be added, is no authority for the inference that Harihara I, whose name is incidentally mentioned in it, was still alive at that time. His name seems to be referred to only to show Ballapppa's identity and no more). We have evidence enough for the belief that all his four brothers--Kampana I, Bukka-Rāya I, Mārappa and Muddappa—were, if not joint rulers with him, (*E.C.* VI, Sringēri I, dated in 1346 A.D., which is a joint grant by all the brothers), at least rulers over different parts of Southern India, over which *he* certainly claimed full sovereign power. (See above-quoted records of Harihara I which give him the imperial title of *Rājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara*, etc.).

Alleged dispute as to the succession examined.

Mr. Sewell's suggestion rests on two assumptions:—

(1) That as Harihara I is said to have ruled for 7 years by Nuniz, he should have died—counting from 1336 A.D., the year of his coronation—in 1343 A.D., and to have been succeeded by his brother Bukka I, to whom Nuniz assigns a reign of 37 years. Bukka should have died in or about 1380 A.D., counting the 37 years from 1343 A.D.

(2) During this period of 37 years—1343 to 1380 A.D.—however, we have the Nellore Collector's office grant of Sangama II dated in 1356 A.D., recording a gift in that year. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 27-28).

This grant relates that Kampa I succeeded Harihara I and Sangama II, son of Kampa I, succeeded Harihara I, a year prior to the date of the grant. (Sewell's *List, of Antiquities*, II, 8 No. 58; *E.I.* III, 21). As there are inscriptions dated in 1354-1355, describing Bukka I as king and as this Nellore grant describes Sangama II as king in 1355, it has been inferred by Mr. Sewell that Kampa was king from 1343 to 1355, *i.e.*, from the alleged date of the death of Harihara I to the date of the Nellore grant. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 28). As we have seen, Harihara I did not die in 1343 A.D. but only about 1356 A.D. (see above), and so Sangama II could not have succeeded him in 1343 A.D. Nor is it a fact that Bukka I died in 1380 A.D., for we have a copper-plate grant (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46) which gives the date of his death as *Saka* 1298 or 1376-1377 A.D., which is confirmed by another inscription from Nellore (*Nellore Inscriptions*, No. 76) which couples *Saka* 1322 with the 25th regnal year of Harihara II. A more serious objection against the alleged disputed succession is that in the Hulikere copper-plate grant of Harihara II, son of Bukka I, which is dated in 1378 A.D., it is actually stated that Harihara I "appointed his younger brother Bukka-Rāja as Yuvarāja." (*E. C.* V, Channarayapatna 256). As this grant is dated but two years from the death of Bukka I, it should be held to be practically a contemporaneous document. (*E. C.* V, Arkalgud 68, dated in Saka 1278 or A.D. 1356, appears to confirm the specific statement of Channarayapatna 256). Bukka I is not only represented in it as ruling the kingdom, but he is actually spoken of as "brother, prince Bukkanna-Vodeya" (*tamma Kumāra Bukkanna-vodeyaru*, where *tamma* signifies the relationship of brother and *kumāra* that of Yuvarāja or prince). Accepting Nuniz's statement that Bukka I ruled for 37 years, and that he actually died in 1376-1377 A.D., his initial year would fall in 1338-1339 A.D. A safer inference than that of a disputed succession, in the light of the facts made available by the progress of research since Mr. Sewell wrote, seems to be that Sangama II made the Nellore grant in his capacity of a subordinate ruler in 1355 A.D., when Harihara I was still the ruling sovereign. This is entirely in accordance with the known fact that Kampa I was in *Saka* 1268 or A.D. 1345-1346 already governor of Udayagiri-rājya including the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, page 789, No. 28). Sangama II, it is therefore permissible to infer, succeeded his father—Kampa 1—in his charge, with his capital at Vikramasimhapura (or Nellore), and made the gift referred to in the Nellore plates in *Saka* 1278 or A.D. 1355-1356, while ruling over Udayagiri-rājya in a subordinate capacity. The *Mādhavīya-Dhātuvritti* and the *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi*, both works of Sāyana, brother of Māyana-Mādhava, indicate that Sāyana was minister to Sangama II. *Udāharana-Māla*, one of the works of Bhōganātha, brother of Sāyana, is, as already stated, one specially composed in praise of Sāyana. It is clear from this work that Sangama II was posthumously born and was taught by Sāyana from his childhood. During his minority, Sāyana who was practically Regent, marched against one Champanarēndra and defeated him. If this be so, then Sangama II could have been but a boy. It is said in Bhōganātha's above-quoted work that Sangama II attacked Garuda-nagara and defeated its king. Neither the king Champanarēndra nor the city Garuda-nagara has been so far identified (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 83), though it is possible Champanarēndra should be the same as Champarāya (or Sāmbavarāya) of the *Vīra-Kamparāya Charita* and *Garuda-nagaram* is the same as Maratakanagaram identified with modern Viranchipuram in the North-Arcot District. (See below).

Bukka I at first Yuvarāja under Harihara I and then his successor.

Bukka I should accordingly be taken to have succeeded Harihara I in the usual course, the more so as there is reason to believe that Kampa I died some time between the *Saka* years 1268 and 1278, or A.D. 1346 and 1356, which years mark his own and his son Sangama's governorship of Udayagiri-rājya. If Kampa I had thus predeceased Harihara I, Bukka I was probably made *Yuvarāja* after Kampa's death and succeeded Harihara I as the eldest male representative in Sangama's family at the time the sovereignty fell in. Though it is not quite certain when Bukka I became Yuvarāja, there is evidence to believe that in the very year, 1346 A.D., he was actually co-ruler with Harihara I. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 59, which is a lithic inscription). In certain records of a later date, while Harihara I is described as the ruler (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 97 and Devanhalli 50 dated in 1347 and 1348 A.D. respectively), in certain others, Bukka I is so represented. (*E.C.*IX, Kankanhalli 50 and Channapatna 16 dated in 1351 A.D.). In records dated in 1355 A.D. and onwards, Bukka I is mentioned with all the imperial titles or is spoken of as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 176 dated in 1355 A.D.; Devanhalli 27 dated in 1358 A.D.; Nelamangala 23, dated in 1359 A.D.; Anekal 81, dated in 1364 A.D., etc.). The inference is irresistible from this style of referring to him that he was at first co-regent of his elder brother and then became sole monarch by virtue of his succession to the throne. This event should have occurred, as has been said above, about 1355-1356 A.D.

Transfer of capital to Vijayanagar.

One of the first acts of Bukka's reign was to transfer his capital to Vijayanagar. In 1352-3, he was ruling from Dōrasamudra (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 522); two years later, in 1354-55, we find him ruling from Hosapattana (*E.C* XI, Chitaldrug 2), a place from which he continued to rule in the next year as well. (*Ibid*, Chitaldrug 3). Hosapattana is described in the latter inscription as in the Hoysala country and as the royal city of Nijagali-Kataka-Rāya, of whom nothing further is known. In the latter year (1356 A.D.), however, we find him described as ruling from his "jewelled throne" at Vidyānagara. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 74). It is inferable from this that the change to Vidyānagara should have taken place about the close of 1356 A.D., which would be almost immediately after he became sole ruler. Vidyānagara is said to have been made by him his permanent capital, apparently from that year. (*E.I.* III, 315, *f.n.* 9).

A lithic inscription at Kottasivaram dated in 1365 A.D., in the reign of Bukka I, states that he was "ruling from Hosapattana," thus making the identification of Hosapattana with Vijayanagar a greater possibility. (*M E.R.* 1917, para 43; Appendix C, No. 27). This change of capital appears to have been dictated as much by military reasons, as by the fact that the succession to the throne involved his transfer to Vijayanagar, the new capital. Though his capital was at Vijayanagar, his rule over Mysore was complete as inscriptions of his have been found in every district of the State.

Wars against Muhammadans.

A record of his son Haribara II, dated in 1376 A.D., states that Bukka I was Kṛishna re-born "as a king to deliver the world when it was overpowered by Mlēnchchas." The reference is plainly to the Muhammadans who had nvaded the South and wrought havoc with Hindu temples and religion since 1310 A.D. According to this inscription, Bukka I "was born in the region of Pampāpati," *i.e.*, Vijayanagar, to chastise the Muhammadans and free the country from their horrors. Then, we are told, that "with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni" (the guru of Vidyāraṇya), Bukka I "became very great, the earth being as his wife and the four oceans his treasury." "Having freed from enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dōrasamudra, he ruled over," it is added, "an empire perfect in its seven parts" (*i.e.*, king, minister, ally, territory, fortress, treasury and army). He must have been great in war, as one record dated in 1380 A.D., in the reign of his son Harihara II, compares him to Arjuna, the epic hero, like whom he was the middle son of his father and adds that "the theme of universal praise was Bukka, a son on account of whom Sangama was famous." (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 64, dated in 1380 A.D.; cf. *E.C.* V, Hole-Narsipur 7, dated in 1396 A.D.). In keeping with this statement is the description of Bukka I in an earlier record dated in 1358 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 22) as *Sangamēsvara-rāya-bahuta*, which would make him the royal *bhat* or bard of his father Sangama. The military victories of Bukka I apparently earned great fame for him and for his father, who it is implied, through his (son's) genius, became famous. A record of Harihara II, dated in 1396 (*E.C.* V, Hole-Narsipur 7) speaks of his valour thus:—" When his sword began to dance on the battle-field, the faces of the Turushkas shrivelled up, Konkana Sankapārya was filled with fear, the Āndhras ran into caves, the Gurjarās lost the use of their limbs on every road, the Kambhōjas' courage was broken, the Kalingas suffered defeat." This description of his valour is repeated in numerous later inscriptions. Thus, a record of Bukka II, son of Harihara II, adopts the same description. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25, dated in 1404 A.D.; cf. *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 201). Similarly, another inscription dated in 1397 A.D., in the reign of Harihara II, describes Bukka I in similar terms as a terror of Turushkas, the Konkana king Sankapārya, the Āndhras, the Gurjarās, the Kambhōjas and the Kalingas, whom he is said to have defeated. This need not necessarily be set down as poetical exaggeration, as we know independently that Bukka I was engaged in continuous warfare against the Muhammadans, whom he evidently successfully threw back beyond the Krishna and saved the south for the Hindus.

Fight against Bāhmani kings.

During his reign, the greater part of the country to the south of the Krishna, with the coast of Kanara, came under the Vijayanagar sway. There is hardly any doubt that by about 1360 A.D. the conquests of Harihara I and Bukka I and their sons and generals in almost every part of Southern India was finally consolidated and a proper system of administration through viceroys, governors and other local rulers had been evolved. So far as

Mysore itself is concerned, it formed an integral part of the new kingdom, Bukka's power and rule being recognised in every part of it. He seems to have visited it at least once in 1367 A.D., after he became king. His minister's deputy is specifically mentioned in a record dated in 1368 A.D., as being in full possession of the territories of the great Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 113). In an earlier record dated in 1354 A.D., Bukka I is described as "ruling the territory belonging to the kings of the Hoysala line (wearing it with as much ease and grace) as an ornament on his shoulder." (*E.I.* VI, 327). To the north, the simultaneous origin of the Bāhmani kingdom prevented an extension of territory in that direction. The rivalry between the Bāhmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms led to a continual succession of wars and alliances between the two, many interesting details of which are recorded by Ferishta, but perhaps with too favourable a colouring, as might be expected, to the Muhammadan side of the picture.

List of Bāhmani kings.

For convenience of reference, the list of Bāhmani Sultāns is here given :—

Hassan Gangu, Alā-ud-dīn ...	1347	A.D.
Muhammad Shāh	1358	,,
Mujāhid Shāh	1375	,,
Dāud Shāh	1378	,,
Mahmud Shāh	1378	,,
Ghiyās-ud-dīn Shāh	1397	,,
Shams-ud-dīn Shāh	1397	,,
Firūz Shāh	1397	,,
Āhmad Shāh, Khān Khanān ...	1422	,,
Alā-ud-dīn Shāh	1435	,,
Humāyun Shāh	1457	,,
Nizām Shāh	1461	,,
Muhammad Shāh	1463	,,
Mahmud Shāh	1482	,,

War against Muhammad, *Circa* 1356 A.D.

Early in the reign of Muhammad, which began in 1358 A.D., a couple of years after Bukka I ascended the throne, Bukka I and his ally Vināyaka-Dēva of Warrangal demanded the restoration of certain territories. This was eventually refused and war ensued. Muhammad attacked Warrangal and plundered the country round about. He did not choose to follow up his success, but retired on payment of an indemnity. After a short while, however, Muhammad, enraged at a supposed insult said to have been offered by the king of Warrangal, invaded his territories and in the conflict that followed, Vināyaka-Dēva met with a cruel death. Muhammad then retired towards Kulburga, followed by large bodies of Hindu forces, who continually harassed him in his retreat. His loss in men was great and he himself was severely wounded in his arm. It was probably in this war that Nadigonte-Malla, whose exploits are spoken of in Chitaldrug 2 and 3 dated in 1355 and 1356 A.D., distinguished himself on the side of Hindu forces. (See below). The partial success that the Hindus seem to have obtained against Muhammad encouraged Bukka and his confreres to send an embassy to Feroze Shāh, the Emperor at Delhi, for combined action against Muhammad. Feroze was, however, too much engrossed in his own domestic commotions to be of any use to them. He left the Deccan to its fate. Muhammad now saw his opportunity and despatched fresh forces against Warrangal and Gōlconda. Gōlconda surrendered and Warrangal fell eventually in 1424 A.D., and was annexed to the Bāhmani kingdom. This brought the Muhammadan frontier to the Krishna all along its length except in the neighbourhood of the East Coast. (Briggs, *Ferishta* II, 307; see also Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 31-32, for further details).

Muhammad's invasion of Vijayanagar, 1366 A.D.

The defeat of the Gōlconda chief emboldened Muhammad to press forward and declare war against Vijayanagar.

The story of this campaign may be read at length in *Ferishta*, as told in the words of a contemporary of the time. (Scott, *Ferishta* I, 23 and Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 32-47). It ought to suffice here to briefly summarize it.

"One evening," we are told, "when the spring of the garden of mirth had infused the cheek of Muhammad Shāh with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Amīr Khusru in praise of kings, festivity and music. The Sultān was delighted beyond measure, and commanded to give the performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Roy of Beejanuggur" (a deliberate insult). The draft was signed and despatched. But "the Roy, haughty and proud of his independence, placed the presenter of the draft on an ass, and parading him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back with every mark of contempt and derision." He also gave immediate orders for assembling his troops and prepared to attack the dominions of the House of Bāhmani. He assembled an army of 30,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and 100,000 foot and marched them to the vicinity of Adōni, from whence he sent detachments to lay waste the enemy's country. He captured the frontier fortress of Mudkal and put all the inhabitants to the sword, only one escaping to carry the tale to Kulburga. The Sultān swore that he would not rest till he had slain a hundred thousand of the infidels. A series of engagements took place, in which Bukka was worsted, and an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children continued until the payment of the wretched draft was enforced. The cold-blooded slaughter of hosts of helpless human beings for so paltry a provocation led Bukka's ambassadors to propose that in any future wars the lives of unarmed inhabitants and prisoners should always be spared. This merciful provision was agreed to and the rule long after observed. In this war, the defence of Adōni was, according to *Ferishta*, entrusted by Bukka (whom he throughout mistakenly styles "Kishen Roy") to a sister's son, himself retreating towards Vijayanagar to defend it. Who this was is not known as the genealogists do not mention any sister of Bukka. This was the first occasion *actually* on which a Muhammadan sovereign invaded the Vijayanagar dominions in person. The siege of Vijayanagar lasted, it would seem, a month, at the end of which it was raised, Muhammad retreating across the Tungabhadra, harassed by large bodies of Hindu troops. The retreat, however, was a ruse and the over-confident Hindus were engaged, at an unguarded moment, in a night-attack and defeated, with, as stated, immense slaughter. Muhammad died in April 1375 A.D., just a year before Bukka himself died.

Mujahid's campaign against Vijayanagar, 1375 A.D.

Mujahid, the successor of Muhammad, ruled from 1375 to 1378 A.D. He soon found a pretext for war against Bukka. In the territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, both the sovereigns owned territory. Mujahid coveted Bankāpur, which lay on the direct route from Vijayanagar to the sea and thus protected its trade, and demanded Bukka to surrender it and other places, and limit himself in future to the Tungabhadra. Bukka replied by a counter demand in which he asked Mujahid to vacate the Raichur Doab, in which lay Raichur and Mudkal, which had always belonged to Ānegondi. He declared that the Krishna was the true boundary and asked Mujahid further to restore the elephants he had taken. Mujahid declared war and simultaneously besieged Adōni and advanced on Vijayanagar. Ferishta says that Bukka, instead of attacking him, as he at first intended, retreated towards the Hills, probably those close to Sandur. This movement was probably intended to make Mujahid become reckless in his advance on the capital. If so, it succeeded sufficiently well; for he was allowed to penetrate its outer walls where he was attacked—Bukka personally leading his troops—and nearly lost his life. In the battle that ensued, the Hindus were, according to *Ferishta*, defeated. But while the invaders were resting from their labours, Bukka's brother—probably Mārappa, as he claims to be "the terrifier of foreign kings in a record of his (Sorab 374, see *ante*)—led into the city a reinforcement of 20,000 horse and a vast army of foot. Fighting was resumed, but it is inferable from *Ferishta's* narrative, that, though it claims the victory for Mujahid, he had to beat a retreat towards Adōni. He besieged this fortress for nine months, but without any visible effect. He then raised the seige and retired to his own dominions. This must have occurred about the close of 1375 A.D. In view of the actual result of the campaign, the inscriptions (referred to above) seem justified in claiming the victory against the Muhammadans for Bukka I. This is the more credible for the peace of the kingdom was not disturbed for nearly twenty-one years after the retreat of Mujahid. (Though the Vijayanagar king of the period is, even in regard to this campaign, styled by Ferishta as "Kishen Roy," there is no doubt the reference is to Bukka I, an identification which is supported by the *Burhān-i-Maāsir* which calls him, "Kapazah," which is, as suggested by Mr. Sewell, probably a mistake for "Pakazah," a corrupt form of "Bukka Shah.") (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 49, *f.n.* 1). Mujahid was murdered by his uncle Daud in 1378 A.D., but he himself was, in his turn, assassinated, while at prayer, a month later and was succeeded by Alā-ud-dīn's youngest son Mahmud I (Muhammed I of *Burhān-i-Maāsir* and other authorities) who died in 1397. During the whole of the intervening period of about twenty-one years, peace prevailed between the two kingdoms.

Internal wars, 1363 A.D.

Within his own dominions, Bukka I had to overcome a chief named Venrumān Sāmbavarāya, who was in possession of Kānchi and the surrounding country, including the fortress of Rājagamābīra-malai, identified with Padaivīdu, in the present North Arcot District.

Suppression of Sāmbavarāya, 1363 A.D.

Sāmbavarāya appears to have been once defeated by Sāyana, the minister of Sangama II. Bukka I sent his eldest son Kampana II to proceed against him. The fight ended successfully for Kampa, Sāmbavarāya being taken prisoner and his fortress captured. (Further details will be found below under the head *Kampana* II). This happened about 1363 A.D. Kampana II was next directed to drive the Muhammadans out of Srīrangam and Madura. This was duly accomplished and worship was restored in the desecrated temples throughout the South. This campaign against the Muhammadans should have occurred soon after 1363 A.D., as it was undertaken immediately after the capture of Sāmbavarāya. (For further details, see below).

Expulsion of Muhammadans from South India, *Circa* 1363 A.D.

With the completion of these wars, the whole of the South passed under the rule of Bukka I and he styled himself the "Suratrāna of the Hindu Rājas," *i.e.*, the Sultān (or supreme ruler) over the chiefs of the South. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 22 dated in 1358 A.D.).

Ministers and generals.

Among the more famous of Bukka's ministers and generals was Muddappa-dandanātha, who is spoken of in terms of high praise in a record of Harihara II. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256). He is described as "the dwelling place of justice and policy, an ornament to the Lakshmi victory of the kingdom" and as "the refuge of those who did obeisance." We are told that Bukka I reposed so much confidence in him that "committing to him the burden of the world, the king Bukka remained at ease like Vāsudēva." Another minister was Teppada-Nāganna, also called Nāganna Dannāyaka-Odeyar and Teppada Nāganna Vodeyar, who is referred to in a record dated in 1359 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 25 and *E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 29 dated in 1352), as Bukka's senior minister. But a more famous minister and general, who was governor of Āraga and other places forming the western part of the kingdom, was Mādarasa-Odeyar, identical with Chāunda-Mādhava, the great Upanishadic scholar and Saiva author already referred to. He served under Bukka I also. He was still alive in 1384 A. D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147), though in 1377 A. D. we hear of Virūpāksha-Rāya I, a younger brother of Harihara II, succeeding him in the governorship of Āraga. (*E. C.* VI, Koppa 19). If this was so, Mādhava should have been the minister and Virūpanna, the viceroy, for in 1384 A.D. Mādhava is referred to as making grants in Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147). A few facts about Chāunda-Mādhava may be noted here. From the inscriptions quoted above, ranging in date from 1347 A. D. to 1384 A.D., he should have lived throughout the reigns of Harihar I and Bukka I and for a time during the reign of Harihar II as well. In the earliest inscription dated in 1347 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375), when Harihara I was living, Mādhava appears as the minister of Mārapa, who had "acquired a kingdom in the West" with Chandragupti as its capital. It is stated that Mārappa obtained him as Bhārgava had obtained Sankara. Mādhava is here described as the disciple of Kriyāsakti, who was Tryāmbaka himself, and as "the great minister," who was born a pilot to the great king (Mārapa) "floating in the ocean of the kingdom." In the power of his wisdom, he could, it is said, over-reach even Brihaspati. He helped Mārapa in the production of the compilation of *Saivāgama-Sārasangraha*, which Mārapa is said to have undertaken "from love to the world and affection to the minister." (Sorab 375 and *ante*). In the next important inscription dated in 1368 A. D., in the reign of Bukka I, we have some more notable details about Mādhava. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 281). He is described as the son of Chāunda, an austere ascetic Brāhman of the Āngīrasa-gōtra, and that through the astonishing favour of his *guru*, Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti, he gained celebrity as a Saiva. By his masterful energies, he subdued this world and the next, and was speedily the conqueror of many countries on the shores of the Western ocean. (These doubtless refer to his conquest of Goa and other countries already referred to). "What more could be said in his praise!" exclaims the learned Phanīsitu, the composer of the inscription. We are next told that he cleared and made plain the ruined path of *Upanishads*, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents, the proud advocates of evil doctrines, so that though the abode of Brahma is so far, he was ever helping the worthy to go there without a guide, and was praised by the wise as the *guru* who established the path of the *Upanishads*. Bukka I, on ascending the throne, committed the government as far as the Western ocean to him. Mādhava, in order that his overseeing of that part of the kingdom might be without trouble, on the advice of his *guru* Kriyāsakti worshipped his favourite *linga* Tryāmbakanātha by means of special ceremonies and by a number of rites and practices as prescribed in the *Saivāmnāya*. Then in order to complete the great vow which he had commenced with special rites a year before in accordance with the directions of the *Siva-Sandhya*, he requested the king's permission to make the grant of a village, but explained that it must be acquired from his own funds. Leave being granted, he purchased "at the price of the day," a village, in his own province, "with," we are told, "the knowledge of the authorities of the *mandala*," and divided it into 80 shares and bestowed the same on Kāshmir Brāhmans, "pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the *Chārāyaniya-aticharanāmnāya*, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure *Sivāmnāya*, ever devoted to the worship of Ashtamūrti." Mādhava is further described as distinguished for policy and courage and as renowned in the world for his good qualities. It is said, he was "invested with authority for punishing the evil and with Brāhman purity and Kshatra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear." He was undoubtedly as great in leading armies to success on the battle-field as in conducting the civil administration of the country. That he was a devout Saiva and a great scholar and author is also evident. His grant to Kāshmir Brāhmans, evidently of the Pāsupata sect and resident in the Mysore country, shows that he was either an immigrant Kāshmir Brāhman himself or preferred Kāshmir Brāhmans as his donees because of his *guru* Kriyāsakti who was obviously the head of the Pāsupata sect at the time. Kriyāsakti, mentioned as his *guru*, appears to have been the family *guru* of Vijayanagar kings of the first dynasty from Harihara I downwards. He probably belonged to the Lakulāgama school and was a strict Saiva. The next inscription mentioning Mādhava is one dated in 1384 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 147). This takes us into the reign of Harihara II. He was still the administrator of the western part of the kingdom including Āraga and the other provinces. Seeing that we have no further trace of him, probably it has to be presumed that he died not long after. His son Boltarasa has been referred to above. Chāunda, father of Mādhava, is, it will be seen (from *E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 281), described as "an austere ascetic." The Goa copper-plates speak of him as Chāundi-bhatta and mention his mother's name as "Machāmbiga." Chāunda has been identified with another Chāundappārya, son of Chinnārya and elder brother of Ādityadēva and Manchapārya, who is known as the author of a work called *Āpastambhīyādhvara-tantra-*

svatantra-vyākhya (with the alternative name of *Prayōgaratnamāla*), a commentary on the *Srautasūtra* of Āpastambha, a treatise on Vēdic sacrifice. This Chāundārya in describing himself in the colophon to his work states that he was the minister of king Vīra-Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukkabhūpāla and Tippāmba and grandson of Srīmahārājādhirāja-Srī-Vīra-Harihara (II). Vīra-Bhūpati was according to inscriptions the son of Bukka II by Tippāmba. He was in power between 1409 and 1420 A.D. Accordingly Chāundappārya, his minister, and author of the work *Prayōgaratnamāla*, must have lived in about the first quarter of the the 15th Century A.D. So, his identification with Chāundabhatta of the Goa inscription and Chāunda, the "austere ascetic," who is described as the father of Mādhavamantri, governor of the western province of the Vijayanagar kingdom, (in *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281) is wholly untenable. As Mādhavamantri was governor between 1347 and 1384 A.D. (see above), his father Chāunda-bhatta should be set down to at least *Circa* 1320 A.D., if not earlier. From Harihara I and his brothers Bukka I and Mārapa, whom Mādhava-mantri served as minister or administrator, there were four generations to Vīra-Bhūpati. While Mādhava-mantri was the minister of Mārapa of the first generation of kings, his father Chāunda-bhatta—if his identification with Chāundappārya is correct—cannot be the minister of Vīra-Bhūpati, removed from Harihara I by three generations. Consequently, he must have been another Chāunda, who could not have been even a descendant of Mādhava-mantri, calling himself by the name of Mādhava-mantri's father, for they belonged to different *gōtras* Chāundappāchārya, the author of the *Prayōgaratnamāla* belonged to the Vasishta-gōtra while Chāunda, father of Mādhava-mantri, belonged to the Āngīrasa gōtra. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 51, *f.n.*). It is stated in the introductory stanzas of

Prayōga-ratnamāla that Vidyāranya having been requested by Pandits like Chāundappārya to comment on the *Srauta-sūtras*, explained the Hautra and Audgātra portions of that work. This would show that Chāund appārya was the younger contemporary of Vidyāranya-and benefited from his teachings and explanations in Vēdic ritualism. (*Triennial Catalogue of Mss. of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library*, 1910-11 to 1912-13, Vol. I, Part I, Sanskrit, C. R. No. 795, page 1050). This statement confirms the tradition that Vidyāranya lived to a great age.

Chāunda-Mādhava's son Boltarasa is recorded to have made a grant on Vīra-Virūpanna (*i.e.*, Virūpāksha I, a son of Bukka I) coming to the kingdom of the world. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 6). It is not clear from this record which specifically states that Bukka I was ruling the kingdom from his capital Vijayanagar (called here Hastināvati-patna) how Virūpanna came to rule the kingdom of the world. He was evidently appointed governor of Kalasa or the Three Thousand kingdom, in or about 1369 A.D. He made a grant to the Brāhmans of the Brahmapuri of god Kalasanātha in 1370 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 59). This surmise is supported by another record dated in 1370 A.D., in which he is specifically described as the son of Bukka I and is mentioned as making a grant for the god Kalasanātha of Kalasa-nād. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 52). A Sāmantādhipati of the name of Mayilēya-Nāyaka is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1359 A.D., coming from the Bangalore District. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 23).

A Mahāsāmantādhipati Sonneyanāyakar is also mentioned in an inscription dated in 1369 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 12). Another person prominently mentioned in records found in the Kolar District is Nāganna-Vodeyar, who is described as ruling the Sadali kingdom. (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 63 dated in 1371). His son Dēpanna-Vodeyar figures equally prominently in certain records dated in the years 1383 and 1384 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 80 and 67). Who these were—whether they were related to Bukka I and Harihara II—is nowhere stated. Whether this Dēpanna-Vodeyar can be identified with Dēparāja, the kannada poet, is discussed below. Another great minister of Bukka I was Chicka-Odeya Anantarasa, who was administering the Penukonda country in 1376 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 92). Virūpanna Odeya, a son of Bukka I, was in charge of this province in 1354 A.D. (*E.I.* VI, 327). Probably Anantarasa was temporarily in charge of it as Virūpanna was transferred to Āraga in or about 1363 A.D. (*E.C.*. VIII, Tirthahalli 20 and 37). His deputy (he is called his minister) at Penukonda was Chōlappa who constructed a canal and a bridge. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 92). It was at the instance of this *Mahāpradhāna* apparently that Bhāskara-Bahadūra dug the tank at Porumāmilla in 1370 A.D. and designated it Anantasāgara after him. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 91). In the record mentioning this fact, Ananta (also called Anantarāja) is spoken of as the minister of the five sons of Sangama I as Srī Krishna had been the charioteer of the five Pāndava brothers. According to another inscription dated in 1354 A.D. (*E.I.* VI, 327), he built the fortifications of Penukonda, future capital of the Vijayanagar kings. Later inscriptions show that his son Bukkanna and his grandsonAnanta followed his excellent example and added, to works of public utility in and around Anantapur, which by the way, came to be known after this great minister of Harihara I and his brothers. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 37; Appendix C. No. 350 of 1926). Mahāpradhāna Malleya Dannāyaka administered the Bārakūr-rājya between 1360 and 1365 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 132, 138, 139 and 141). Another *Mahāpradhāna* of note was Bayicheya-Dannāyaka, whose son was Irugappa-Odeya, who became famous as the prime minister of Harihara II. (See below). An inscription dated in 1367 A.D., found at

Chelumutturu, in the Hindupur taluk, states that he put up a stone bench at that place. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; Appendix B. No. 779 of 1917). Irugappa is known to us as the "best of Jainas" who built the Jain temple at Vijayanagar. (*S.I.I.* I, 156).

A record dated in 1371 A.D. refers to one Bōdha-Mahādēva, who was ruling over Durga. He was probably the donor of the grants recorded in Coorg inscriptions 8 and 9. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 87; Introd. 22). A Sāmantādhipāti Singaya-Nāyaka is referred to in an inscription dated in 1367 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 117). Another minister Mallarasa is mentioned in a record assigned to 1346 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 201).

Several lithic inscriptions of Bukka I have been found in the present Mysore District, some of them *Vīrakals* commemorating the deeds of those who fell fighting. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 61 dated about 1365 A.D.). He had a great Brāhman minister named Basavayya-Dannāyaka who is described as "a mirror to the faces of ministers, supporter of all works of merit, a light of the Brāhman race," and under him was one Ganapatima, who was "like the treasury of his right hand" and "governing the south side of the Cauvery in the country of the strong-armed Vishnuvardhana Pratāpa-Hoysala." (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 113 dated in 1368 A.D. and Chamarajnagar 117 dated in 1363 A.D.). In still earlier inscriptions, dated about 1360, this minister's name is not mentioned. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 87 dated in Kaliyuga 4400 and Mandya 90, which is undated). This shows that he probably came into power between 1360 and 1363 A.D.

Sons as Viceroys of Provinces.

As mentioned above, during Bukka's reign, the administration of the kingdom was already regularized into provinces, with viceroys and governors over them. Most of his sons appear to have been viceroys. His eldest son

Tippanna-Vodeyar was evidently in charge of the home province of Dōrasamudra. Harihara II, who eventually succeeded him, appears to have ruled with him, at least he is so described (as "ruling the kingdom of the world"), in an inscription of Bukka I dated in 1375 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 93). Another son, Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha I) was viceroy of Āraga or the Male-Rājya. We have inscriptions of his dated in 1362, 1363, 1367 and 1379 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 20, 37 and 194; Nagar 34, Tirthahalli 114). In one record dated in 1378 A.D., he is called Yadugiri Virūpanna-Vodeya. Yadugiri is a corrupt form of Udayagiri. It mentions a gift in his reign by order of Vidyāranya Srīpāda. His minister in 1367 A.D. was Talkād Māvarasa. The record which mentions him states that Virūpāksha I governed over Āraga 18, Gutti 18 and Idugundi, with the Kōnkana and Hoysana kingdoms as his boundaries. (Nagar 34). He is called in some records as Vīra-Udagiri-Virūpāksha Rāya. (*E.C.* VIII, 114 and 163 dated in 1379 and 1380 A.D.). Apparently he had been originally in charge of Udayagiri-rājya. As inscriptions of his dated in 1385 and 1386 A.D. have been found in the Tanjore District, it has to be inferred that he was later in charge of that province. (*M.E.R.* 1925-1926, para 35; Appendix C. No. 152 of 1926 and Appendix B. No. 509 of 1925). Sovanna-Vodeyar, son of Marapa, seems to have governed a part of Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 132 dated in 1369). Mallinātha, or Mallappa, another son of Bukka I, is spoken of in a record of 1355 A.D., as ruling the kingdom of the world, apparently as co-regent. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 87). Hiriya-Kampana (or Kampana II), another son, was governor of Muluvai-rājya or the province of Mulbagal. He is referred to in many inscriptions discovered in the Bangalore and Kolar Districts. From these, it is clear he was administering this province from 1356 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222) to 1366 A.D.

(*Ibid* Kolar 162). He seems to have succeeded in it his uncle Kampana I, who was ruling over it from 1351 A.D. (*Ibid* Kolar 202). He appears to have been succeeded in the governorship by his nephew Immadi-Bukka (son of Harihara II), who figures as viceroy in inscriptions dated in 1388 A.D. (*Ibid* Bowringpete 17) and 1397 A.D. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 74). He is the hero of the *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam* or *Madhurā-Vijayam*, whose author was his queen Ganga-Dēvi. (See below).

Chikka-Kampana-Vodeyar, another son of Bukka, appears to have been governor of south Mysore under his father. Several epigraphs mentioning his governorship have been traced in it. One at Bettahalli dated in 1368 A.D. refers to a grant of his. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 46). Another dated in *Saka* 1290, Cyclic year *Kīlaka*, or A.D. 1368, mentions him as ruling the kingdom of the world; this suggests co-regency on his part. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 117). A third dated about 1369 A.D. is a record of grants made to the god Vaidyanātha of Mamballi, which is described here and elsewhere as the bathing place of Harihara (*Harihara-nāthana-majjana*), whether god or king is not clear (*E.C.* IV, Yelandur 64); another dated in *Circa* 1370 A.D. records a charter granted by him to the officials of Hattalakōte, in which the customs due from Hadinād are regulated (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 97); and two others dated in 1372 A.D. record a grant by the Brāhmans of Prasanna-Vijayāpura providing for the annual support of the dancing girls attached to the temple of god Rāmanātha at the place. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 32 and 34). It is not known when Chikka-Kampana-Vodeyar died. But a later addition to a record which comes from Mysore (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 21) states that "Kampana-Vodeyar attained *Svarga* (*i.e.*, died) in the *Plava* year on a Saturday corresponding to *Vaisākha bahula* 6. The reference may be to Chikka-Kampana as he was governing in this part of the kingdom.

His son Nanjanna-Vodeyar is said to be ruling in *Saka* 1296 (Cyclic year *Ānanda*), or A.D. 1374, in which year he made a grant to a Pāsupata teacher named Ākāsavāsi Sānkhyādiguru. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 108).

Settlement of Jain and Srī-Vaishnava dispute, 1368 A.D.

Jainism still flourished in the land, despite the progress of Srī-Vaishnavism. In the reign of Bukka I, we hear for the first time of differences having arisen between the two classes of votaries. At length, in 1368 A.D., matters appear to have reached a crisis. The Jainas preferred a petition to Bukka I about the injustice done to them by the Vaishnavas and Bukka summoned the leaders of the two communities before him and effected a a reconciliation between the two creeds. The king evidently called the parties together to his presence, the Jainas (called "the blessed people") and the Srī-Vaishnavas (called the "bhaktas") being present from all their different districts and centres. As is graphically put in one record, he taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri-Vaishnavas of the eighteen *nādus* including the *achāryas* of Srīrangam, Tirupati, Kānchi and Melkōte and other Vaishnava sects (among whom special mention is made of the Tirukulas and Jāmbavakulas, *i.e.*, Holeyas and Madigas, who are said to have helped Rāmānuja in recovering the image of Selvapillai from the Muhammadans at Delhi) declared that there was no difference between the Vaishnava and the Jaina creeds. He then decreed as follows:—"The Jaina creed is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* or vase. If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaishnavas, the latter will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own creed. The Srī-Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sāsana* or inscription in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and moon endure, the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina creed. Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one body; they must not be viewed as different. Tātayya of Tirupati will, out of the money levied from every Jaina house throughout the kingdom, appoint twenty servants as a bodyguard for the god at Belgola and repair ruined Jaina temples. He who transgresses this decree, shall be traitor to the king, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudāya*." (*E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola New Edn. 344=Old Edn. No. 136). Copies of this decree appear to have been set up in various places, for besides the one at Sravana-Belgola there is still one at Kalya in Magadi Taluk, the Kallehadapattanna referred to in them. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 18). This place is described as a wealthy town in a record of 1371 A.D. Apparently it was an important Jaina centre in early Vijayanagar times (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 64), though there are no Jains at present in this place and the *basti* in which it was set up has disappeared and the slab bearing the inscription is lying in a private field. In the Kalya version, which is slightly different from the Sravana-Belgola one, it is mentioned that the Jainas petitioned that the Srī-Vaishnavas were unjustly killing them—apparently as the result of the dispute that had arisen between the two parties in regard to the use of the five different musical instruments. The king's order included permission to the use of these instruments at five (important) *bastis*, while they were prohibited at all the others. It is interesting to note that these inscriptions open with a verse in praise of the Srī-Vaishnava teacher Rāmānuja, which is the last one of five verses known as *Dhātipanchaka* in adoration of Rāmānuja. (*E.C.* II, Introd. 63). This would indicate that the Srī-Vaishnavas were willing parties to the engagement they had entered into at the instance of the king to protect the Jaina creed.

Domestic life.

Bukka, we are told, had many wives. Of these, a record of the time of his son Harihara II states, the chief was Honnāyi, in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vēdas. She is spoken of as the "fulfiller of his desires." (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna, dated in 1378 A.D.). Apparently she died about the year 1372 A.D. (Cyclic year *Paridhāvi*), for we find Bukka I making a grant of Honnāpura in her name to god Basavalinga at Honnāpura-Halandulige (attached to Māsavalli) in Manjarābād Taluk. (*E.C.* V, Manjarābād 31). The village evidently came to be known after her. It is not known who exactly were her sons, though Bukka had at least eight sons. Whether Tippa-Rāja or Tippanna-Vodeyaru, spoken of in one inscription dated in 1360 A.D. as the eldest son (*Hiriya-komāranu*) of Bukka I, was her son is not known. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 19). It is seen from the record quoted above that he captured Uchchangi, the place of that name in the Chitaldrug District. Apparently he subverted the Pāndyas, whose capital it was. The same Tippanna-Vodeyar and his capture of Uchchangi is referred to in *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 25 dated in 1359 A.D., the grant recorded by it being confirmed by him. His wife Singāra-Dēvi is mentioned in it. As he is given full regal titles (even *Chakravarti*), it must be presumed he was in charge of the home province of Dōrasamudra. Another queen of Bukka I was Gaurāmbika, by whom was born Harihara II, who succeeded him. (*E.C.* V, Hole-Narsipur 7 dated in 1396 A.D. and *E.C.* VI, Koppa 25 dated in 1404 A.D.). But curiously enough, in a record dated in 1378 A. D., of Harihara II, who makes the grant mentioned in it, it is stated that Jambur in the Hoysana country was renamed Honnalāpura after his mother (*mātri-nāmna*) and gifted by him to Brāhmans. It is evident from this inscription that the grant was made for the merit of Honnāyi, who is mentioned in the earlier part of the same record as the favourite wife of Bukka I, after her death. Either Gaurāmbika and Honnāyi describe the same person or Harihara II must be presumed to have made the gift of Honnalāpura in the name of his step-mother Honnāyi. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256. Text and Translation of Hulikere Copper-plate grant).

Kampana II and his brothers.

According to the *Vīra-Kamparāya-charitam*, Bukka I appears to have had several other queens, among them Dēvāyi whom the author of that work says he loved best. Bukka I appears to have had by her three sons, Kampana (II), Kampana (III) and Sangama (III). It is mentioned in this poem that Kampana (II) was so named because his enemies quaked with fear at the very mention of his name. (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 4). Two of these sons are further referred to below. Mallinātha or Mallappa-Vodeya, another son, is mentioned in certain inscriptions. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 82). He is mentioned in a record, dated in 1355 A.D., as ruling the kingdom of the world. In another, (*Ibid* Anekal 87) the father's name is (mistakenly) given as Mallappa-Odeyar and the son's as Bukka. This is dated in 1356 A.D. Another son Kampana-Vodeyar was governor of Mulbagal, though described as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 81 dated in 1363 A.D.). He was governor of Mulbagal-rājya from 1356 to 1366 A.D. (*E.C.* Kolar 222 and 162). He must be distinguished from Chikka Kampana, the Governor of South Mysore. The latter was another son of Bukka and was apparently the younger brother of Kampana II. Hence he is described in the records from Mysore as *Chikka* (or the younger) Kampana. If Kampana, the younger brother of Harihara I, is called Kampana I, Bukka's first son Hiriya Kampana, who was governor of Mulbagal, would have to be called Kampana II, and his younger brother Chikka Kampana, the governor of South Mysore, as

Kampana III. Kampana II (*i.e.*, Hiriya Kampana) is the hero of *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam* or *Madhurā-vijayam*, composed by his queen Ganga-Dēvi and mentioned above. A son of his, of the name of Kamaiya-Nāyaka, is mentioned as making a grant of land in 1363 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 81). Two other sons of his were Kattaiya-Nāyaka and Jommanna Udaiyar who are mentioned in records dated in 1359 and 1375 A.D. (*E.C.* Bowringpet 31 and Chintāmani 94). Another son of his, known from literary but not from inscriptional sources was Dēparāja, author of *Sobagina Sōne* and *Amaruka.* Dēparāja calls himself the son of Kampa in his works, but which Kampa it is that he refers to is not clear. It is a question if he can be identified with Dēpanna-Vodeyar, son of Nāganna-Vodeyar, who figures conspicuously in certain records in the Kolar District in the reign of Bukka I, and whose relationship to Bukka I is not known. Mr. R. Narasimhachar thinks that Dēpanna was probably the son of Kampa II. More probably he was a son of Kampa III, though he is not mentioned in the inscriptions as such. Other inscriptions of his are dated in 1365 A.D., 1369 A.D. and 1374 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 67, Hoskote 103, 103a, and 157). He is styled in his records as *Srī-Vīra-Kumāra Kampana-Udaiyār* and described as *Mahāmandalēsvara*, subduer of hostile kings, champion over kings who break their word, lord of the northern, southern, eastern and western oceans." (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222). In this last quoted inscription, he is described in terms of high praise as "a sun in unbounded valour, a moon incarnate in serenity, a unique treasure of music, a tree of paradise to the learned," and is further spoken of as "intent on establishing *dharma*, lord of the Goddess of sovereignty, with a name renowned among kings."

Conquest of Sāmbavarāya's kingdom.

That all this is no mere empty boast is proved to some extent by his queen's poem *Vīra-Kamparāya-charitam* above referred to. (Edited by Pandits G. Harihara Sastri and V. Srinivasa Sastri, at the Sridhara Press, Trivandram, 1916). According to this work, Kampana II was commanded by his father Bukka I to attack Champarāya, the Drāvida chief, who was then ruling over Tondamandala, with Kānchi as his capital, and wrest his kingdom from him; then subdue the Vanvyarājas (or forest kings) of the south, and finally advance against the Muhammadans who were still in possession of Madura and drive them out of it. Agreeably to this order, Kampana II marched forth southwards with a well-equipped army, crossed the borders of the Karnātaka country and reached *Kantakānana* (literally identical with *Muluvāi* or Mulbagal), which he made his head-quarters. He next marched his armies to Virinjipuram on the Pālār and from there he entered Champarāya's territory. A fierce battle followed, in which Champa was defeated and he fled in the direction of his capital. Kampana pursued him, took his capital and laid siege to the strong fortress of Rājagambhīra, in which he had taken refuge. The siege lasted for several days, at the end of which Kampana's soldiers scaled the hill with ladders and attacked the garrison inside. Champa seeing that all was now really lost, sallied forth and fell in a single combat with Kampana. Kampana next entered Kānchi and set up rule there, which proved quite a successful one. He here received—apparently an interval of time is presumed between his conquest of Champa and his expedition against Madura—accounts of the havoc wrought by the Muhammadans in the south at Chitambaram, Srīrangam, Jambukēsvaram, Madura and Tinnevelly. He next advanced on Madura relieving doubtless the intervening country of Muhammadan rule, and there killed in another single combat, after a hard fight, the Muhammadan chief who had despoiled the kingdoms of the Hoysala Ballālas, the Chōlas and the Pāndyas.

Identity of persons mentioned in *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam.*

The identity of the persons mentioned in the *Vīra-Kamparāya-charitam* is not difficult to make out. Champarāya is Sāmbavarāya, evidently a descendant of the Sāmbavarāyas of the inscriptions (see under *Chōlas*) who ruled over a large tract of country extending from the Ghāts on the west to the sea on the east, with Padavīdu as his stronghold and perhaps Kānchi as his capital. The Rājagambhīra hill has been identified with Padavīdu. (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam,* Introd. 21). It appears to have been so known from one Rājagambhīra Sāmbavarāyan (an ancestor of Champarāya) who lived in the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja III, and ruled over the country round about Kānchi. (*S.I.I.* I, iii. But see below). An inscription of Kampana, dated in *Saka* 1287 (=1375 A.D.), found at Tirupputkuli near Kānchi, records that Kampana, son of Bukka I, became permanent on the throne after his capture of Rājagambhīra-rājya. (*M.E.R.* 1899, App. B. No. 18). Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya was at one time disposed to identify ***Rājagambhīrarajya*** with the Pāndyan kingdom, the name *Rājagambhīra* being a surname of Jatāvarman-Kulasēkhara. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Paras 57 and 40). But, as pointed out by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, it might refer to the district ruled over by Rājagambhīra Sāmbavarāya and his descendants, which lay in the modern districts of Chingleput and North Arcot. (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam,* Introd. 22-24). He probably acquired the title of "Rājagambhīra," which appears to have been held by the Chōla king Rājarāja II, on his conquest of the part of Chōla country, which he subsequently ruled over. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 36 quoting App. No. B. 440, in which it is stated that the lands granted to the temple at Tiruppalatturai were clubbed together under the name of *Rājagambhīranallūr* after this title of Rājarāja II). Though the poem states that Champarāya was killed in a single combat, this probably is an exaggeration. Other authorities (such as *Rāmābhyudayam*, *Sāluvābyhudayam*, *Varāha purāna* and the Telugu *Jaimini Bhāratam*) agree in asserting that he was defeated and reinstated in his original possessions though only as a subordinate. This is confirmed by a lithic inscription found at Madam in the North Arcot District dated in 1363 A.D., which specifically states that Gandaragūli Māraya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya Dandanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kampana II, defeated and took captive Venrumān Sāmbuvarāya and captured Rājagambhīra-malai. To commemorate his capture of the hill-fort and its chief, Māraya-Nāyaka, according to the record, built a *gōpura* called *Gandaragūli Mārayanāyakkan-tirugōpuram* in the second *prākāra* of Tiruvagalīsvara Madaiya-Mahādēva of Kulattūr. The record itself is found engraved on the left side of the outer *gōpura* of the temple at Madam. This record is conclusive on the points of the identity of the Sāmbuvarāya of the *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam* and of his being taken captive alive. The circumstances under which the poetess Gangā-dēvi described Champarāya as having been killed in a single combat by her lord seems but a poetical license she has indulged in. This is nearer the truth as Champa is said to have accompanied Jini-Gundadēva in his advance on the Sultān of the south. (*Ibid* 24-25). As this campaign against Champarāya is said to have been accomplished after Bukka's accession to his throne, and seeing that Kampana's inscription at Tirupputkuli is dated in 1365 A.D., it should have been achieved some time about 1365 A.D. The Madam inscription of the same king, dated in 1363, detailing the capture of Champarāya and his fort, shows that it should have occurred about that year. That Chāmparāya had been attacked by Sāyana, the minister and regent of Sangama II, about the year 1355 A.D., seems to be clear from Bhōganātha's *Udāharanamāla*. (See *M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 83). Though victory is claimed in that poem for

Sāyana, it could not have had any permanent effect. The chief apparently became restive again and the bigger campaign of Kampana II undertaken about 1365 A.D. was probably the result. In that poem *Champarāya* is called *Champanarēndra* and his capital Garudanagara, which is probably the same as Maratakanagara, which Kampana II made his capital. There is now hardly any doubt that the names *Champarāya* and *Champanarēndra* are the same as Sāmbavarāya and that they refer to one and the same chief, whose ancestors had defeated the Chōlas and set up independent rule. (See *ante*).

Fall of Srīrangam and Madura, 1371 A.D.

Kampana's general Gōppanārya, a Brāhman, was instrumental in driving the Muhammadans from Srirangam. He was, according to the *Srīrangam Kōilolugu*, a work which records the benefactions made to the Srīrangam temple, in charge of the Gingee Province. He got into touch with the temple authorities and through their aid, he attacked the Muhammadan governor who stationed himself at Samayavaram and defeated him. The *Kōilolugu* assigns this event to *Saka* 1293 (or A.D. 1371). His inscription in the Ranganātha temple confirms the statements made in the *Kōilolugu*. (*E.I.* IV, 322). Dated in this very year is an inscription of Kampana at Tiruppullani near Rāmnād, which would indicate his conquest, by then, of the country round about Madura as well. (*E.I.* VI, 324). The Muhammadan "Sultan" at Madura must have been a successor of the representative of Malik Kāfur. As coins of one Ahsan Shāh, dated in 1337-1338 A.D., have been found in Madura (Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors*, 26-27), it has been surmised that the person who suffered death at the hands of Kampana should have been his successor, as Ahsan Shāh seems to have lived at least up to 1337 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Nos. 106 and 111). Gōppanārya's successful wresting of Srīrangam was followed by the restoration of the image of the ancient god in it, which had been removed from it on the advance of the Muhammadans. This restoration is referred to in two verses by Vēdānta Dēsika, the great Vaishnava teacher, engraved on the Srīrangam temple. (*E.I.* VI, 322-331). It would seem to follow from the above facts that Srīrangam and Madura fell to Kampana II and his general Gōppana in or about 1371 A.D. With this, the conquest of the south on behalf of Bukka I seems to have been an accomplished fact. Though the inscriptions found in the Mysore State describe Kampana II as ruling over the Mulavāyi (or Mulbagal) province, his capital is said, in the *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, to have been Maratakanagara. This place has been identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with Virinchipuram, in the present North Arcot District, and it continued to be a viceregal capital during the reign of Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha II) and after him of Srīgiribhūpāla, son and grandson respectively of Harihara II. (*E.I.* VIII, 308-312).

Period of rule of Kampana II. — How long Kampana II administered his province is not quite clear. An inscription of his dated in 1369 A.D. has been found at Conjeeveram. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Appx. B. 230). But the latest record of his in the Kolar District is dated in the Cyclic year *Paridhāvi* or A.D. 1373. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 205). He seems to have lived up to *Saka* 1296, Cyclic year *Ānanda* or A.D. 1374. (*M.E.R.* 1890, Appendix No. 28, which is an inscription found in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram, where another inscription of his No. 33 dated in *Saka* 1288 or A.D. 1366 is to be seen in the Tāyār Sannidhi; see also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66, Appendix C. No. 90, which is an inscription found at Vriddhāchalam, South Arcot District, dated in *Saka* 1295, Cyclic year *Ānanda*.) His son Jammanna-Udaiyar is described as governing the same province in the same year. It is possible Kampana II died in or about that year, an inference which is confirmed by a couple of inscriptions dated in the same year A.D. 1374 found at Tiruvannāmalai and Eyil in the present South Arcot District which make mention of certain gifts bestowed by Jammanna Udaiyar for the merit of his deceased father. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Nos. 572 and 573, 1906, No. 224). This is further confirmed by an inscription of Jammanna found at Kaivara, Kolar District, dated in the same *Saka* 1296 *Ānanda* and *Kaliyuga* 4475, in which he is described as ruling the kingdom of the world. (*E.C.* X, Chintāmani 94). As Kampana II died two years before the demise of his father Bukka I, the latter was succeeded on the Vijayanagar throne by his younger brother Harihara II. Kampana II should thus have lived a strenuous life and to have contributed materially towards the driving out from the south of the Muhammadans and consolidating the Vijayanagar power in it. In power and dignity, he apparently did not differ much, if at all, from an independent sovereign. (*E.I.* VI, 324). The area of his rule probably extended over the whole of the South of India, besides a good part of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts. His province appears to have been visited by his father Bukka I in 1367 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Malur 79), the year in which he settled the dispute between the Jainas and the Srī-Vaishnavas. He seems to have been helped by a number of able generals and ministers. One of these was Gōppanna already mentioned. He was in service under Kampana II as early as 1353 A.D. Another was Sōmappa, who is spoken of as "the illustrious" Sōmappa in an inscription found at Dōmasandra in the Kolar District, dated in 1356 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222). He is referred to as Sōmappagalu in another record dated in 1353 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 523; see also *M.E.R.* 1901, 250 and *M.E.R.* 1889, No. 89). He must have been as suggested by this record—found at Kadiri—a Sanskrit scholar of note. He is also mentioned in a record at

Kurumanje dated in 1361 A.D. In this record, mention is made of Vittappa-Ayyan, perhaps identical with Vittappa of Ānegondi, who as the king's officer in the Tiruvorriyūr temple in 1308 A.D., tried to settle certain disputes prevailing among its servants. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 51, Appendix B. No. 309). A gift by Sōmappa in 1361 A.D. to the Nāgēsvara temple at Serkad in the North Arcot District conferred for obtaining the "the continuity of the rule of Kampana-Udaiyar" is known. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. 203). As minister, Sōmappa was, it would appear, magnanimous, upright, skilled in politics and well-versed. He is described as the lord of some place, whose name could not be fully read. He built a temple dedicated (after himself) to Srī-Sōmanātha, in order that religious merit may accrue to him. It is stated that Kampana II visited this temple after the god was comfortably lodged in the temple built by his minister, in "observance of the Monday-vow" and made a grant of a village for the god. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 222). He appears to have had two sons, one Gandaragūli Mādha-Nāyakar who gifted land to a Mahēsvara of the Kulandai-Andur temple at Madam in 1363 A.D., and another Gandaragūli Māraya-Nāyaka, the capturer of Sámbavarāya and his fort Rājagambhīra-malai in 1363 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. Nos. 228 and 267.) In 1343 A.D., Sōmappa gifted a garden named after himself to the temple built by him. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Para 91). He was still minister in 1362 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 203 : Mulbagal 58). In 1363 A.D., an agent of his named Pōvindarasar (? Gōvindarasar) made a gift of taxes to the temple at Brahmadēsam in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 272 of 1915). He is also mentioned in the *Kōilolugu*. Two other ministers of Kampana II mentioned in inscriptions are Sāmantādhikāri Avani Rāmayadēva (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 58 dated in 1362 A.D.) and Duganna, who is spoken of as the sole manager of Kampana's palace and is given the title of "Abhanga-Garuda Nārāyana- Chakrakōla Vijaya-Chudāmani." (*E.C.* X, Kolar 101 dated in 1363 A.D.). Apparently he was a Srī-Vaishnava devotee, as some of the titles assumed are those ascribed to Rāmānuja. This first inscription records a gift of lands by him to the gods of the temple at Bellur, in the Kolar taluk, for conducting the daily services. He made a gift in 1370 A.D., to a temple at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 375). Still, another person who appears to have actively helped Kampana II was Sāluva Mangi, who is stated in the *Sāluvābhyudaya* and the *Rāmābhyudaya*, as one of the officers who accompanied Kampana in his campaign against Champarāya and the Sultān of the South. Apparently it was through his intervention that Champarāya was reinstated in his territories, for he is described as *Chamburāya-Sthāpanāchārya.* For the notable gifts he made to the Brāhmans of Srīrangam and perhaps also for the services he rendered in restoring worship at the temple there after its recapture from the Muhammadans, he was also styled *Srīranga-sthāpanāchārya.* (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, Introd. 35 ; see also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 23-28).

Kampana's name was perpetuated in the Kamparājapura, the Modahalli of the present day, situated in the Kollegal Taluk, Coimbatore District. This fact is mentioned in a record of Harihara II, in which a previous grant of Hiriya-Kampa (*i.e.*, Kampana II, son of Bukka I) is mentioned. His proposed identification with Kampa I seems wrong, as he was not known as Hiriya-Kampa. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 26 ; Appendix B. No. 247 of 1913). Several inscriptions of Kampana II come from the Punyakōtīsvara temple at Little Conjeeveram. One dated in *Saka* 1289 (=A.D. 1267) states that while seated in the Jānakimandapa he conferred, in the presence of the royal ladies, his servants and his subjects, the title of

Karunākaravilāsam on Parakāla-Nambi together with certain honours, privileges and dwelling house. Two others dated in Plavanga and Saumya come from Kalavai in the Arcot Taluk. One of these refers to the re-consecration of certain images desecrated during the disturbances that occurred during certain local disturbances. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Paras 44-45, Appendix C. No. 27, 108 and 110 of 1921). An inscription of his dated in Vilambi corresponding to *Saka* 1281-1282 (or A.D. 1359) comes from Avur in the South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. 305 of 1909). Other inscriptions of his have been found in the Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 72, App. C. Nos. 107, 149 and 152). Some are undated but two are dated in *Saka* 1294 and 1296 (or A.D. 1372 and 1374). The temple of Tiruppulivanam where the two latter are engraved was apparently part of Sāmbavarāya's territory. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. Nos. 389 and 390; 393 and 394).

Rājēndra-Odeyar, another son of Bukka I, and others.

Another son of Bukka I named Rājēndra-Odeyar is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1367 A.D. He is described as "ruling the kingdom of the world," with the usual regal titles of *Mahāmandalēsvara*, *Subduer of hostile kings* and *Champion over kings who break their word*. He is not otherwise known. Probably he bore rule over a part of the Mulbagal province. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 134). Sōvapa-Nāyaka, a brother-in-law of Bukka I, was apparently in charge of the government of the Sira country in or about 1376 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 100). A grand-son of Bukka I, Mallinātha-Vodeyar, son of Aliya-Sāyi-Nāyaka, was in charge of Bemmattanakallu (Chitaldrug), where he built an upper storey of stone to the Siddhāntha temple. Sāyi-Nāyaka was probably a son-in-law of Bukka I. (Chitaldrug 2). There is hardly any doubt that this Sāyi-Nāyaka is the same as Sōmeya-Nāyaka, whose son, Mallinātha-Vodeyar, is described as a

Mahāmandalēsvara in another record. (Chitaldrug 55, dated in 1355 A.D.). Mallinātha is highly eulogised in a couple of records, dated in 1355 and 1356 A.D., (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 2 and 3), in which he is spoken of as having gained renown by his success over the Muhammadan army, the Sēvuna army, the Telunga army (probably the Warrangal forces), the immense Pāndya army (*i.e.*, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi) and the Hoysala army. Apparently he was a seasoned soldier. It is said of him that the Sultān (*i.e.*, the Bāhmani Sultān) honoured as a brave warrior of a foreign army. (Chitaldrug 2). He was, it would appear, such a hero that he dispensed with fortifications (Chitaldrug 3), and became famous as *Nadegonte-Malla.* He is probably the same person who is referred to in another record dated in 1345 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 67). He must, however, be distinguished from Mallinātha, another son of Bukka I, who is referred to as Mallappa-Odeyar. He appears to have been ruling with his father. A grant of his, dated in 1363 A.D., is known. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 82). Sōvanna-Odeya, son of Mārapa and a nephew of Bukka I, apparently ruled over a part of Shimoga District, (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 132) as we find him making a grant in 1363 A.D. In that region, Bhāskara-Bhavadūra, another son of Bukka I, appears to have administered the eastern province, which had Udayagiri for its capital, from about 1369 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 91). He apparently succeeded Vīra-Srī-Sāvanna-Odeyar, a son of Kampa I and a brother of Sangama II, who had been in charge of it in 1356 A.D. (See above). Two other sons of Bukka I, Sangama III and Sāyana-Odeyar, and a daughter Jannāmbika are also referred to in the inscriptions of the period. Of these, Sāyana-Odeyar probably ruled over a part of the North Arcot, South Arcot and the Tanjore Districts. He may be identified with the Vīra-Sāvana-Odeyar, described as the son of Srī-Mukkanna-Odeyar (a mistake apparently for Srī-Bukkanna-Odeyar) mentioned in an inscription dated in 1381 A.D. at Tiruvaiyar, in the Tanjore District (*M.E.R.* 1894, No. 253) and the Sāyana-Odeyar of the Sendalai temple inscription dated in his 5th regnal year and in the two other inscriptions at Neyyadipakkam, North Arcot District, dated in his 15th and 16th years. An inscription of his dated in *Saka* 1304, or A.D. 1382, comes from Tirukkalakudi, in the Rāmnād District. It is possible he had territorial jurisdiction over parts of the present Madura District as well, after the conquest of the Pāndya country by Kampana II. Another inscription of his comes from Kangyam in the Coimbatore District and is dated in 1382 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 37; Appendix C. No. 241 of 1920).

Bukka I as a literary patron.

Bukka I appears in the pleasing light of a literary patron. In one record dated in 1344 A.D., we see him granting a village to one Nāchana-Sōma, a great poet and a linguist. He has been identified with the great Telugu poet Nāchana-Sōma. (*E.C.* X. Mulbagal 158). In another record dated in 1370 A.D., another gift is made to the same poet. In this inscription, he is spoken of as a poet in eight languages, though what languages these were is not mentioned. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 46). His reverence for great teachers and authors like Vidyāranya, Chāunda-Mādhava, Kriyāsakti, his *kulaguru*, and probably others shows that he and his brothers realized the importance of learning. All these three scholars and teachers are mentioned both in inscriptions and in literary works. It was at Bukka's instance that Mādhavāchārya (Vidyāranya) is said to have written the *Vēda-Bhāshya* (*Vēdārtha Prakāsika*). The introduction is, according to the colophon, by Sayanāchārya. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar, History.* 48). Sāyana wrote and named his work *Madhavīya Dhātuvritti*, after his brother Mādhavāchārya. It deals with the roots of verbs in Sanskrit Grammar and is dedicated to Sangama, the son of Kampa I. Kampa I of Udayagiri was succeeded by his son in that office. Sāyana came of age and assumed charge. (See *ante*; also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 46-47). The poem *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam* by Gangā-Dēvi, the queen of Kampana II, shows that high learning was not by any means confined to the male sex. This poem is in the form of a classical *Kāvya* conforming to the rules laid down in the treatises on poetics and contains lengthy descriptions of the seasons, the twilight, the rising of the moon and other topics common in *Mahākāvyas*. "The authoress writes," remark two competent critics, "in the Vaidarbhi style and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn direct from nature. She has none of the pedantry of grammar or rhetoric, which so largely spoils the productions of latter-day poets." She has modelled her style on that of the great poet Kālidāsa. Though she has adopted certain scenes and descriptions which are favourites with him, she has "transformed them at the mint of her imagination and invested them with a new significance." (*Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, IV-V).

Progress of Kannada Literature.

During the reign of Bukka I, there appears to have been considerable literary activity in the Kannada country. Among the writers were Vīrasaivas, Brāhmans and Jains. This was the formative period for the Vīrasaiva cult. Bukka and his brothers, being strict Saivas and disciples of Kriyāsakti, were naturally drawn to the works of those Vīrasaiva writers. Chief among those were Gurudēva (about 1350 A.D.) who has commented on a number of *Stōtras* (or praises of gods and goddesses). But his best known work is a Sanskrit work called

Virasaivāchāra Pradīpikai, which he states he wrote for one Siddha-Dēva, whose identity is not yet established. He appears to have been a great scholar in the *Vēdas*, *Purānas* and the *Upanishads* and claims descent from Mallikārjuna Panditārādhya, who has been assigned to the 12th century A.D. Bhīmakavi who was a poet both in Telugu and Kannada translated into Kannada, in 1369 A.D., the *Basava-Purāna* which appears to be based largely on Pālkuriki Sōmanātha's Telugu work. Padmanānka, the author of *Padmarāja Purāna* probably lived in this reign. Nīlakanta-Sivāchārya, the author of *Kriyāsāra*, which may be described as a hand-book of interpretation of Vīrasaiva doctrines and beliefs, also belongs to this period. The writing of works of this kind—*Basava-Purāna* and *Kriyāsāra*—shows the popularity which Vīrasaivism had attained at about this time. Its chief rival was the Jaina religion, which claimed quite a large number of poets during the period. Among these were Bāhubali Pandita, author of *Dharmanātha-Purāna* (1352 A.D.); Kēsava-Varna, author of commentaries on the *Gommata-sāra* and Amitagati Srāvakāchāra (1369 A.D.); Manga-Rāja, author of *Khagēndra-mani-Darpana* (*Circa* 1360 A.D.); Abhinavasrutamuni, author of a commentary on Mallisēna's *Sajjana-Chitta-vallabha* (*Circa* 1365 A.D.); Madhura, author of *Dharmanātha-Purāna* (1365 A.D.), who was patronised by Mudda-Dandanātha, one of the generals of Harihara II (see below); Padmanānka, author of *Padmarāja-Purāna*, a work of high literary merit; and Ayatavarma, author of *Kannada-Ratnākarandaka* (*Circa* 1410 A.D.), which deals with the cardinal doctrines of the Jaina system. Many other poets—such as Nrisimha and others—appear to have flourished during this reign, but details are lacking about them. It is, however, fairly certain that the restoration of peace and order was heralded by literary effort.

Revival of trade.

With the return of peaceful times, trade too should have revived. The Nānā-dēsis (or merchants) continued their avocation, the change of dynasties not affecting them. Mahādēvarsa (or Mahādēvayya), the great Vadda-vyavahāri, chief of both sects of Nānādēsis, is mentioned as preferring a request to Harihara I in 1355-1356, the last year of his reign, and Harihara I ordering his brother (*tamma*) Bukka I, the Yuvarāja (described as *Kumāra*, a common form of designating the Yuvarāja, equivalent to *prince*) to carry out certain public works in Singapatna, Chenganād. (*E.C.* V. Arkalgud 68). Sōvappa, the then chief minister of Bukka I, appears to have supervised their execution (leading a channel and bridging it) and made out a document (*patra-sāsana*) and gave it to Mahādēvarasa. This record is interesting as showing that the change of rulers did not affect the daily routine of administration to any extent.

Religion: spread of Srī-Vaishnavism.

An interesting side-light on the spread of Srī-Vaishnavism by its adherents from the Tamil country is thrown on the mention made in an inscription dated in 1376 A.D., in Bukka's reign, registered as Hassan 77 (*E.C.* V), in which mention is made of a reciter of Kamba's *Rāmāyana* and his sons, who appear to have visited the temple of Rāmachandra at Anugavalli, the modern Anugavalli, where the inscription has been found. Kamban was the first translator of the *Rāmāyana* into Tamil in 1185 A.D. (Srinivāsa Aiyengar, *Tamil Studies*, 54 and 343). He is known to have flourished between 1145-1205 A.D. Apparently it had already become highly popular with the Tamil speaking people everywhere. It is inferable from this record that there was a fairly large number of immigrant Tamil Brāhmans in the present Hassan District in the 14th century to attract a Tamil reciter of the *Rāmāyana*.

An estimate of Bukka's Rule.

Bukka's rule should, on the whole, be accounted a highly eventful one. If a record dated only two years after his death is to be believed, it should indeed have been a triumphant one. According to this record, Bukka I eclipsed in valour and glory all past and future kings. "When he was reigning," we are told, "the earth brought forth abundantly, all troubles ceased, the people were happy and wealth increased. Having conquered all the world, he built a splendid city called the City of Victory (*Vijayanagari*). Its fort walls were like arms stretching out to embrace Hēmakūta. The points of the battlements like its filaments, the suburbs like its blossom, the elephants like bees, the hills reflected in the water of the moat like stems,—the whole city resembled the lotus on which Lakshmi is ever seated. There, with the Tungabhadra as his foot-stool, and Hēmakūta as his throne, he was seated like Virūpāksha for the protection of the people of the earth." (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256). It seems inferable from this not wholly poetic description of the city of Vijayanagar at the time Bukka was king that though it was founded by Harihara I with the aid of Vidyāranya and named after him Vidyānagara, it was enlarged and beautified, and perhaps all but transformed by Bukka I, his successor, and re-named, after his great victories over the Muhammadans, as Vijayanagara (or the City of Victory). This suggestion is borne out by another record coming from Shimoga (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281) dated in 1368 A.D., in which Bukka I is said to have mounted "the great throne of the new Vijayanagara, which was like the principal jewel in the middle of the pearl necklace, the Tungabhadra, that encircled the Hēmakūta mountain, as if it were the throat of the lady earth." In Ganga-Dēvi's *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam*, a contemporary poem, we have an equally pleasing description of the city. There were, we are told in it, *gōpuras* (towers) as tall as the peaks of the Mēru, beautiful gardens with hillocks and artificial baths. The river Tungabhadra served the city as a moat and it was also surrounded by lofty fortified walls. In Pampe (Hampe), described as a suburb of the city, was the temple of Dēva, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha. To the description of the city as given in the inscriptions and in Ganga-Dēvi's work we might usefully add another of the kingdom left to us by Ferishta in his work. Writing of about the same period (about 1378 A.D.), he says of the Vijayanagar and Bāhmani kingdoms:—"The princes of the house of Bahmanee maintained themselves by superior valour only, for in power, wealth and extent of country the roies (Rāyas) of Beejanuggur (Vijayanagar) were greatly their superiors." "The sea-port of Goa, the fortress of Malgaon (identified with Belgaum) . . . . . belonged to the roy (Rāya) of Beejanuggur, and many districts of Talghaut (Tulu country on the Malabār Coast) were in his possession. His country was well peopled and his subjects submissive to his authority. The roies (kings) of Malabār, Ceylon and other islands and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents." In the words of the *Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitam,* the rule of Bukka I was so peaceful and productive of good to the people that people began to doubt if it was not Manu himself who had incarnated in the form of Bukka! Apparently, his rule secured internal peace and contentment to the generality of the people. Such peace should have been welcome after the disorder and anarchy consequent on the invasions of the Muhammadans from the north.

His death, 1376 A.D.

It is now possible to fix the death of Bukka I in about 1376 A.D. As mentioned above, Hebbasuru Copper plates of Harihara II (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46) record a gift made by the latter in 1376 A.D., in order that his father "might obtain union with Siva and through the removal of his sins acquire the favour of Paramēsvara." thus indicating his recent death. This should have occurred towards the close of 1376 A.D., as we have an inscription recording his rule in the month of June-July of that year. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 132). While in a later record (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 29), he is still represented as ruling the earth, it is, however, stated that his minister Nāganna-Vodeyar made a grant "in order that virtue, wealth, gratification of desire, and salvation might be" to Bukka I. Apparently, at the time the latter grant was made, Bukka I should have been seriously ill or expiring. The record registered as *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 132, is dated in *Saka* 1290, Cyclic year *Nala*, *Mithuna* month (*i.e.*, *Āni* month) lunar fort-night, second day, Thursday, while the other record registered as *E.C.* IX, Anekal is dated in *Saka* 1290, Cyclic year *Nala*, *Ādi* month (*i.e.*, *Kataka* month) 20. As *Ādi* comes after *Āni*, in all probability Bukka I should have died on some day in *Saka* 1290, Cyclic year *Nala*, corresponding to 1376 A.D., between the Tamil months of *Āni* and *Ādi* (*i.e.*, 14th June to 14th July and 15th July to 15th August). In fact, these two are the latest dated inscriptions so far discovered of Bukka I in the Mysore State. That he should have died in 1376 A.D. is further confirmed by an inscription from Nellore which states that *Saka* 1322 (or A.D. 1400) was the 25th regnal year of Harihara II, son and successor of Bukka I. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, Nellore No. 76, page 846). The Agrahāra-Bachihalli plates of his son Harihara II, dated in 1377 A.D., whose contents resemble *Yedatore 46*, seem to mention the actual date of his death. These plates record the grant of Bachihalli by Harihara II in order that his father Bukka I who, we are told, attained union with Siva on Tuesday the first lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phālguna in the year Nala, corresponding to

Saka 1298, under the asterism Uttaraphalguni, might, through the removal of his sins, obtain the grace of Paramēsvara and unsurpassed religious merit. It would seem to follow from these words, so definite and so detailed, that he probably died on a day in March-April, which corresponds to Phālguna, in the year Nala, Saka 1298 or 1376 A.D. It is interesting to note that among the very first of the donees mentioned in this grant was Sāyanāchārya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and his son Singana. Among others were the expounders of the *Vēdus*, Nāgābharana and Vāmanabhatta. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 88).

Harihara II, 1376 A.D.–1404 A.D.

On the death of Bukka I, Harihara II, his son, succeeded to the throne. He seems to have been known by the alternative name of Vijaya. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 68). Bukka's eldest son Kampana II was the lawful heir to the throne; but, as we have seen, he died in 1374 A.D., a couple of years before Bukka. Both by abilities and upbringing, he would have made an admirable successor to so energetic and great a sovereign as Bukka I. In view of the fact that Bukka I left as many as eight sons, excluding Kampana II, who predeceased him, it is, indeed, surprising that there was no dispute to the succession.

No dispute as to the succession.

Certain records, however, indicate an attempt on the part of Virūpāksha II and his adherents to obtain the succession for him. As early as 1367 A.D., *i.e.*, ten years before the death of Bukka I, we find his minister Talkād Māvarasa making a grant "in order that Virūpa-Rāya might have a firm dominion." (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 34). Virūpāksha II was then ruler of the Āraga country. Apparently he left his provincial seat to the capital, Vijayanagar, in or about that year. It was during his absence that Mādhavarsa, the learned Chāunda-Mādhava, became governor of Āraga, for the record which mentions his rule is dated in 1368 A.D., the year following the departure of Virūpāksha II to the capital. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 6). This record, by the way, mentions a grant made on the occasion of "Vīra-Virūpanna-Odeyar coming to the kingdom of the world." This, however, is a mistranslation, for the Kannada words in the original are: *Srī-Vīra-Virūpana-Odeyarige-prithvi-rājya-vāhantāgi*, which indicate that the grant was made "in order to secure the rule of the earth" to Vīra-Virūpanna-Odeya. Nor did Virūpanna come "to the kingdom of the world" in that year, for Bukka I was still alive, nor become ruler of Āraga, for he had been in that province for a second time since 1362 A.D. The exact nature of Virūpāksha's mission to Vijayanagar is not mentioned, but that it was a political one may be readily imagined from this record. He appears to have been reconciled to his position as Viceroy of Āraga for we find him in 1370 A.D. making a grant to the Kalasanātha temple at Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 52). Then, we have a series of records ranging in date from 1377 A.D. to 1380 A.D., all found in the Āraga province, which fall into the reign of Harihara II. These indicate definitely that he continued as Viceroy of Āraga after Harihara II became king. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 28 and 125; *E.C.* VI, Koppa 30; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 114, 116 and 167). A couple of inscriptions, however, dated in 1377 and 1380 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 125 and 167) give him the full imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara*, etc., which would seem to show that he was then ruling over the Āraga province independently of Harihara II. This might be taken to indicate the friendly settlement arrived at in regard to his own position after the death of Bukka I. This saved an actual dispute as to the succession after Bukka's death and the evil consequences that might have followed it. That he was fully reconciled to his semi-independent position as Viceroy of Āraga is clear from a number of records, which show him contentedly established in it during the years 1377 to 1380 A.D. The story of his rule over Āraga may be reconstructed from the extant inscriptions relating to his position both before and during the rule of Harihara II. The following are the records in question :—

Year	Charge	Reference
1342 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga ...	*E.C.* VI, 327.
1362 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga. He is said to be "ruling with a settled reign."	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 20 & 37.
1377 A.D. ...	Do	*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19.
1377 A.D. ...	Ruling Āraga	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 28.
1377 A.D. ...	Protecting Āraga. He is given all the imperial titles.	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 125.
1378 A.D. ...	In charge of Āraga. He is said to be "ruling with a settled reign."	*E.C.* VI, Koppa 30.
1379 A.D. ...	Do	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 114.
1380 A.D. ...	Do	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 116.
1380 A.D. ...	Do He is given all the regal titles.	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 167.

In *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 37 and 114, he is called Vīra-Udayagiri-Virūpana-Vodeyar, which would indicate his previous governorship of the Udayagiri province. (See above). In Tirthahalli 167, he is spoken of as Vīra-Udayagiri-Virūpāksha-Rāya and it is said of him that he "was ruling the kingdom (of Āraga) in righteousness." It would seem from Tirthahalli 116 and 167 that he was in power in Āraga till then, *i.e.*, for about 18 years from 1362 to 1380 A.D. In 1381, Āraga was ruled over by Chikka-Rāya, son of Harihara II. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 31). He probably died in that year, for we have no more mention of him in the records of the period. If Virūpāksha had really attempted to succeed to the throne at Vijayanagar on the death of Bukka I, in 1376 A.D., he would not be so explicitly represented as ruling over the Āraga province from 1377 to 1380 A.D. Nor would he have been described as ruling his charge "in righteousness" if he had been guilty of an attempt at a revolution. The circumstance of his being given full regal titles (Tirthahalli 125 and 167) should, in the light thrown by the other records, be set down to the practice of assuming them by those members of the ruling family who governed their provinces more or less independently of the ruling sovereign, which appears to have been common at the time. As we know, Virūpāksha was ruling over his province in a semi-independent manner as indeed Kampa I did the Udayagiri-rājya. In Tirthahalli 125, above referred to, we see his own house-minister Rāmarasa making the grant of the village of Huttadahalli, re-naming it Hariharapura, among Brāhmans. Seeing that this grant is made in the very year of the accession of Harihara II and in his name, it must be understood to have been intended as a compliment to the new sovereign by the minister of his younger brother Virūpāksha. Such a grant by him is inconceivable if he had attempted an usurpation of any kind.

Period of his rule : 29 years.

There can be no doubt that he began his rule in 1376 A.D., having normally succeeded to the throne without any trouble whatever, Yedatore 46 (dated in that very year) not only mentions the death of his father, which should have recently occurred then, but also describes Harihara II himself as ruling over the kingdom in full regal splendour residing in the "great royal city of Vijayanagari." (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46). Another record dated in 1377 A.D., coming from Koppa, confirms this, inasmuch as it describes him as ruling the kingdom in that year. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 19). A third record dated in 1377 (Pingala) from Shikarpur describes him as "ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom." (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 35). A fourth one from Tirthahalli, dated in the same year, speaks of his "increasing reign." (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 16). Other records dated in A.D.,1378, 1379, 1380, etc., show that he was already a reigning sovereign. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 113 and Bangalore 73; *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 112; *E.C.* XI, Davangere 34; *E.C.* XII, Sira 76 and Kunigal 43). Equally certain is his final year. He died, according to a Tirthahalli record, on Sunday the 30th August 1404 A.D., corresponding to *Saka* 1326, *Tārana* year, Masi Nabhasye 10, Sunday. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 129; *E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola, New Edn. 329=Old Edn. 126, which gives the week day as Monday). Almost the last grant dated in his reign was made some five or six months before his death. It is the one recorded in *E.C.* IX, Hoskote 160, dated in 1404 A.D. (*Saka* year not given; *Tārana* year; *Vaisākha* Suddha *paurnima*; Thursday; Attanakshtra; Sōma grahanam). He accordingly reigned during a period of nearly twenty-nine years. The date 1399 A.D. given by Mr. R. Sewell as his last year has been long ago pointed out as wrong by Mr. Rice. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 49; Rice, *E.C.* VIII, Introd. 12, *f.n.* 2). There is, however, a record of a later date, which falls into the reign of Harihara II. This is dated in *Saka* 1328, Cyclic year *Vyaya* (Pushya suddha 10 Makara-sankramana), which corresponds to 1406 A.D. In this inscription, Harihara II is still described "as ruling the world." (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 66_a). This is one of those cases in which, owing to the uncertainty of the regal position, donors preferred to continue the deceased king's reign rather than insert the name of a king of whose actual authority they were uncertain. This record would seem to indicate the doubts entertained in certain parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom on the death of Harihara, for there was, as will be seen below, a great fight over the succession. (cf. *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 59, dated in 1408 A.D., which, however, is a grant made "in order that merit be to Harihara," thus indicating his not very distant death).

Insurrections and Wars.

The reign of Harihara II did not prove a peaceful one. There was trouble from across the northern frontier and there appear to have been insurrections in his own dominions to put down. Indeed, these disturbances seem to have been so far persistent during his reign that he is spoken of as having "again established the kingdom acquired by his father." As this description of his victories over his enemies occurs in an inscription dated in 1380 A.D., he should be presumed to have won the victories which ended in this great result not far anterior to that year. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43, dated in *Saka* 1302 current, Cyclic year *Raudri*).

Rising in Kōnkan quelled, 1380 A.D.

Among the first of the latter was a rising of the Kōnkanikas in or about 1380 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 152, dated in *Saka* 1301, Cyclic year *Raudri* and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 71). The Kōnkan, which formed the northern part of the Tulu country, had for its capital Bārukūru. Here Harihara I had built a fort after subduing the Bairasu-Wodeyars, who had acknowledged his supremacy. Bukka I had apparently to put down an insurrection, for we hear of Sankapārya of the Kōnkanas being filled with fear on his (Bukka's) approach. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). Within a few years of Bukka's death, they again appear to have broken out in rebellion. Probably they aimed to regain their independence. Sorab 152 apparently gives us the conqueror's version of the affair. Some base persons, it says, born in the Kōnkana country having risen against Mādhava-Rāya, the minister of Chikka-Rāya, son of Harihara II, the governor of Āraga, sent his son Baihappa-Odeya against them. Baihappa seems to have greatly distinguished himself in putting down this insurrection, as his title *Kōnkanapratishthāchārya* (he who established the Kōnkana, *i.e.*, re-established Vijayanagar sovereignty in it) would seem to indicate. His father Mādhava (*alias* Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya) also claims the title of *Sapta-Kōnkana-dhūli-patta*, he who reduced the Seven Kōnkanas to dust. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 71). Sorab 152 states that the forces that Mādhava-Rāya sent under his son Baihappa-Odeya despatched many of the Kōnkanikas to destruction. Two other titles of Mādhava-Rāya, *Kadamba-Sūre-Kara* or plunderer of the Kadamba country and *Kadamba-pura-jane-pratipālaka* or protector of the people of the Kadamba country, suggest that, either in this expedition against the Seven Kōnkanas or on another occasion, his forces had to plunder the Kadamba country and on its people yielding, he took care to afford protection to them. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnalli 71). Baihappa subsequently appears to have been rewarded with the governorship of the Kadamba province. He was still occupying that position in 1396 A.D. (*Ibid*). He should be differentiated from Baichappa who appears to have fought in his army against the Kōnkanikas and in fact "greatly distinguished himself" in it. (*E.C.* VII, Sorab 152). He died, we are told, "doing his master's service to the end and driving back the hostile force." This hero's death is recorded in the inscription quoted above. He is spoken of as a Jain in faith and as a celebrated resident of Uddhare, modern Udri, in the Shimoga District.

Revolts in the Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya countries put down, *Circa* 1385 A.D.

Somewhere about 1385 A.D., there appears to have been trouble in the Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya countries. These had been subjugated by Kampana II, some ten years before, but apparently they had found their chance after his death in 1374 A.D. Virūpāksha II, a son of Harihara II, claims to have put them down once again and ruled as viceroy over them. (*E.I.* III, 224-230; *E.I.* VIII, 298-306). The grants mentioned in the Ālampūndi and the Soraikkāvūr plates, dated respectively in 1385 and 1387 A.D., which specifically assert his lordship "over these provinces," appear to have been made by him as the viceroy of the south. No details are as yet available in regard to the circumstances that led to their re-conquest by Virūpāksha II.

Conquest of Ceylon, 1385 A.D.

To the same year (1385 A.D.) probably, Virūpāksha's conquest of Ceylon should be set down. (See *E.I.* III, 224-230). It is said that after the conquest of the island, which at the time was ruled over by Bhuvanaika-Bāhu V (1372-1406), Virūpāksha presented crystals and other jewels to his father Harihara II. The conquest may refer to the kingdom of Jaffna, which in the next century was tributary to the Vijayanagar Empire. (See H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 84-85).

Loss and recapture of Adōni, 1380 A.D.

The Bāhmani Sultān appears to have captured the hill fortress of Adōni, which was wrested back from him in or about 1380 A.D. by Channappa (or Vīra-Channappa-Odeya), son of Mallappa (or Mallinātha), a brother of Harihara II. This exploit—for it appears to have been nothing less—of Channappa, who was in charge of Adōni, is described in a striking manner in a record of that year. The Muhammadans, it would appear, were swarming over the hill fortress and the kingdom, and Mallappa not only wrested back the *durga* but also the kingdom (*i.e.*, province) dependent on it and presented both as tribute to Harihara II and received, doubtless by way of recognition, a kingdom for himself. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43). The kingdom thus received for himself was probably the Adōni province itself with capital at Adōni. This war should have occurred in the beginning of the reign of Sultān Mahmud (1378-1397 A.D.) and was probably the final phase of the campaign which Bukka I initiated by overrunning the Raichur Doab and investing the fortress of Raichur itself, which has been set down to 1378 A.D. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 47).

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Attack on Kottakonda repulsed, 1384 A.D.

The Muhammadans, a little later, appear to have carried the war into the territories of Harihara II. In 1384 A.D., while the army under Bukka II was absent in Warrangal country, they advanced and attacked, it is said, Kottakonda, a place not yet identified. The *Mandalika* Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, the shelter of the good in Talkād, and terrifier of the Turukas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) fought the invading hosts as they were mounting up the fortress (?) and fell. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 15). It is to be presumed that he successfully beat off the Muhammadan forces. The inscription quoted is dated in the reign of Bukka II and as such it might be taken that the fight took place in the latter's province, *i.e.*, Mulbagal. Dated in the next year, 1385 A.D., is an epigraph in which a grant is recorded to a temple "for success to the sword and arm of the victorious universal emperor" Harihara II. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 93. This record is dated both in *Kaliyuga* and the *Saka* era. The *Saka* year corresponding to the *Kali* year 4487 is 1250. It ought to be 1308). Similarly, in another record, dated in 1388 A.D. (*E.C.* X. Bowringpet 17), we read of a local chief making a grant for the success of the sword and arm of his sovereign (Bukka II), who was ruling at the time from his residence at Mulavagal (*i.e.*, Mulbagal).

Reduction of Goa, *Circa* 1391 A.D.

An event of even greater importance that occurred in Harihara's reign was the expulsion of the Muhammadans from Goa. (*J. Bomb. Br. R.A.S. IX*, 227). The fact is referred to in certain other inscriptions. In one dated in 1396 A.D., Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya, the prime-minister of Harihara II, is styled *Gōrāpura-Varadhīsvara* or boon lord of Goa. (*E.C.* VII, Honnali 71). In this record, Mādhava-Rāya's son Baichana-Rāya is given the same title. Baichana was the governor of Goa. (*E.I.* III, 119). Apparently, father and son had filled successively the position of governor of Gōa (modern Goa). The conquest of Goa should have taken place between 1379 A.D. and 1396 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 84 and 71), for while in Honnali 84 dated in 1379 A.D. Madhāva-Rāya is given no title connecting his name with Goa, he and his son are given the identical title ("boon lord of Gōvapura") in Honnali 71 dated in 1396 A.D. Apparently the son had succedeed the father somewhere about 1391 A.D. In 1391 A.D., a copper-plate grant appears to have been executed by him in the name of his sovereign, Harihara II. A copy of this deed is now in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, having been copied in 1532 A.D., and translated into Portuguese. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 45, *f.n.* 2). As the grant was made in 1391 A.D., the capture of Goa should have preceded it, by how many years it is not possible to determine with the data so far available. The event may, however, be set down to *Circa* 1391 A.D.

Renewed war against the Muhammadans, 1395 A.D.

There was a fresh war against the Muhammadans in or about 1395 A.D., when Sultān Mahmud was still the ruler of the Bāhmani kingdom. This war apparently ended in a victory to Harihara II for we see Baichappa-Odeya, son of Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya, his prime-minister, claiming credit for it and assuming the title of

Rangini-pratāpa (or the glory of Rangini). The record which supplies this information comes from Honnali in the Shimoga District and is dated in *Saka* 1317, or A.D. 1395. It is inferable from this inscription that he should have displayed great valour at the battle of Rangini. From another record (a *vīrgal*) of the same year, which comes from Tiptur in the Tumkur District, we get a further glimpse of this battle. (*E.C.* XII, 44). We are told in it that Chennaya Nāyaka, of Mahāsāmantādhipati Gōpaya-Nāyaka, died of the wounds received by him in the battle while wresting back Rangini from the Muhammadans. It appears to have been a hot and bloody battle, which ended in the breaking of the Muhammadan army and the loss of Rangini to them. (*Ibid*). As Baichappa's father Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya calls himself *Turaka-dala-vibhāḍa* (the destroyer of the Muhammadan army), he must be presumed to have been concerned—especially as Harihara's prime-minister—in the war against the Muhammadans. (*E.C.* VIII, Honnali 71). In this record, Baichappa, his son, is described as established in the Kadambarāja's throne, as boon lord of Gōvāpura, and as ruling the kingdom (his province) in peace and wisdom, protecting Chandragutti, Banavāsi, Kōnkana, Rangini and all the other kingdoms. This would indicate that we should search for Rangini in or about the Kanara District. The wars in which Adōni and Rangini fell are not related in *Ferishta*, which would indicate, from direct Hindu sources, the one-sided character of his accounts.

Fresh attacks on the Bāhmani Kingdom, 1399 A.D.

These two wars show that Harihara's relations with his neighbour the Bāhmani Sultān were not so satisfactory as might be imagined from Ferishta's account. His period synchronized partly with that of Mahmud, who ruled up to 20th April 1397, when he died, and partly with the reign of Firūz, who ascended the throne on 15th November 1397 and died on 24th September 1422. Harihara seems to have proved too strong for both Mahmud and Firūz. If Ferishta may be believed, there was only one war during the period covered by Harihara's reign, and it occurred towards the close of his reign. Harihara seems to have been the aggressor in it. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 76). With a view to reduce the forts of Muḍkul and Raichur, which were then in the hands of Firūz, Harihara in 1399 A.D. crossed the frontier with 30,000 horse and a vast army of foot. He was, according to Ferishta, assisted by "his son." The Krishna river was in high floods and an advance party disguised as dancers and musicians got into the "Dewal Roy's" camp. His son was being entertained by a troop of dancers, one of whom pretending to amuse him, killed him. There was a tumult and in the confusion created by false alarms, the "Roy's" troops elected to stay in their quarters under arms. A part of the Sultān's troops crossed the river unattracted and before day-break, Firūz himself joined them with the rest of his army and assaulted the "Roy's" camp with great fury. The "Roy," grieved at the death of his son, fled with his army. The immense camp fell into the hands of Firūz, who pursued the "Roy" to the vicinity of Vijayanagar. Several actions were fought on the way in all of which Firūz is represented as having been victorious, the roads being "heaped up with the bodies of the slaughtered Hindus." Many prisoners were also taken from the surrounding country and among these were, it is said, many Brāhmans, who had to be ransomed off for "ten lakhs of hoons" (assessed at nearly £400,000). Negotiations followed and a treaty of peace was concluded about the middle of 1399 A.D., according to which the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before the war and each party was to refrain from molesting the subjects of the other. This does not look, as Mr. Sewell rightly remarks, as though the Sultān had gained any material advantage, since the true boundary was always a matter of dispute.

"Dewal Roy" of Ferishta identified.

Ferishta calls the king whom Firūz fought against as "Dewal Roy." As the year in which the war took place is given both in *Ferishta* and in the *Burhān-i-Maāsir* as 1399 A.D., we may take that it actually relates to the reign of Harihara-Rāya II. As Harihara-Dēva-Rāya was his full name (the *Pureoyre Deorao* of Nuniz), "Dewal Roy," the term used by Ferishta, may be taken as a shortened form of it, and not taken as meaning Dēva-Rāya I, as suggested in the previous edition of this work and as Bukka-Rāya II by Mr. Sewell. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 50-52). The "son" referred to in Ferishta's narrative should be Bukka II, sometimes referred to as Immadi-Bukka, in the inscriptions of the period. He is described in the records of the period as ruling with his father Harihara, but if he was the "son" who fought in this war, he was surely not killed in it, as he lived long after it, and in fact survived Harihara II and apparently engaged in the war of succession that followed Harihara's death in 1404 A.D. Either Ferishta's narrative is wrong or he mixes up the incidents of some other campaign. Nor is there any ground for the suspicion that any other "son" of Harihara II fell in this war or in any war against the Muhammadans during his reign. Ferishta's narrative seems also otherwise incredible, especially the suggestion that the "Roy" practically refused to fight though he had a large army and that he ran away from the field. The terms of the peace indicate a draw and that shows that Firūz cannot have had the uniform success he is credited with. Nor is this all. A record dated in 1397 A.D. in Harihara's reign seems to give the Hindu version of this war. (*E.C.* V, Belur 3). This contains a panegyric of a general named Gunda-dandanātha and the successes he achieved for his master. Incidentally we learn from it that into the flames of his valour the Turushkas (Muhammadans), among others, fell like moths. Dragging the elephant-like Paipa, Patheya (? Fatteh) and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he tied them up—we are told—in his stables like monkeys and besides them, seized by the throat, the two great tigers known as Jyēshta and Kanishta. He is said to have given all the spoils he obtained in his several wars to the king. He also set up, it would appear, pillars of victory in all the fifty-six countries, and restored the Belur temple, which Ganga-Salār, the Turushka from Gulburga, had come and burnt, and set up a golden *Kalasa* at its summit. Though the identification of the many Muhammadan names mentioned in this record is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible, there can be little doubt that it refers to the war that ended in 1379 A.D. and which is so elaboratey described by Ferishta in his pages. If this be so, the war should have begun earlier and extended far beyond an attack on Vijayanagar. It should, in any case, have included the despatch of detachments against Belur and the surrounding country as well.

Examination of Mr. Sewell's views.

Mr. Sewell in writing of this war has remarked that it was fought at the close of Harihara's reign, that he should have been too old at the time and too much a lover of peace to engage in it and that it should have been left to Bukka II to fight out the enemy. This suggestion seems altogether inadmissible as it is confessedly based on the idea that Harihara II ruled only up to 1399 A.D. (*A Forgotten Empire*, 50). Harihara II, as stated above, ruled till 1404 A.D. and the many inscriptions of his period do not even distantly suggest his retirement from the throne until he actually died. This being so, the war should be set down to Harihara's reign and not to that of his son Bukka II.

Harihara's successes proved.

Judging from the lithic and other records available, Harihara's wars should have proved fairly successful. Indeed, the general impression created by them is one favourable to him and his generals. They appear to have stood out firmly against the invaders and given a good account of themselves. One record, the Nagasandra copper-plates, which testify to the recovery of Adōni (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43) begin their praises of Harihara II, with the words "victorious in the world, daily victor over his enemies," which, if not literally true, at least may be taken to be not wholly imaginary.

Other Wars.

There are a number of other wars mentioned in the inscriptional records of the reign (*E.C.* V, Belur 3 and 148) but confirmatory information is entirely lacking in regard to them. While the alleged successes claimed against a great many of the nations or countries mentioned in it (such as Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Saurāshtras, etc.) may be mere poetic embellishments, the war against the Āndhras, with whom Harihara II may be presumed to have been in contact by reason of the existence of the Udayagiri-rājya, may be held to refer to the putting down of some rising or other in that part of the kingdom.

Generals and Ministers.

Among the generals and ministers who distinguished themselves during this reign may be mentioned a few. Among these Mudda-dandanātha holds a high place. He was, as we have seen, the prime minister of Bukka I. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 256, dated in 1376 A.D.). It is said of Harihara II that he "inherited" from his father the wealth of the kingdom and the city together with this minister. He continued to hold the same position under Harihara II. He is praised at length in a record dated in 1382 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 75). He is spoken of as a Yōgandharāya in policy, and as a promoter of merit in the *Kali-yuga*. He is said to have seized alive and kept in confinement "thousands of prosperous rulers." He is also said to have founded "numerous agrahāras" and presented them to Brāhmans. He dug many tanks and protected the people as if they were "his own children." Trade seems to have flourished under his fostering care. Happy and contented merchants, farmers and agricultural labourers, the Holeyas being mentioned by name, led by the leading merchants of the capital city of Vijayanagar and the twenty-six towns where fairs were established, combined to honour him and allot the income derived from certain taxes. Apparently a meeting of all the people concerned was called for before the Virūpāksha temple, and having there assembled, they placed the diamond *Vaisanige* at the feet of the God, and entered into an agreement as to the dues they would pay—detailed at great length--on drugs, piece-goods, grains, and animals, among which are horses and female slaves. They also conferred on him, as Superintendent of the customs-revenue of the kingdom, the title (or honour) of *prithvi-settina* or Lord Mayor (of the State). The record which gives these particulars ends with a verse which is too remarkable to be omitted :—

> "If a thousand horse-sacrifices and truth be placed in the scales, truth will greatly outweigh the thousand horse-sacrifices."

That is a tribute to Truth not merely in the abstract, but also in the daily life of the people. For the donors of the gift here are merchants and farmers who should have had a very high regard indeed for truth to have thus put their hands and seals to their bond. Like his sovereign, Mudda followed the teachings of Kriyāsakti (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 58). In a record dated in 1379 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 34), Mudda is said to have founded the Mudda-dandanāyakapura (otherwise called Chikka-Hadaka), a place with a fine tank, and given it to Brāhmans. He is compared in this record to Sumantra, minister of Rāma, and is spoken of as "the illustrious councillor" who "daily by his policy bound down the hostile kings." He appears to have been in power from about 1378 to 1387. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 256 and Belur 63). Of Gunda-dandanātha, another of his ministers, we have a long account in a record dated in 1397 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 3). He is said to have restored the grants which Vishnuvardhana had made to the Kēsava temple and which had by lapse of time been greatly reduced. His successes in war have been mentioned above. Another was Kampanna (*Ibid*, Belur 52) who in 1381 A.D. repaired the Kēsava temple at Belur. He was in power between 1380 and 1382 A.D. He is spoken of as a "great minister." Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhava-Rāya was another. He rose to be governor of Āraga and Gutti 36. In a record dated in 1379 A.D., he is styled "champion over the three kings," "destroyer of the Turuka army," etc. (See *E.C.* VIII, Honnali 84). In another record dated in 1396, he is also called reducer of the Seven Kōnkanas and boon lord of Gōvāpura, etc. (*Ibid*, Honnali 71). He appears to have been in power between 1379 and 1396 A.D. He should have reduced Goa between these two dates. He may be identified with Mādhavarāya, minister of Harihara II in 1391 A.D. (Kiëlhorn, *Southern List*, No. 471). His son Baichana-Rāya, who won fame at the battle of Rangini, has already been referred to above. He is referred to in Honnali 71, dated in 1396 A.D. He was governor of Gōva and many other countries, among which were the Kadamba province which appears to have included Chandragutti, Banavāsi, Kōnkana and Rangini. A record dated 1399 A.D. mentions him as still ruling at Gōva. (*E.I.* III, 117). Another great minister was Mallapa-Odeyar, who also became governor of Āraga. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 313 dated in 1390). He was apparently the Mallappa-Odeya who was, in 1387 A.D., governor of Tulu, Haive and the Kōnkana countries with his capital at Bārakūr. (*M.E.R.* 190, Nos. 154, 156 and 164). He is probably identical with Mallana-Odeyar who was ruling over Haive, with his capital at Honavar in 1387 A.D. (*E.I.* III, 117). He is described as Mahāpradhāna in a record dated 1390 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 313). In 1390 A.D. one Malagarasa-Odeya was ruling the Mangalūrurājya. He is probably to be identified with Malagara of the Kāshmīra-kula who set up a golden pinnacle to the Bēlur temple in 1387 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 63). Sāyana, the regent of Sangama II, appears to have been a minister of Harihara II. (*E.I.* III, 117). In 1402-1403 A.D., just before the death of Harihara II, Āraga was administered by Vitthanna-Odeya, described as a Brahma-Kshatriya descended from the family of Sankapa—Rāyapa, two ministers of whom Sankappa attained great celebrity and is said to have been chief minister. Vitthanna was the son of Virūpāmba, identified with Virūpāmba, a daughter of Bukka I. He was also a disciple of Kriyāsakti. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 52 dated in 1403 A.D.). In a floridly written panegyric, apparently by himself, he indulges in a great deal of self-praise. He says he was ever beloved, versed in the sciences and arts, a mine of good qualities, bestower of the *hēmādri* gift, a proficient in music and poetry, and as one devoted to his father. (*Ibid*, Koppa 53 dated in 1403). He continued as governor during the reign of Dēva-Rāya I as well. (*E.C.* VIII, 70; *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 85 and Koppa 33). From 1378 A.D. to 1384 A.D. Dēpanna-Odeya was in charge of the Sadali-rājya, which was previously under his father Nāganna. This province included a part of the present Kolar District. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 67 and 80, Sidlaghatta 112; Chikballapur 63; *E.C.* IX, Hospet 113). A record from Bagepalli, dated in 1391 A.D., mentions the great minister Mangappa-dannāyaka. He is, perhaps, the person mentioned in another record which comes from Chamarajnagar. According to it, the Hoysala country was in the charge of Achanna-Vodeyar, who is described as the treasury of the right hand to the great minister Māgappa, dannāyaka. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 114 dated in 1398 A.D.). Bhavadūra-Odeya seems to have governed the country around Kurnool in 1386 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 257). Harihara II seems to have had a Jain minister named Baicha. His son Irugappa was a famous general of the time. Several records of his are known. Two of these dated in 1382 and 1387 A.D. (*E.I.* VII, 115) eulogise his *guru* Panditārya, who may be identified with Panditāchārya, the *guru* of Bhīma-dēvi, the Jain queen of Dēva-Rāya I. (*E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola 337). Another record dated in 1385 states that he built the Kuntha Jinālaya at Vijayanagar. (*S.I.I* i. 156). This is evidently the temple known to-day as the Gānigitti temple at Hampi. An inscription dated in 1422 A.D. sets out in great detail his pedigree and records the grant by him of Belgola together with a grove and a tank built by him for Gommatēsvara. (*E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola 253). The founder of the family was Baicha I, who was a general and minister of Bukka I. He had three sons of whom one was Iruga I. Both Baicha I and Iruga I were ministers of Harihara II and Bukka II. Mangapa, elder brother of Iruga I, had two sons named Baichappa (Baicha II) and Irugapa II, the donor in the Sravana-Belgola record. Apparently Irugapa lived down to the reign of Dēva-Rāya II. From other sources, we learn that he was a Sanskrit scholar and gave his name to the metrical lexicon known as *Nānārtaratnamāla*, whose real author was his protege Bhāskara. (*S.I.I.* i. 156; and *E.C.* II, Introd. 64). His brother Baicha II was governing the Mangalūr-rājya in 1407 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 41).

Domestic life.

Harihara II seems to have had at least two queens Pampā-Dēvi and Mēlā-Dēvi (or Mallā-Dēvi) and five sons. By his queen Pampā-Dēvi, he had a son named Bukka II. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 25). He is called Immadi-Bukka-Rāya in certain records. Mallā-Dēvi, the other queen, was, according to the Soraikkāvūr grant of Virūpāksha (Verse 5) dated in 1387 A.D., the *son's daughter* of Rāma-Dēva, identified with Rāma-chandra, the Sēvuna king. In the Ālampūndi grant of Virūpāksha, however, she is spoken of simply as belonging to the family of Rāma-Dēva. In the *Nārāyanivilāsa*, a work of Virūpāksha, she is described as the *son's daughter* of Rāma-Dēva, the verse in it mentioning the relationship, being found at the end of the Soraikkāvūr grant also. (See verse 17, *E.I.* VIII, 298-306). By Mallā-Dēvi, Harihara II had three sons, Dēva-Rāya I, Virūpāksha II and Chikka-Rāya. Another son of his, mentioned in only one record, is Kumāra-Kampa, who made in 1383 A.D., an easy ford for crossing the Tungabhadra on the way to Ānegondi. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 80). Probably he was another son of Mallā-Dēvi. He must be distinguished from Kampa, the minister of Harihara II, who is known from certain inscriptions. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 64 dated in 1380 A.D.; *E.C.* V, Belur 52 dated in 1381 A.D.). This fifth son of Harihara II may be called Kampa IV to differentiate him from other Vijayanagar princes who bore the same name before him. Bukka II appears to have been the eldest son. He probably ruled as co-regent with his father. Though in some inscriptions he is styled merely a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, he is described in others in terms indicating an active rule as something more than a mere governor. Thus, there is one grant dated in 1380 A.D. which states that it is made in order that he "might exercise universal sovereignty." (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 49). Others plainly describe him as "ruling the Empire" (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 154 dated in 1382 A.D.), as "ruling a secure kingdom" (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 139 dated 1386 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6, dated in 1388 A.D.), or "ruling the earth." (*E.C.* X, Bowringpet 17 dated in 1388 A.D.; Mulbagal 74 dated in 1397 A.D.). In one record dated in 1388 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 20), he is even called Mahārājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara. His inscriptions begin from 1379 A.D. and continue down to 1417 A.D. or a period of thirty-eight years. His records have been chiefly found in the modern districts of Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, Kadur, Shimoga and Anantapur. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 108, 109, 154; Magadi 20; Anekal 49; Kankanhalli 98; Bangalore 71, 139; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6, 68; Bowringpete 17; Mulbagal 11, 74; *E.C.* XII Chiknayakanhalli 15; Tumkur 39; *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 11; and *E.C.* VI, 25). He was apparently at first governor of the province of Nikarili-Chōla-mandalam which had Mulbagal for its capital; and then of Penukonda. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6 and 68 dated in 1385 and 1392 A.D.). He had by, Tippāmba, a son named Vīra-Bhūpati. He is probably the person referred to in *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 98 dated in 1391 A.D. and in *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 71 dated in 1394 A.D. Unfortunately the name, though mentioned in these records, is not decipherable. His father-in-law Malla-Odeyar is referred to in a record dated in 1391 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 68). His fight for the throne with his brother Virūpanna (or Virūpāksha II) will be found dealt with separately below. That Bukka II survived the civil war seems from a record of his dated in 1417 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 18).

A brother of Bukka II was Ōbala-Dēva-Mahārāya. (*M.E.R.* 1910, para 53). Virūpāksha was in charge of Tondamandalam, Chōla and Pāndya countries, which he is said to have reconquered. He is also credited with the conquest of Ceylon. (*E.I.* III, No. 32; also see above). Another brother of his was Dēva-Rāya I, who appears to have begun his rule in 1406-1407 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 32). He was viceroy of Udayagiri between 1382 A.D. and 1394 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, Kanigiri 23, page 668). A fourth son of Harihara II, Chikka-Rāya, is also known. The Inām office copper-plates of Harihara II (dated in 1386 A.D.) refer to a grant by him to certain Vēdic scholars attached to the Sringēri-*matha*, who were among the promoters of the commentaries on the four *Vēdas* connected with the name of Vidyāranya. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 54). He is also mentioned in certain lithic records as ruling over the Āraga kingdom between 1379-1381 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 31 and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 84). Nārāyana-Dēva-Odeyar and Vīra-Channappa-Odeyar, sons of Mallinātha, brother of Harihara II, are also found mentioned in the records of his reign. Nārāyana-Dēva appears to have ruled over the Ummattur country. At least three copper-plate grants of his, dated in 1396 and 1397, are known. (*E.I.* VI, 327; *M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 52). He is mentioned also in a lithic record dated in 1400 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 97, in which his minister Chāma-Odeyar is mentioned as ruling the Arulahal kingdom). In a record dated in 1397 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narasipur 64), he is said to have visited the Marudvridhā (Kāvēri) and the Kapila and there made many gifts and established an *agrahāra*. He appears to have built another *agrahāra* at Kolattur near Channapatna and called it Pratāpa-Hariharapura and bestowed it on Brāhmans for the long life, health and wealth of his father (*i.e.*, uncle) Harihara II. (*Ibid*).

Vīra-Channappa-Odeyar, brother of Nārāyana-Dēva-Odeyar, was the prince who re-took Adōni from the Muhammadans and presented it to Harihara II in 1380 A.D. (See above). One Bhōganātha-Dēva, described as a "son of Hariyappa-Odeyar-Dēva," is mentioned in an undated record which comes from Nanjangud. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 152). Who he was and whether he was connected with Harihara II is not clear. Mallinātha appears to have had another son, named Timmanna, who is referred to in a record dated in 1380 A.D. He is spoken of as a Mahāmandalēsvara. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 55).

Religious faith.

Harihara, like his father, was a strict Saiva and a follower of Kriyāsakti. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 256). But he was like his father a most tolerant prince. His ministers came from the Brāhman and Jain communities. He is highly praised for his gifts to Brāhmans. "On his making the *hēmādri* gift to Brāhmans according to the rules, the gods," we are told, "forsook their pleasant abodes in paradise, and resorting to the *satrās* (alms-houses) of the *agrahāras* he established, dwelt unknown to him in their pictures on the walls." (*Ibid*). Apparently his munificence to the Brāhmans was untold gold and conveniences of boarding and lodging. He gave away the sixteen great gifts at various sacred places, and earned a reputation surpassed by few of his predecessors. The connection with the Sringēri-*matha* appears to have been kept up during this reign. In an inscription dated in 1380 A.D., we see Channappa-Odeya, a nephew of Harihara II, who gallantly re-captured Ādōni from the Muhammadans, making the grant, to ensure his own happiness, of an *agrahāra* to Vidyābhūshana-Dīkshita, son of Vēdamūrti-Upādhya and disciple of Vidyāranya. The latter was deeply learned in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*, the *Tantra*, *Tarka*, *Vyākarana*, *Kāvya*, *Purāna*, *Yagnavidya* and the *Āgamas*. He re-named the village after

Vidyāranya and divided it among a number of Brāhmans. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 43).

An inscription at Homma dated in *Saka* 1380 A.D. designates the village Sarvajna-Vishnupura, evidently so named after Sāyana-Mādhava's *guru* Sarvajna-Vishnu. (See *E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 64 and *E.I.* III, 118). He was also the *guru* of his father Sāyana. From the Ināma office copper-plates of Harihara II himself, we learn that he was the worshipper of the lotus-feet of Vidyātīrthēsa and that as he was a traveller in the path of *Dharma* and *Brahma* (Dharma-brahmādhvanyah), he had converted by his conduct *Kali* into *Krita-yuga.* He is spoken of as the "establisher of the path of the *Vēdas.*" In 1386, the date of these plates, he granted in the presence of Vidyāranya certain lands or villages (the particular plate containing the grant part of the deed is missing) to certain scholars who are known to have helped the latter in the writing of his commentaries on the *Vēdas.* (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 54). His son Chikka-Rāya is also said to have made a similar grant to the self-same scholars in 1381 A.D. (*Ibid* ; and above). Chennubhatta, the author of *Tarkabhāsha-Vākhya*, was also patronised by Harihara II. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 51). As stated before, Harihara appears to have visited the Mysore portion of his kingdom during his reign. To make the above grant, he probably visited Sringēri in 1386 A.D., as the grant is said to have been made in the presence of Vidyāranya. There is evidence also that he visited Dōrasamudra at least twice in his reign—once in 1387 A.D. and again in 1392 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 154 and *Ibid* 1901, No. 151).

Harihara II, as patron of Kannada learning.

Harihara II encouraged not only Sanskrit learning but also patronised Kannada. One record dated in 1386 A.D. speaks of him as *Karnātaka-vidyāvilāsa, i.e.*, a cultivator of Karnatāka learning. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 34).

In his reign, there flourished in Mysore a poet named Narasimha, who composed the inscription registered as Malavalli 21 dated 1382. (*E.C.* III). He is spoken of as "a jewelled mirror to the face of good poets, of a voice like the roar of a lion; glorious as the rising moon." His minister Mudda-dandanātha was the patron of the poet Madhura, who was the author of the *Dharmanāthapurāna.* Among other titles, this poet appears to have enjoyed the one *Madhura-Mādhava,* which indicates the excellence of his style. (See Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka Kavicharite,* New Edn. I, 426-33). There is hardly any doubt that in his reign a large number of Kannada poets flourished in the land and from their works, it might be inferred that both Jainism and Vīrasaivism claimed an equal number of adherents and popularisers in the language of the country. (See *Ibid* I, 426-447).

Penukonda, an important provincial capital, is spoken of in a record dated in 1403 A.D. as "the home of learning and wealth." (*E.C.* XII, Sira 95).

Social conditions: a great famine in 1390 A.D.

In this reign, there occurred, in the year 1390-1 A.D., one of the most devastating famines that Southern India probably ever experienced. Its severity, according to one record, dated in 1391 A.D., was so great that innumerable skulls were rolling about on the ground and paddy could not be had even at the rate of ten *nāli* per *panam.* (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 54; No. 339 of 1906). The country affected most was the province in the charge of Virūpāksha II. The same famine is referred to by Ferishta who states that Sultān Mahmud of the Bāhmani kingdom, to mitigate its harms, engaged, on his own account, 10,000 bullocks constantly going to and from Mālwa and Guzerāt for grain, which was sold out to the people at a cheap rate. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 56).

Glimpses of rural life.

Occasional glimpses are also available as to the difficulties experienced by people in the rural tracts. A record, dated in 1384 A.D., refers to the breaching of a village tank near its sluice and the wail that there were no funds available to repair it. Lands under the tank went out of cultivation for a long time. The local temple authorities seeing the helplessness of the situation helped the villagers by selling a portion of the temple land and utilising the proceeds for repairing the breach in the tank. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Nos. 241 and 251 of 1906). Apparently the temple still continued to be the useful institution it was in the Chōla period.

Features of Local Taxation.

Taxation continued as of old. Taxes were, as ever before, many, though their incidence could not have been felt to be heavy. Thus in a record dated in 1396 A.D., we have the following taxes enumerated, besides the customs duties payable:—the artisan tax, loom tax, sale of branded cattle, marriage-tax, oil-mill tax, the *kudike* tax (tax on widow re-marriage), the furnace tax, the *sarantike* and other taxes. (*E.C.* VII, Honnali 71). Some others are also mentioned in other records (for example, *E.C.* IV, Krishnarajapete 21 and 22 dated in 1402 A.D.) :—Sugar-cane mill tax, goat tax, egg duties, baking tax, and the cooking tax. When grants of villages were made, the right to collect these taxes was made over to the grantees and they were to collect and meet the expenditure on the gods specified in them. (*Ibid*). This was exactly what was in vogue in the previous periods of history and the changes in dynasties did not affect the ancient usages in these respects. Those who founded markets and fairs appear to have been allowed certain perquisites. Village dues, etc., were also conferred on private individuals as a sign of royal favour. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 76 dated in 1379 A.D.).

Improving amenities of life.

Evidence of interest shown by princes and princesses in providing facilities for improved supplies of potable water is not lacking. Thus in a record dated in 1388 A.D., when Bukka II was still a governor under his father and resident in Penukonda city, he provided for the supply of water from the Honne river to Penukonda. "In order that all the subjects might be in happiness, water being the life of all living beings," he gave an order in open court, it is said, to an eminent scientist and hydraulic engineer (*jala-sūtra*), one Singaya-bhatta, apparently a Brāhman, that he must bring the Honne river to Penukonda. Singaya-bhatta dug a tank, giving it the name of Pratāpa-Bukka-Rāyamandala channel, and conducted it to a tank, from which the supply to the city was obtained. This Singaya is highly praised in the records as an expert in the science of hydraulics, in divination, in alchemy, in speaking the truth (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 6). In another epigraph dated in 1397 A.D., which also falls in the reign of Harihara II, we hear of Jommadēvi, grand-daughter of Bukka I (being the daughter of his daughter Virūpā-Dēvi) directing her minister to make a channel. He carried out the order as desired. A curious condition was laid on the contractors. If the water did not flow in the channel from where it started to Immadiyūru, apparently called after Immadi-Bukka II, where the tank was which had to be filled in by the supply, for the water being drawn from it, the contractors were to return the cash payment (130 *gadyāna*), the land allotted to them at the sluice of the tank, a horse and bracelets. Luckily the water flowed into the channel and there was no need to enforce the condition on them. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 10).

Chief towns of the reign.

Besides "the great royal city of Vijayanagar," (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46), Dōrasamudra and Penukonda, the kingdom boasted of other towns like Udayagiri, Bankāpūr, etc. Kānchi is spoken of as a "suburb" of Vijayanagar, as it was a provincial capital, from where a prince of the royal family governed. A lithic record found at Mamballi, Yelandur Jāghīr, shows that it was known as Harihararāya-pattana after Harihara II. The epigraph mentions him and it belongs to about 1380 A.D. It records the remission of certain taxes to all the *nānā dēsis* (*i.e.*, merchants) of Mamballi during his resign. Apparently it was an important mercantile centre during the period.

Modes of Warfare.

The period was one of incessant warfare and there were apparently developed many different kinds of fighting, especially when men engaged in single combat. A record *Vīrakal*—dated in 1403 A.D., which falls in this reign, mentions one of these, which is of some curious interest. The Mahānāyakāchārya—evidently the local commandant—having a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and the right foot in the *Sāmbrāni* fashion, one Chennappa fighting against Chanda-bova, in front of his master, in a battle at Nāgārjunakōte, died and went to the feet of the gods in the world of gods. Several persons joined and set up a *vīra-stambha* in his name. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 42). The mode of warfare referred to here (in the phrase *Yedada-kāla chāchi balada-kāla sāmbrāni-rana*) seems to have been an unusual one and as such appears to have excited considerable admiration.

Death of Harihara II, 1404 A.D.

Harihara II died on the 30th August 1404 A.D. (see above) and his virtues, it is said in one record, dated in 1403 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 95), are sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pātāla, listening to which the serpents there are filled with delight. It adds that his fame was like an awning in the celestial abode (*svarga*). This inscription, which was composed a year before Harihara's death, is significant as showing the great popularity that Harihara II, as the consolidator of the kingdom, enjoyed among his subjects. His many records show him as a vigilant sovereign and a wise administrator possessed of an active mind and of even more active habits. By the might of his arms, he put down insurrections and revolts, and kept the Muhammadans out from his kingdom, though they appear to have repeatedly given him trouble. As a donor of gifts to Brāhmans, he is spoken of highly; indeed one record styles him "the perfect donor." (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 34 dated in 1382 A.D.). He was the donor among others of the grants mentioned in the Hebbasuru copper-plates dated in 1376 A.D., the Agrahāra-Bachipalli plates dated in 1377 A.D., and the Ghattadahalli copper-plates dated in 1385 A.D. Other copper-plate grants of Harihara II come from the *Sringēri matha.* One dated in Saka 1306, Raktākshi year (or A.D. 1384), records a grant in favour of two disciples of Vidyāranya. The second one dated in Saka 1309, year Kshaya (1386 A.D.), records the grant, on the occasion of the death of Vidyāranya who died in that year, of a village named after him in the Āraga Province. The third dated in Saka 1318, year Dhātri, (A.D. 1397), records the grant of another village in the same province, to one Mādhavēndra of the Kausika-gōtra. The Gubbi plates, dated in Saka 1200, cyclic year Siddhārti, and attributed to him are palpably spurious. (See *M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 89). Another copper-plate grant which comes from the same place dated in Saka 1332, cyclic year Durmati, of which the Saka and cyclic years do not agree, does not add to our information, except the fact that Gubbi (Hole-Narsipur Taluk) was called Bukkarājēsvarapura and that the god Bukkarājēsvara was set up by Harihara, apparently in the name of his father. The intended date of the former is probably Saka 1302 (A.D. 1379) and of the latter 1304 (or A.D. 1381). He is repeatedly said to have bestowed the sixteen great gifts and to have "filled the wise with wealth." Apparently his generosity earned for him a great reputation. (See *E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 134, dated 1397 A.D.). He appears to have encouraged Sānskrit and Kannada learning in a manner which seems to have endeared him to the generality of his people. No wonder he is praised as a "head-jewel of kings." (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 64).

Bukka Rāya II and Virūpāksha II, A.D. 1404. Dispute as to succession.

On the death of Harihara II, there appears to have been a dispute as to the succession to the throne. (*E.I.* XII, 162; and *E.I.* XV, 14; *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 46). Bukka II, as the eldest son, succeeded to the throne, but he was apparently deposed by Virūpāksha II, his step-brother. Eventually, however, Bukka II seems to have got back the kingdom. His reign, however, proved a brief one, of little more than a year. His brother Dēva-Rāya, the eldest of the sons by Malla-Dēvi, seems to have succeeded him, Virūpāksha returning to his Viceroyalty of the Āraga province. The course of events that brought these revolutions is not clear from the inscriptional records. But there is some literary evidence which appears to throw a dim light on this obscure point. How Virūpāksha tried to get the better of his brother Bukka II and how he put to death all the competitors to the throne is told at length in the *Prapannāmrita* (Chapters 23 to 26), a Srīvaishnava work, which details the family history of the Tātāchāryas, the *gurus* of the kings of the Third Vijayanagar dynasty. It would appear from this work that Virūpāksha succeeded to the throne but his relations, envious of his success, attempted to assassinate him. He, however, managed to escape to the adjacent country and returning one night to Vijayanagar, with a large body of soldiers, killed the whole lot of them in their beds. Thus murdered, they all turned *pisāchas* (ghosts) and began to haunt the palace in which they had lived. Virūpāksha, compelled to desert his palace, built another for himself, while the ghosts continued their existence in the old one, holding nightly *durbars* in it with brilliant lights and dances. At length, a couple of brothers—Brāhmans—who were descended from the close relations of Rāmānuja, the Vaishnava reformer, arrived on a visit to the capital, where, mistaking the palace where the ghosts held *durbars* for the king's real palace, entered it. Being well received, they eventually obtained absolution for the ghosts from their intolerable existence by the continued recital to them of the *Rāmāyana*, in which they were experts. (*E.I.* XII, 162 *et seq*). This story would suggest that Virūpāksha, thus getting rid of his rivals, ruled the kingdom as supreme sovereign.

Prapannāmrita story examined.

The above story appears to be a highly exaggerated version of what actually occurred. The inscriptional records relating to Bukka II, Virūpāksha II and Dēva-Rāya I in the period immediately following the death of Harihara II, tell a tale wholly different from that narrated in the *Prapannāmrita*. The more relevant of these records may be exhibited in one conspectus in the manner shown below :—

It might be useful to add here that the story told by Virūpāksha in the *Prapannāmritam* relates to Virūpāksha II (son of Harihara II) and not to Virūpāksha III (son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Siddhāla-Dēvi) as mentioned in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Introd. 6. Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who also refers to the story, has correctly connected it with Virūpāksha II and not with Virūpāksha III. (*E.I.* XII, 162 ; XV, 14). The Editor of the *Sources* does not apparently count Virupanna or Virūpāksha, the son of Bukka Rāya I, and calls Virupanna or Virūpāksha II, son of Harihar II, as Virūpāksha I and Virūpāksha, the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Siddhala-Dēvi, as Virūpāksha II. According to the Pedigree printed in this work, all the three princes of this name are taken note of and are styled Virūpāksha I, Virūpāksha II and Virūpāksha III respectively.

Inscriptional record	Saka Date	Equivalent A.D.
(1) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 11.	Saka 1326, Tārana year current, Kārtika Suddha 1, Wednesday.	1404 A.D.
(2) E.C. VI, Koppa 25 ... (Hale-Muttur copper-plates).	Saka 1326, Tārana year, Māsi Kārtika Paurnima.	1404 A.D.
(3) M.A.R. 1907-08, Para 58 (General and Revenue Secretariat Plates of Bukka II).	Saka 1326, Tārana ...	1404 A.D.
(4) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 13.	Saka 1326, Tārana year, Kārtika Bahula 9, Monday.	1404 A.D.
(5) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 196.	Saka 1327, Tārana Mārgasira Bahula 13.	1404 A.D.
(6) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 22.	Saka 1327, Pārthiva year	1405 A.D.
(7) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 12.	Saka 1327, Pārthiva year, Srāvana Sudda 1.	1405 A.D.
(8) E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 126.	Saka 1328, Pārthiva, Bhādrapada Ba.	1405 A.D.
(9) E.C. III, Mandya 28 ...	Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Jyeshtha Su. 5, Thursday.	1404 A.D.
(10) E.C. V, Hassan 133, (Handinakere Copper-plates).	Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Kārtika Krishnapaksha 10, Friday.	(5th Nov.) 1406 A.D.
(11) E.C. IX, Devanhalli 32 ...	Saka 1329 (Kaliyuga 4508), Sarvajit, Vaisākha Ba. 30, Sūryagrahana.	1407 A.D.
(12) E.C. X, Kolar 240 ...	Saka 1210 (a mistake for 1329), Cyclic year Sarvajit, Ādimadham).	1407 A.D.
(13) E.C. V, Hassan 18 ...	Saka 1338, Durmukhi year, Pushya.	1417 A.D.

Gist of the record	Remarks
Bukka II was ruling in Vijayanagar protecting the *Varnāsramadharmas.*	
Bukka described as "Bukka-Rāya-Mahārāya." He makes the grant of Hale-muttur village on the banks of the Tunga in the Bellarasthala of Karakala in the Āraga kingdom.	This grant was made within fifteen days of assumption of royal authority—as per No. 1 above.
Grant by Bukka II of the village Nonavara *alias* Bnkkarayapatna, in Humbaksthala in Maduvanhanādu, Āraga, to Brāhmans.	
Virūpāksha II described as Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya and spoken of as in Vijayanagar protecting the *Varnāsramadharma* and ruling over the empire in peace.	This record is dated 24 days after No. 1 above. It shows Virūpāksha had also proclaimed himself king within less than amonth of Bukka II proclaiming himself as king.
Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya was in the city of Vijayanagar protecting all the *Varnāsramadharmas* and ruling the earth.	This record is dated 1 month and 4 days after 3 above.
Mahārāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha Mahārāya was in Vijayanagar protecting the whole empire in peace and wisdom.	
Rājādhirājā Rājaparamēsvara Bukka Mahārāya was in Vijayanagar ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.	This is exactly 10 months from the assumption of sovereignty by Bukka II.
Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Bukkanna Māhārāya was in the city of Vijayanagar protecting the *Varnāsramadharmas* and ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.	This is about 1 month and 16 days after No. 6 above.
Bukka II was ruling the kingdom of the world.	This is dated 7 months after No. 7 above.
Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya Srī Virūpāksha gifted on the occasion of his coronation Handinakere village to Brāhmans.	The village granted is called *Coronation agrahāra* in the Kannada part of the grant. It was renamed Dēvarāyapura.
When Mahāmandalēsvara Vīrapratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, as master of four oceans, was seated on the throne ruling a secure kingdom, a grant was made at the time of the solar eclipse.	This grant was made a year after No. 8 above.
When Bukkanna-Udaiyar, son of Harihara II, was ruling the earth, a private grant was made.	As corrected, this grant should have been made three months after No. 10 above.
Mahārājādhirāja Bukka Mahārāya made a grant to god Mangala.	This grant having been made in 1417 A.D., Bukka II should have been alive and not dead, as the grant is said to have been made by him.

From a consideration of the above records, it seems to follow that an attempt was made by the three brothers, Bukka II, Virūpāksha II and Dēva-Rāya I to ascend the throne on the death of Harihara II. If there was a revolution, the succession of kings was probably as follows:—Bukka II, Virūpāksha II, Bukka II once again, and then Dēva-Rāya I. That at any rate is what may be gleaned from the above tabulated records. All the three appear to have been at Vijayanagar at the time of their father's death and each appears to have styled himself king, though Bukka II, as co-regent, had earlier, during the life-time of his father, publicly used the imperial titles since 1380 A.D. (See *ante*). That he lived down to at least 1417 A.D. is clear from Hassan 18 which is dated in that year. The suggestion of Mr. Gopinatha Rao that his reign "did not last long," and that "he must have died a little before, or on the Friday, which was also the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtīka in the year Vyaya, Saka 1328" is therefore baseless. (*E.I.* XV, 14). He also quotes *E.C.* III, Malavalli 19 to testify to the restoration to sovereignty of Bukka II some days before Srāvana Su. 1, Pārthiva, Saka 1327. Malavalli 19 mentions no Saka date and does not mention Bukka II; it gives the date as Pārthiva year, Bhādrapada Ba. 7 So, (*i.e.*, Sōmavāra.). This date Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Kārtka month, Krishnapaksha 10th tithi, Friday, is the date of the coronation of Dēva-Rāya I as given in Hassan 133 (see above), but that date cannot be held—in the face of Hassan 18—to settle the date of the death of Bukka II. Nor is Mr. Rice's suggestion that "Bukka's reign was a very short one, of little more than a year," nearer the mark. Bukka II lived for over a decade after Dēva-Rāya's coronation and apparently was ruling—judging from the imperial titles given to him in Hassan 18—more or less independently of his brother Dēva-Rāya I, the ruling sovereign. Though he appears to have stayed at Vijayanagar for 2 or 3 years from 1404 to 1407, he did not succeed in his attempt at becoming king. Then, as regards Virūpāksha II, he appears to have assumed the royal titles after his arrival at Vijayanagar on his father's death. He seems to have used them between 1404 and 1405 A.D. during which period Bukka II also used them. (See table above). In his Soraikkāvūr plates, dated in 1387 A.D., when his father was still alive, he styles himself "Srīmān-Mahāmandalēsvara," *i.e.*, as merely a governor, when about the same time we find Bukka II appearing in his public records with the full imperial titles. In his Ālampūndi grant, dated in 1385 A.D., Virūpāksha II appears similarly as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara.* He is spoken of in the Soraikkāvūr plates as the lord of Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya countries; as having weighed himself against gold at Rāmēsvaram; made gifts of a thousand cows and as the establisher of the *Vēda-mārga.* He is also said to have gilded the *Vimāna* of the temples at Srīrangam and Chidambaram. From the Ālampūndi grant, it is learnt he conquered Ceylon as well, probably its northern part, including Jaffna. (See above). All these conquests of his are mentioned by him in a literary work of his referred to below. In this, he is further said to have made the *Shōdasha mahādānas* or the sixteen great gifts, and as one who revelled in all kinds of knowledge. From this work it is inferable that Virūpāksha II should have been a Sanskrit scholar of some note. The work in question is a drama in five acts called *Nārāyanīvilāsa,* which should have been written by him after his conquests which are mentioned in it. (See S. Seshagiri Sastri, *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Mss. (1898) No. I. 6*). How long after, it is not possible to determine. As no inscriptions of his dated after 1405 A.D. have so far been discovered, it might be inferred that he died sometime after that year. As his inscriptions dated in the years 1404-1405 A.D. all come from the Āraga country in the Shimoga District, it is possible that his last titular charge after he left Vijayanagar was the Viceroyalty of that province. The regal titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara* which appear in them show that he should have assumed them as sovereign of the empire to which he laid claim on the death of his father. That he could not have been anything more than a mere candidate for the sovereignty just like his other brother Bukka II is clear from the mention of Dēva-Rāya's *Coronation* as sovereign in 1406 A.D., in Hassan 133, whereas the *Coronations* of these two brothers, who also laid claim to the position, are nowhere mentioned. If they had, as a matter of fact, succeeded to the throne, the fact would have oozed out in the inscriptions of Bukka II and Virūpāksha II. At the same time, there is little doubt that both these brothers should have had adherents enough at the capital city and in the Empire to champion their causes and that they pretended successfully for a time they were sovereigns, *de facto* if not *de jure*, may also be conceded. Hence it is that in the inscriptions of the period, each is described as the ruling sovereign at Vijayanagar and as in possession of a secure kingdom. That the death of Virūpāksha II about 1405-1406 A.D. made it easier for Dēva-Rāya, as the eldest son by Mallā-Dēvi, to succeed to the throne as against his half-brother Bukk II, son of Pampā-Dēvi, who eventually had to yield to him, is also inferable from the quiet manner in which Bukka II settled down to rule over a part of the kingdom, more or less independently for nearly ten years after his supercession. The story of the "bloody" revolution detailed in the *Prapannāmrita* in which, according to it, Virūpāksha put to death all his relations and succeeded to the throne of his father, seems, accordingly, a picture greatly overdrawn. For one thing, none of the brothers appears to have suffered as the result of the dispute as to the succession. There is no whisper in any of the many inscriptions dated between 1404-1407 A.D. of a fratricidal fight for the throne. The dispute did not apparently end in any civil commotion or war, much less a "bloody" fight ending in the extirpation of all the opponents of Virūpāksha II as depicted in the *Prapannāmrita.* The story as told in it was intended more probably to enhance the service rendered by the Tātāchārya family and the efficacy of the *Rāmāyana* as a work of religious merit and the greatness of the two brothers who repeated it to exorcise the ghosts in possession of the Royal Palace than record sober history. Indeed, the original Tātāchārya (his real name was Srīsailapūrna), who was the maternal uncle of Rāmānuja, is said in a memorial verse (*taniyam*, in Tamil) to have explained the *Rāmāyana* in twenty-four different ways to Rāmānuja.

Nuniz's *Ajarao* identical with Virūpāksha II.

According to Nuniz, the Protuguese Chronicler, Harihara II was succeeded by his son "Ajarao," which name no doubt is a shortened form of *Virūpāksha-rāya* pronounced commonly *Virūpātchirāya*; *cha* and *ja* being interchangeable, the name would become *Virūpāja-rāo*, which would in turn become *Ajarāo*. Nuniz says he inherited "the kingdom on his father's death" and that "he reigned forty-three years, in which time he was always at war with the Moors." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 301). Though the duration of rule mentioned for him by Nuniz is plainly wrong—even counting Virūpāksha's rule as governor of the Tondaimandalam, Chōla and Pāndya countries, which may be set down to *Circa* 1380 A.D.—there can be no doubt that by "Ajarao" he means "Virūpāksha-Rāya" II. For he sets down to "Ajarao's" credit, the conquest of Goa and Chaul and Dabull and Ceilla (*i.e.*, Ceylon) and all the country of Charamandell (*i.e.*, the countries forming the

Chōlamandalam in its most glorious period, which included the Tondaimandalam, Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms)". Of the "Charamandell," he states that it "had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom." We know from other sources (see above) that Harihara had to re-conquer the country and that Virūpāksha II re-took the provinces of Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya. Nuniz's reference to the capture of Goa, Chaul and Dabull should be taken to refer to the conquests effected by Harihara II through his generals as has been referred to above. Virūpāksha II is further credited by Nuniz with the doing of "many other things" which are not recorded by him in his chronicle. In view of the fact that Nuniz's account of Virūpāksha's doings is confirmed by contemporary inscriptions, there can be no justification for the suggestion of Mr. Sewell that by "Ajarao" Nuniz "means two kings, Bukka II and his successor Dēva-Rāya I," though he himself has to admit that "the period covered by their combined reigns was only fourteen (? seventeen) years and not forty-three." (*Ibid*, 51). Nuniz assigns to Virūpāksha the improvements of Vijayanagar City and its fortifications. He writes :—

> "This king made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagumdym (Anegondi) which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the king desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself by great boulders; and according to story he threw in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the king's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there are many in the

kingdom ; and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city that it increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*. By means of this water, they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river they say the King spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money."

This description shows that Virūpāksha should have extended that city and added to it further lines of fortification, protecting it by additional walls and towers. But his greatest work of public utility was the construction, doubtless, of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river, and the formation of an aquduct fifteen miles long from the river to the city. Mr. Sewell identifies the channel with the one which to-day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city and calls it "a most extraordinary work." "For several miles," he says, "this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India." (*Ibid*, 51-52). No wonder, it emptied the treasury which Harihara II had left behind him. There is, however, some doubt whether these improvement works were carried out by Virūpāksha II or Dēva-Rāya I. While Nuniz sets them down to "Ajarao" in the earlier part of his narrative, (*Ibid* 301), at its end (*Ibid*, 302) he states that "this king" who was responsible for these public works "left a son at his death called Visarao," who has been correctly identified with Vijaya-Rāya, the son of Dēva-Rāya I, who, as Nuniz states, succeeded his father and ruled for six years. These latter details make it doubtful if Virūpāksha II was at all responsible for these works. The duration of his stay at and rule from Vijayanagar was far too short for such public works, involving perhaps many years of labour.

Dēva-Rāya I, 1406-1422 A.D.

Dēva-Rāya I, as we have seen, ascended the throne on Friday 5th November 1406 A.D. and ruled up to 1422 A.D. (See above; *M.E.R.* 1906, Appendix B. No. 345; also Kiëlhorn's *Southern List*, No. 480). Up to his coronation, he appears to have been in charge of the Sira province, which probably included Mulbagal also. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 1406). This record is dated in Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Asvija *Su.* 10, Thursday. As Hassan 133 gives us the date of his coronation as Saka 1328, Vyaya year, Kārtika, Krishnapaksha, Dasami, Friday, it is evident that he was in charge of Sira up to 45 days from the date on which he was crowned. What contributed to his crowning in preference to his two brothers is not clear from the available records. His previous charge of Sira, however, would indicate that he had been treated as the crown-prince in his father's days, though Bukka II had also been in Mulbagal as Viceroy from 1388-1397 (Bagepalli 17 and Mulbagal 74). That his eventual occupation of the throne was not left undisputed is proved by the attempt made on his life after his coronation (see below). He had the alternative names of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and Praudha-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 49 and 74 dated in 1429 and 1412 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Chintamani 39 dated in 1407; and *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 83 dated in 1415). His inscriptions, like those of his predecessors, have been found in every district of the present State of Mysore.

War against the Bāhmani Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh, 1406 A.D.

Almost immediately on his coming to the throne, if Ferishta may be believed, war broke out with the Bāhmani kingdom. The story of this war fills many pages of that great historian, though there is only the barest indication of it in the inscriptional records of this king, which generally represent him as ruling a secure and peaceful kingdom. The circumstances which brought it about are thus detailed by Ferishta :—

> "There resided in the town of Mudkal a farmer, who was blessed with a daughter of such exquisite beauty (called Pertal) that the Creator seemed to have united all his powers in making her perfect. Hearing of her beauty and accomplishments, Dēva-Rāja resolved to marry her, and sent valuable presents to her and her parents by a Brāhman. The parents were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune, and displaying the rich gifts before the girl, showered on her their congratulations. But the beautiful virgin, to their great astonishment, refused to receive the gifts, and observed that "whoever entered the harem of Beejanuggur was afterwards not permitted to see her nearest relations and friends; and though they might be happy to sell her for worldly riches, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to eternal absence from them even for all the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur.' This declaration was accompanied with affectionate tears which melted her parents; who, rather than use force, dismissed the Brāhman with all his gifts, and he returned, chagrined and disappointed, to Beejanuggur."

The royal lover now became mad for the possession of the girl, and resolved to obtain her by force. On the plea of making a tour, he went towards the Tungabhadra, and suddenly crossing it with a select body of troops, he hastened by forced marches to Mudkal. In the excess of his passion, he had omitted to let the parents of the girl know the object of the expedition. They, therefore, in common with all the country, fled on the approach of the army to the most distant parts for shelter. Foiled in their object, the troops returned in disgust, and committed depredations in the country through which they passed. Fīrūz Shāh resolved to be revenged for this inroad on his territories. Unable to effect anything against the Rāja's capital, he laid waste all the adjacent country, and the hostile camps remained in each other's presence for several months. A hostile demonstration was made against Bankāpūr, which surrendered, though an attempt on Adōni, "the strongest possession of the enemy" was foiled apparently by the Hindu Governor in charge of it. At last, a humiliating treaty had to be concluded by Dēva-Rāya, by which he was to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultān, cede the fort of Bankāpur and pay a large sum of money as indemnity.

> "Preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties. For forty days communication was open between the city and the Sultan's camp. Both sides of the road were lined with shops and booths, in which the jugglers, drolls, dancers and mimes of Karnātaka displayed their feats and skill to amuse passengers."

The bridegroom sent valuable presents to Vijayanagar, from which, after the expiration of seven days, the bride was brought forth with a rich portion and offerings from the Rāja, to the Sultān's camp. What followed is thus described by Ferishta :—

> "Dewul Roy having expressed a strong desire to see the Sultan, Firoz Shah, with great gallantry, agreed to visit him with his bride, as his father-in-law. A day being fixed, he with the bride proceeded to Beejanuggur. On the way he was met by Dewul Roy in great pomp. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode on horseback together, between ranks of beatiful boys and girls, who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced, and then threw them to be gathered by the populace. After this, the inhabitants of the city made offerings, both men and women, according to their rank. After passing through a square directly in the centre of the city, the relations of Dewul Roy, who had lined the streets in crowds, made their obeisance and offerings, and joined the cavalcade on foot, marching before the princes. Upon their arrival

at the palace gate, the Sultan and Roy dismounted from their horses and ascended a splendid palanquin, set with valuable jewels, in which they were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom; when Dewul Roy took his leave, and retired to his own palace. The Sultan, after being treated with royal magnificence for three days, took his leave of the Roy, who pressed upon him richer presents than before given, and attended him four miles on his way, when he returned to the city. Sultan Firuz Shah was enraged at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzzul his Commander Oollah that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This declaration being told to Dewul Roy, he made some insolent remarks, so that, notwithstanding the connection of family, their hatred was not calmed."

The girl who had been the innocent cause of the war was sent for and married to the Sultān's eldest son Hassankhān, who proved an impotent and pleasure-loving youth, and was later blinded and ended his days at Fīrūzābād. (Briggs II, 382-86, Scott I, 85-86).

War renewed, 1417 A.D.= 1419 A.D.

In 1417 there was war again, in which Dēva-Rāya inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sultān. The Muhammadans besiged for two years Pangul, 70 miles north-east of Adōni, but they were eventually obliged to raise it by the breaking out of a pestilence among Fīrūz's men and horses. Many of his nobility deserted the camp and fled to their *jāhgīrs*. Dēva-Rāya now saw his opportunity and helped by the Rāja of Warrangal marched against the Sultān with a vast host of horse and foot. A great slaughter of the Muhammadans followed, and the dominions of Bijāpur were laid waste with all the treasured resentment of many years. These reverses killed Fīrūz Shāh. He died in 1422 A.D. (Scott, *Ferishta*, 95). Āhmed Shāh, his successor, resolved to take revenge on the Hindus, who had now been driven back. He desolated the possessions of Vijayanagar, slaughtering women and children without mercy. Whenever the number of slain came to twenty thousand, he halted for three days and made a feast. The Hindus, in desperation, formed a plot against him, from which he escaped by a hair's-breadth. Terms were then agreed to, and he retired to his own country, the capital of which he shortly removed from Kulbarga to Bidar, a hundred miles to the north. This part of the war, however, actually falls into the reign of Vijaya Rāya, the next king, where it will be further referred to. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 66-70).

Date of the War.

Mr. Sewell, believing that Dēva-Rāya I lived only till 1412 A.D., has set down the above war to Dēva-Rāya II. This, however, is a mistake, as it is now definitely ascertained that Dēva-Rāya I lived up to *Saka* 1344, Cyclic year Sārvari or A.D. 1422. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 80 and *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 24). These two wars are but slightly reflected in the many inscriptions of Dēva-Rāya I. If one record, which contains a panegyric of his reign, can be believed (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23, dated in 1410 A.D., four years after the first war), it would seem as though he had never suffered any defeat at all. "When he went forth to war," it says, "the dust raised by the hard hoofs of his troops of horse produced, like the great serpent, an eclipse of the sun, while his enemies bathed in the river of blood drawn forth by the clouds of his arrows went to *mukti* (*i.e.*, absolution)." If this inscription and the Parachur grant referred to below may be taken as testifying to the truth, the treaty of peace, involving the humiliation of a marriage alliance with Fīrūz, seems an overdrawn picture. Nor was there any need for such a treaty, for Adōni was not captured by the enemy, who had been, even according to Ferishta, beaten off from the fort walls, Fīrūz himself being badly wounded by an arrow. Moreover, Dēva-Rāya appears to have had only one daughter, whose husband Dēvarasa is referred to in a record dated in 1436 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 22). That being so, the story of his giving away his daughter to Fīrūz seems unfounded, at any rate not substantiated from the inscriptional records so far discovered of his reign.

Part played by Rāmachandra-Odeya, son of Dēva-Rāya.

Either in the first war of 1406 or the second one of 1417, or in both, prince Rāmachandra-Odeya, a son of Dēva-Rāya I, entitled Yuvarāja in the Parachur grant of Dēva-Rāya I, greatly distinguished himself. It is said of Rāmachandra in this grant that "he subjugated (hostile) kings, was the lord of Udayādri (Udayagiri) City (and) by his skill vanquished the Mussalman king," probably Fīrūz Shāh Bāhmani. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, Copper-plate No. 1). It should be noted that the date of the grant which yields this information is Saka 1312, or A.D. 1390-1391, which evidently is the date of the *original* grant made by Dēva-Rāya I, which was subsequently *confirmed* by his son Rāmachandra-Odeya. This *confirmation* should have taken place long after the original grant. (See also *Ibid* I, 1 and III, Appendix I, 1469).

Attempt on Dēva-Rāya's life.

Apparently in the early part of his reign, a dastardly attempt was made on Dēva-Rāya's life. Details are lacking though the lithic record which mentions the quelling of the plot states that it was organized by "some ungrateful wretches who besieged the main entrance (into the palace) of the glorious and powerful Dēva-Rāya with sharp swords (in hand)." The minister who found out the plot and suppressed it was one Lakshmana or Lakshmīdhara, who is said to have set up the image of Ganapati "in a natural cavern on the southern side of the Mālyavat hill which was situated to the east of the Pampā-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampe)." The lithic record which supplies this information is now set up in one of the *mantapas* on the road between Krishnāpura and Hampe. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 245, *f.n.* 6 and authorities quoted therein; Inscription No. 38 of 1888-1889, mentioned therein, however, furnishes no particulars). Lakshmana, who thus heroically saved the king, was a nephew of Mādhava, who subsequently became famous as Vidyāranya. (See above). He is described as one of the five sons of Singale, a sister of Mādarasa and Sāyana, "the first minister in this (*i.e.*, Dēva-Rāya's) family." There can be little doubt, as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that the reference here is to the famous Vēdic scholars Māyana-Mādhava and his brother Sāyana, author of *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi* and other works. Apparently they had a sister of the name of Singale, whose son was Lakshmana, the saviour of Dēva-Rāya's life. The name "Mādarasa" doubtless suggests the Saiva teacher Chāunda-Mādhava, who, as we have seen, was also known and referred to in certain inscriptions as Mādarasa-Odeya. But the mention of Sāyana's name seems, however, to indicate that the person referred to is Māyana-Mādhava. The "ungrateful wretches" who tried to assassinate the king may have been the adherents of the two other competitors to the throne, Virūpāksha II and Bukka II, who, as we have seen, were both living at the time.

Construction of a dam across the Haridra at Harihar, 1410 and 1424 A.D.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya I, a dam across the Haridra at Harihar was under his orders put up by a Brāhman named Bullappa, son of Jaggannātha, in 1410 A.D. As the Brāhmans and the temple of Harihara were benefited by it, the former compensated him with the grant of a piece of rice-land from the one-third portion to be irrigated by it which had been made over to them under the orders of Nāgappa (or Nāganna-dannāyaka), the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya. Bullappa himself is described as a minister, while his father Jaggannātha is also so spoken of. Apparently they were in immediate charge of the country round Harihar. It was decreed at the time of the grant that the cost of the annual repairs to the dam should be borne by the temple and the Brāhmans attached to it in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third as they had been allotted the lands under it in that proportion. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23 and 29). The dam, however, burst in 1424 A.D., two years after Dēva-Rāya's death. Nāganna-Dannāyaka, then minister under Dēva-Rāya II, and both the temple and its attendant Brāhmans were in great distress. Ballarasa prevailed on Chāma-nripāla, son of Bōppa-Dēva, Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, to rebuild it. Generous man that he was, he handed in the requisite money to Ballarasa, saying, "You have the dam built in my stead." Chāma-nripāla is praised, as he deserved to be, in the record and is styled "gandaragūli." He is incidentally said to have been a generous man, fierce in war, skilled in the four modes of policy, fond of singing and as a protector of right (*dharma*). Ballarasa, who got him to undertake the restoration, is, in this record, described, as a Brāhman of the Kamme-kula and as a skilful engineer, who with "energy" built the dam and "led from it the shining channel." (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 29).

Generals and ministers.

Among his ministers was Nāgappa-Dannāyaka, who is described in a record from Domlur dated in 1409 A.D. as his right hand. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 115). From certain other records dated in 1410 and 1424 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 23 and 29), he appears to have been the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya I, and after him of his grandson Dēva-Rāya II. He assisted in the coronation of Dēva-Rāya I. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 345).

In the year of the coronation and probably in honour of it, Nāgappa made a grant, under the orders of Dēva-Rāya I, to the temple of Talakantadēvi, at Dānavalapādu in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B. No. 345). In a record dated in 1416 A.D., he appears to have been raised to the position of *Mahāpradhāna* (or Chief Minister) and to be administering Muluvāyi-rājya. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 7). Another was Bomme-Dannāyaka mentioned in a record dated in 1407 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 95). A third was Antappa-Dannāyaka, who may be the Anantaratsa-Odeya who was minister of Bukka I and who built the fortifications of Penukonda. The great minister Iranna-Dannāyaka, was in 1415 A.D. in authority near Bannurghatta, modern Bannerghatta near Bangalore. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 85). Narasimhadēva-Odeya was minister of the Penukonda province during this reign. An epigraph dated in 1409 A.D. credits him with the putting up of a new sluice to the west of the Hampasamudra tank. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 107). Gōpanna or Gōpa-Chamūpa was the Governor of Nidugal-durga. According to an inscription found on this hill, it is stated that Gōpanna built its fortifications. (See *E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 28 dated in 1410 A.D; also *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 107). Hirana-Dannāyaka-Odeyar, described as a minister of Dēva-Rāya I, seems to have been in charge of the country round Yalahanka-nād in or about 1410 A.D. He granted Dēvarāyasamudra, named after the sovereign, for use in connection with what seems a *Pātasāle* or school. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 12). Vittanna-Odeyar was the administrator of the Āraga kingdom. (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 70, dated in 1409 A.D. VI; Mudgere 85, dated in 1410 A.D.). He is described as the son of Rājanna-Odeya. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 190, dated in 1407 A.D.). He was a Brahma-Kshatriya. (*Ibid*, Tirthahalli 205 dated in 1410 A.D.; 144 dated in 1421 A.D.). His charge included Āraga, Gutti (Chandragutti), Bārakalūr, and Mangalūr, in fact what is called the Karnātaka country as far as the Western Ocean. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 33 dated in 1408). Over him apparently as Viceroy was Bhāskara-Odeya, one of the sons of Dēva-Rāya, for it is stated in the last record mentioned that Vittanna was governing under his orders. Vittanna appears to have administered Āraga when Virūpāksha II and Bukka II occupied the throne for a while before Dēva-Rāya I ascended it. Another minister of Dēva-Rāya I was Lakshmana or Lakshmīdhara who, as already mentioned, rescued his sovereign from assassination. The 18 *kampanas* of Āraga were, in 1409 A.D., under the charge of Vīranna-Odeya, who in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, distinguished himself in putting down the Bēdar rebellion. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 26; *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). In 1423 A.D. Sirigirinātha-Odeya was in charge of the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 2 and 14). In 1415 A.D., Ummattūr was in the charge of Chikka-Devappa. (*E.C.* III, Nanjagud 178). The great minister Baiche-dannāyaka, who had been minister in the reign of Harihara II and had been entrusted with many private affairs by Bukka II, was apparently in charge of the Belur (or Hoysana) country in 1414 A.D. He erected a *dīpa-stambha* for the Krittika festival of lights and a swing for the swinging-cradle festival of the god at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 14). He also granted in about 1420 A.D., under Dēva Rāya's orders, the village of Belame (in Mepinād) to provide for the worship of the Gummatasvāmi of Belgola. (*E.C.* V, Manjarabad 58). In 1417 A.D., Virūpa-dannāyaka was in charge of Goa and Chandragutti provinces. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 37). In 1419 A.D. Gutti is said to be under Mahāpradhāna-Mallappa-Odeya, younger brother of Bāchanna-Odeya. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 288). Between 1413 and 1416 A.D., Bārakūr province was under Sankara-Dēva-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 120, 143, 147 and 172). Chandrasēkhara-Bhārathi-Odeyar of

Sringēri was the presiding *guru* during the time of Dēva-Rāya I. (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 29, dated in 1416 A.D.). According to the inscriptions, he was *guru* from 1408 to 1416 A.D., being succeeded by Purushōttama-Bhārathi, who was *guru* from 1418 to 1451 A.D.

Personal appearance.

In one record (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 70) dated in 1409 A.D., Dēva-Rāya is described as a "perfect reflection" (*bimba-pratibimba-bhūta*) of his father Harihara II. Whether this is meant to be taken as a metaphorical expression or in its literal sense, is not clear. If in the latter, he must have had an appearance strikingly like that of his father to be so described—just as an image in a mirror to the original.

Domestic life.

Dēva-Rāya seems to have had at least three queens; Malliyavve, mother of Vīra-Mallappa; Dēmāmbika (Hēmāmbika, according to the Satyamangalam plates of Dēva-Rāya II). (*E.C.* III, 40), mother of Vīra-Vijaya-Rāya; and Bhīmā-Dēvi, who was probably a Jain. The last of these is mentioned in a record, assigned to 1410 A.D., in which she is stated to have set up the image of Sāntinātha in the *mangāyi basti* at Sravana Belgola. She was a lay disciple of Panditāchārya. (*E.C.* II, 337). This Jain teacher was probably the same as Panditārya, who is mentioned as the *guru* of Irugapa, the general of Harihara II. (*E.I.* VII, 115). The names of two other ladies, who were probably also queens of Dēva-Rāya I, are mentioned in a couple of records found at the Hazar-Rāmasvāmi temple at Hampe, their names being Pampa and Annala-Dēvi, who presented certain gold vessels to that god in the year *Durmukhi* (which is perhaps the one which fell in A.D. 1416). As the two records are close together, they may refer to only one queen Pampa *alias* Annala-dēvi, who is not otherwise known. (See *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 82).

Dēva-Rāya's other sons were Bhāskara-Rāya, Harihara-Rāya III and Rāmachandra-Rāya-Odeya. Of his four sons, Vijaya-Rāya, the crown prince, succeeded him on the throne. Between 1406 and 1416 A.D., he was viceroy of Mulbagal-rājya (*E.C.* X, 175). In order that merit might accrue to him, a grant was made in 1406 A.D., by the Brāhmans of Gulganjihalli. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 59). Harihara III is known from certain inscriptions recording his gifts dated in 1420 and 1422 A D. (*E.C.* IV, 114 and 159, Gundlupet 24). A copper-plate grant of his dated wrongly in *Saka* 1432 (which perhaps should have been *Saka* 1342), Cyclic year *Hēvilāmbi*, comes from Tryāmbakapura, Gundlupet Taluk, Taking the cyclic year as the year of the grant, its date would be 1417 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 59). He appears to have been governor of the Terakanāmbi kingdom, which comprised a part of the old Hoysala kingdom. (*Ibid*). The gift in Gundlupet 24, dated in 1422 A.D. above referred to, was apparently a grant made by Harihara III, immediately after Dēva-Rāya's death as it is specifically stated in it that it was made in order that his father "might attain with certainty to the world of merit." From another record of his, we learn that he seized the great city of Kareyapattana, situated to the west of the *abhinava* or new Jambudvīpa and that those in possession of it left it and emigrated to some other place. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 52, dated in 1428 A.D.). From the particulars given in this record, the capture of Kareyapattana should have occurred in 1417 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 28). Another record of his, dated in 1429 A.D., has been traced in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampe. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 83). Harihara III appears to have been in charge of the country on the banks of the Bhavāni and Vīra Mallanna-Odeyar, his brother, of the Bommattina-kallu or Chitaldrug country. (*E.C*, XI, Chitaldrug 14; *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). In a record dated in 1413 A.D., he is called Karnāta-Rāja. (*M.E.R.* 1910; App. B. No. 132 of 1909). His mother Mallayavve appears to have died in or about 1411 A.D. In order that she may attain to the world of merit, Mallanna-Odeyar made a grant of Kānchiganahalli, a village near Chitaldrug, (renamed Mallapūr after her), in favour of the temple of Hidimbanātha. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 14). Rāmachandra-Odeya, another prince, seems to have been Viceroy of Udayagiri province in 1416 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, No. I, 1-7; and III App. I. 1469). He may be the Rāmachandra-Odeya, described as the son (*Kumāra*) of Harihara II, where probably the term "son" should be taken as indicating "grandson" (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 2). If so, he should have been in charge of part of Bangalore and the surrounding country. Some of his descendants seem to have ruled over the Udayagiri province after him. (*Ibid* I. No. 2; III, App. I, 1469). Prince Vīra-Bhūpati-Udaiyar was a nephew of Dēva-Rāya I and the only son of Bukka II. His date ranges between 1409 and 1421 A.D. He was the patron of Chāundappāchārya, the author of *Prayōgaratnamāla,* who mentions this prince in the colophon to this work. (See *ante*; also *M.E.R.* 1905, Para 30).

A son-in-law of Dēva-Rāya I, of the name of Dēvarasa, seems to be mentioned in a lithic record dated in 1436 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 28), though the name of his wife—daughter of Dēva-Rāya I—is not known. Whether he is the same as the Dēva-Rasa mentioned in a record dated in 1407 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Heggadadevankote 60) and in another (*Ibid*, Heggadadevankote 62) also dated in 1407 A.D., it is not possible to determine. In the latter, he is described as an officer of the Customs Department.

Death of Dēva-Rāya I, 1422 A.D.

From Gundlupet 24, a copper-plate grant dated in 1422 A.D., already quoted above, it has to be inferred that Dēva-Rāya died in or about that year. From this and another record, a lithic inscription at Āraga (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 14), the date of his death may be determined within certain narrow limits. Tirthahalli 14 records a grant by Sirigirinātha, the governor of Āraga when Dēva-Rāya I was still the ruling king at Vijayanagar. This grant was made in *Saka* 1344 (mentioned in words), cyclic year *Sōbhakritu* (current), and on Māgha *Ba.* 14, Monday, *Sivarāthri* day. This would be about February 1421 A.D. Gundlupet 24 records a grant by Dēva-Rāya II in order that his *father* (really his grand-father) "might attain with certainty to the world of merit." This grant was made in *Saka* 1344, (current) cyclic year *Sōbhakritu* and on Sravana *Su.* 15, Monday, at the time of a lunar eclipse which occurred on that day. This would have fallen in August of 1422. The death of Dēva-Rāya I should therefore have occurred between February 1421 and August 1422 A.D., nearer the latter date than the former, in view of the wording of Gundlupet 24. (From the fact that *Saka* 1344 and *Sōbhakritu* year agree, the date of Tirthahalli 2, which is given as *Saka* 1346 and coupled with the cyclic year *Subhakritu*, seems wrong, the more so as it is also dated in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I. As *Sōbhakritu* follows *Subhakritu* and as the cyclic may be taken as the correct year, the intended *Saka* year should be taken to be 1343. This would also make the record fall in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I. If the *Saka* year is indeed correct, then the Dēva-Rāya mentioned in this record should be Dēva-Rāya II).

Vīra-Vijaya-Rāya I, Vīra-Vijaya-Bukka III or Vijaya-Bukka, Bukka III, 1422-1424 A.D.

On the death of Dēva-Rāya I, he was succeeded by Vīra-Vijaya-Rāya. He was better known, according to the inscriptions of his period, as Vīra-Bukka, Vijaya-Bukka, Vīra-Vijaya, Vīra-Bhūpati, Vira-Vijaya-Bhūpati, etc. He may be called Bukka III for purposes of history. He is mentioned in a record dated in 1418-1419 A.D.

(*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix C. No. 126 of 1921). He was the donor of the grant mentioned in the Dandapalle plates dated in 1410 A.D. (See *E.I.* XIV 68). He is the "Visarao" of Nuniz. According to this chronicler, Vijaya-Rāya inherited the kingdom on the death of his father and lived for six years but "did nothing worth relating." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* 302). Inscriptional records tell a different tale. A record from Shikarpur dated in 1422 (Subhakritu Āsvija Su. 5) states that he was ruling with security and peace from Hastināvati, *i.e.*, Vijayanagar. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 93). Like this record, Kolar 178 and Ānekal 79 (*E.C.* X and *E.C.* IX both dated in 1422 A.D.—Kolar 178 gives the date Saka 1344, Subhakritu, Āsvayuja *ba* 14 Wednesday and Ānekal 79, Saka 1344, Subhakritu, Bhādrapada *Su.* 1 Sōmavāra) describe him as the ruling king and give him the full imperial titles. It would seem to follow from these records that he succeeded his father immediately on his death. He was Viceroy of Mulbagal province, between 1408-1416 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 175 and Pavagada 88 and 96). A gift of his to the temple at Tiruvannāmalai is mentioned in a record dated in 1413 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Appendix A, 568). His great minister was Bayicheya-Dannāyaka-Odeya. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 178). He has been identified with Baicha II of the Sravana-Belgola record, mentioned above. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Page 247). Another Chief Minister of his was Annadata Udaiyār, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1415 A.D. from Tirukoilyūr. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 44; Appendix B. No. 355 of 1921). Srīgiri, one of the sons of Vijaya, was governing at Mulbagal in 1422, *i.e.*, immediately after Vijaya himself left it to assume the sovereignty. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 15, Text). Another son Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeyar was ruling over Terkanāmbi province. He is said to have hunted a boar on his horse called *Pārvatinātha,* in 1425

A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 195), and in the same year made a grant to a *bhakta* on his building a town in his (Pārvatirāya's) name. (*Ibid* 105). Vijaya's reign is referred to in a record dated in 1423. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 461). In another record dated in 1424 A.D., his reign is praised in a significant manner. This record speaks of "the growing kingdom of the mighty destroyer of the hosts of his enemies with the sword which adorned his long and powerful arms." In a record dated in 1425 A.D., in his son Dēva-Rāya'a reign, he is spoken of as a "heroic" king and as "a rising sun to the lotus, the heart of the goddess of learning." He was either himself learned or proved himself a patron of learning. Other words are used in this record to indicate that he had eclipsed his enemies by his fame and prowess. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 81). In his old charge, Mulbagal, he appears to have built as his "dharma" a fine temple dedicated to Prasanna-Virūpāksha, with its enclosure wall, *gōpura*, finial covered with gold, tank, *mantapas*, etc., and made provision for its decorations, illuminations, etc. (*E.C.* XI, Mulbagal 2). To this temple, the local Heggade-dēva, Lakkanna-dannāyaka and Mādanna-dannāyaka made a grant, in 1431 A.D., of six villages. A grant dated in 1436 A.D. mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Vijayarāja. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 81). This cannot refer to this Vīra-Vijaya, as no imperial titles are mentioned. In an epigraph assigned to 1437 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 47) which falls in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, the latter's name is twice mentioned as Vijaya-Vidya-Dēva-Rāya, *i.e.*, Dēva-Rāya, the son of Vijaya-Vidya-Rāya. The term *Vidya* is significant as confirming Vijaya-Rāya's love for learning referred to in another record mentioned above. (Devanhalli 81). This statement is also contained in the Harihar copper-plates of Dēva-Rāya II dated in 1426 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 104, Plate IV). In these plates, Vijaya-Raya (who is called Vijaya-Bhūpathi) is praised as a great patron of letters and as a great scholar. It is said that he wiped out the tears of Sarasvati caused by the death of Bhōja. In another copper-plate grant of Dēva-Raya II, dated in A.D. 1432, Vijaya (Bhūpati) is dubbed "the learned" while in a third grant, dated in the same year (1432 A.D.) it is mentioned that he gave the learned happiness at his Court. His learning was such that people looked upon him as Bhōja re-born. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 100). Vijaya-Rāya appears to have died in or about *Saka* 1343 (=A.D. 1424-1425), in which year (*Krōdhi* year, Magha *Su.* 6) we have a grant for his eternal salvation made by his son Dēva-Rāya II. (The words used are: *namma ayyagalige sāsvata sivalōka-prāptiyahantagi sa-hiranyōdaka-dāna-dhārāpūrva-kavāgi kotteragi*, etc. See text, *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 161. The Translation Part does not give this portion of the text). It would thus seem that he ruled as king in his own right for only two years and not six years as stated by Nuniz. His son Dēva-Rāya II seems to have been associated with him as co-regent from about *Saka* 1343 or A.D. 1422. (See *A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Para 247; also *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 160; and *M.E.R.* 1907, No. 158). Mr. Gōpinātha Rao suggests that the co-regency system was not customary among the Vijayanagar kings of the first dynasty and that therefore Vijaya "very likely ruled for six months computed from the date of his own accession to the date of his son's accession and not six years as mentioned by Nuniz who, he says, evidently entered *years* in the place of months." As the co-regency system is seen in the case of several kings of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, its existence should be presumed to have been as much customary among them as among the Chōlas, Hoysalas and other dynasties of the South. As regards the other portion of the argument, the fact that Vijaya's inscriptions have been found with dates up to and inclusive of

1424 A.D. and that his death occurred in or about the end of 1424 A.D. is conclusively against it. Certain later records dated in 1436 (*M.E.R.* 1906-1907, Para 55 and *E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 81) and 1450 (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No 346), which mention Vijaya-Rāya, may be set down, as Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested, to Mallikārjuna, his grand-son, who might have been also named after him. (*A S.I.* 1907-1908, Paras 247-248). They cannot refer to the Vijaya-Rāya we are writing of as he died about 1424 A.D. The few records available for Vijaya-Rāya show that he ruled only for a couple of years after his accession and that he was a mighty destroyer of his enemies, if not actually a "hero" as is claimed for him, and that he was full of zeal for his ancestral religion and learning. All this seems rather to nullify the idea that he was the *raifaineant* that he is represented to have been by Nuniz.

Āhmed Shāh's Campaign, 1422-1424 A.D.

The "enemies" referred to in Vijaya-Rāya's inscriptions can only be Muhammadans, for he does not appear to have been troubled with any other wars or insurrections in his own dominions. Owing to a miscalculation in dates, which made him assign the reign of Dēva-Rāya II to 1419-1444 A.D., Mr. Sewell has (*A Forgotten Empire*, 64 and 70-71) set down this campaign to his reign. As we know now that Vijaya was an active and warlike prince and that he actually ruled from 1422 to 1424 A.D , this war should be assigned to his reign. As his son, Dēva-Rāya II, was co-regent with him, during the period, he might also be taken to have been in the war. As to the war itself, Ferishta's account, as usual, makes it an entirely successful one for Āhmed Shāh. On Fīrūz's death in 1422, Āhmed Shāh succeeded him and opened his campaign by marching towards the Tungabhadra in the dry season of 1423 A.D. Vijaya-Rāya was assisted, according to Ferishta, by the king of

Warrangal. The latter's troops, however, deserted him at the critical moment. Vijaya's camp was so suddenly attacked in the early hours of a morning that he was hardly able either to gather his forces or offer battle. As it was, he found it difficult to escape from capture. Āhmed Shāh, not caring to besiege the city, overran the open country, laying it waste and massacring the inhabitants, holding a festival each time 20,000 had been beheaded. The destruction of Hindu temples and colleges, says Ferishta, was so great that it drove the Hindus to such desperation that they took an oath "to kill the Sultān, as the grand author of all their sufferings." Five thousand of these people kept close watch on him through the aid of spies. They saw their opportunity when Āhmed Shāh was alone while on a hunt and they then attacked him and reduced him to such "an extremity of distress" that but for the timely help of one of his armour-bearers, who attacked the Hindus in their rear, they would have killed him. Thus escaping, Āhmed Shāh closely besieged Vijayanagar. The people were put to such great distress that Vijaya-Rāya was obliged to sue for peace. This was agreed to on payment of arrears of tribute alleged to be due. The money was sent laden on the best elephants available through the "son" of Vijaya-Rāya, who, it is said, was made to sit "at the foot" of Āhmed Shāh's throne, apparently to indicate the defeat Vijaya-Rāya had sustained. With this the war closed, and Āhmed Shāh returned to Kulbarga.

Inscriptional records confirmed by Ferishta.

Such is the story of the campaign as told by the Muhammadan historian, who calls the Vijayanagar king, as before, "Dewul Roy." This can only be taken to mean "Vijaya-Rāya," who possibly was popularly known to Muhammadans as *Vijaya-Dēva-Rāya*, the last part of the name Dēva-Rāya being common to kings belonging to almost every South Indian dynasty, including that of Vijayanagar. The inscriptions of Vijaya-Rāya, which refer to him as "the mighty destroyer of his enemies" and as having won reputation by his "heroic" deeds, should be taken to refer to the success that attended his arms against Āhmed Shāh's person and troops. As the result of the bravery displayed by Vijaya's troops, Āhmed Shāh had nearly been caught alive or put to death.

Destruction of Warrangal Kingdom, 1424 A.D.

A noteworthy event that occurred about the close of Vijaya's reign was the complete destruction of the Warrangal kingdom. The king of Warrangal had helped Vijaya against Āhmed Shāh, who, after the close of his campaign against Vijayanagar, attacked Warrangal and destroyed it. Mr. Sewell has set down this event to December 1424 A.D.

Domestic life.

By his queen Nārāyanāmbika, Vijaya-Rāya had at least three sons, though the Madras Museum plates state that he had only two sons, Dēva-Rāya II and Srīgiri. (*E.I.* III, 307-308). These three were :—Dēva-Rāya II, who succeeded him; Vīra-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeya, who was, as mentioned above, governing the Terakanāmbi province in 1425 A.D.; and Srīgiri-Bhūpāla, who was governing the Maratakanagara *prānta*, *i.e.*, the province over which Kampa II held his sway at one time. On the basis of the Satyamangalam plates, it has been suggested that he had, besides Dēva-Rāya entitled Prāudha-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, another son named Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who is described in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēva-Rāya II as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya. He is described in that grant as the "renowned younger brother" of king Dēva-Rāya II. (*E.C.* III, 36; *M E.R.* 1904, Para 22; *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45; *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 487). He is said to have made king Dēva-Rāya's glory "resplendent" just as Mahēndra's was made "by his younger brother Upēndra (Vishnu)." (See *E.I.* III, 40). Mr. Venkayya has identified this Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya with Srīgiri-Bhūpāla of the Madras Museum plates, for the former is also said to have ruled over the province of Maratakanagara about the same time (1424 A.D.) as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). Mr. Rice, on the other hand, has identified Srīgiri with Vīra-Pārvati Rāya-Odeyar (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 117), which identification should, however, be given up as they are said to have ruled over *different provinces* contemporaneously. As regards the other identification, that of Srīgiri with Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya of the Satyamangalam plates, Mr. Gōpinātha Rao has suggested that while it might be admitted that Srīgiri governed the Maratakanagara province about 1424 A.D., there is no ground for identifying him with Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya. He states that this supposition of the existence of a younger brother of the same name as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya rests on the authority of a *single* record, the Satyamangalam plates, and that numerous other records which give the genealogy of Dēva-Rāya II do not mention this younger brother of his. He further suggests that there was no such brother of king Dēva-Rāya II and that the erroneous belief in the existence of such a brother has been due to a mistake on the part of the engraver in copying the Satyamangalam grant, where according to him (in lines 35-36) the expression *pratāpa-Dēvarāyēna* has been written instead of *pratāpa-Dēvarāyasya*. He also adduces the reasons that two brothers of the same name of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya could not have co-existed, nor two brothers ruled the same province together nor two brothers even died in the same year, as would be the case if the existence of a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya II as independent from king Dēva-Rāya II were conceded. (See *E.C.* XV, 15-16). Each of these arguments may be easily met. First, as to the remark that there exists only one authority, the Satyamangalam plates, which mention a second Dēva-Rāya, as the younger brother of Dēva-Raya II, there are the Chitaldrug plates of Dēva-Raya II which mention the same younger brother and describe him as "the great archer Vijaya-Rāya (also) celebrated as Dēva-Rāya." This record should be taken to finally dispose of this objection of Mr. Gōpinātha Rao and should also be taken as incidentally explaining a number of inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1368 (A.D. 1446), the last year of Dēva-Rāya II, which refer to the reigning sovereign as Vijaya-Rāya-Mahārāya. (*M.A.R.* 1921, paras 62-63; also *M.E.R.* 1907, para 83; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 248.) The Vijaya referred to in the last of these authorities is none other than Dēva-Rāya, younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that he may have ruled along with his brother, the king, at the close of his reign). As regards the co-existence of two princes of the same name, there were, as we have seen above, actually two princes of the same name, Kampa II and Kampa III, co-existent in the reign of Bukka I. So there can be nothing inconsistent in the co-existence of two Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāyas as well. As to the remark that no other record besides the Satyamangalam plates mentions a younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II, named Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, this is erroneous as pointed out above. Apart from the Chitaldrug plates, such an argument as that adduced by Mr. Gōpinātha Rao cannot be considered conclusive in the matter more especially as the statement in the Satyamangalam plates is both explicit and definite, even a comparison being included to show how the younger Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya had won fame for the elder of the same name, just as Upēndra had done for Mahēndra. Moreover, in these plates the younger is mentioned as simply "Pratāpa-

Dēva-Rāya," whereas the elder is given the imperial titles of *Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēsvara, Suratrāna among Hindu kings*, etc., which show a definite distinction drawn between the two. This would seem to indicate that wherever in the records of this period the name Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned without the higher imperial titles, it might have to be set down to the younger brother, especially in the Maratakanagara area (*i.e.*, the North Arcot District). Mr. Venkayya has for this reason assigned the Singavaram record of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 22; Appendix B. No. 229) dated in *Paridhāvi* (=1432-1433 A.D.) to the younger brother and not to king Dēva-Rāya II. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has similarly remarked that inscriptions found in the North Arcot District mentioning Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya-Odeya may be provisionally taken to belong to the younger brother and not to the king. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Para 248 *f.n.* 5). Then as regards the objection that the conceding of two Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāyas would mean the conceding of two co-existing governors of the names of Srīgiri (of the Madras Museum plates) and Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother (of the Satyamangalam plates) over the Maratakanagara province, this, however, is not a valid objection as Srīgiri and Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger, may and should in that case, be taken as identical persons. As a matter of fact, as Mr. Narayanasvami Ayyar, the editor of the Madras Museum plates, has suggested, the name *Srīgiri* is another form of *Srīparvata* in the Kurnool District. "The God of the temple at that place," he adds, "is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet, the composer of the Madras Museum plates of Srīgiribhūpāla, into its equivalent of Srīgiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him makes it possible that Srīgiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II as the younger brother of the king." For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājēndra and Srīgirīndra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, he must be another brother of Dēva-Rāya II, not hitherto known. (*E.I.* VIII, 308). This is entirely in accordance with the surmise of Mr. V. Venkayya that " Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya might be another name of Srīgiri." (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 45). As a matter of fact, it might be safely affirmed that his real name was Srīgiri (or Mallikārjuna) and that the name of *Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya* came to be applied to him as a title because of the victories he won for his brother and probably in his name as is hinted in line 21 of the Satyamangalam plates, where he is described to have made the " glory " of his royal brother " resplendent " apparently in war. Moreover, we know that the name " Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya " had already been assumed by Dēva-Rāya I (see *ante*) and there could be nothing wrong in Srīgiri being made to appropriate it by the composer of the Satyamangalam plates. Another objection urged against the existence of a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, independently of King Dēva-Rāya II, is that both of them " died in the year *Saka* 1368, Kshayasamvatsara." In support of this statement, Dr. Kiëlhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 495 is quoted. The inscription referred to is *Sravana Belgola* (New Edn.) 328 (=Old Edn. 125), part of which is repeated in *Sravana Belgola* (New Edn., 330 (=Old Edn. 127). Dr. Kiëlhorn has suggested that this inscription (328) refers to Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. Both Mr. Rice and Mr. Narasimhachar, however, take these two records (Nos. 328 and 330) as referring to the death of king Dēva-Rāya II. The wording of these two epigraphs also seems to support their view. (*E.C.* II, New Edn. Introd. 64; *E.C.* VIII, Introd. 12). Words such as "the abode of valour," "the matchless Dēva-rāt" appearing in it would be more appropriate to the reigning king than to his younger brother who was only a provincial governor. An inscription at Kodakani (*E.C.* VIII, 18) seems to confirm this view. This record is dated in *Saka* 1370 (or A.D. 1468) and refers to the "setting" (*i.e.*, end) of Dēva-Rāya II who is described as "Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya." The death of Prithuvi Setti mentioned in it should have occurred immediately after Dēva-Rāya's death though the grants made by his sons in memory of the occasion came two years later as recorded in the inscription. Both Mr. Rice and Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri agree in thinking that this inscription refers to the death of king Dēva-Rāya II and not to that of his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya of the Satyamangalam plates. That this view is the correct one is proved by the fact that the earliest records of Mallikārjuna—son of king Dēva-Rāya II—are dated in *Saka* 1368, Cyclic year *Kshaya*, the year of the death of Dēva-Rāya II and *Saka* 1369, Cyclic year *Prabhava* (A.D. 1447), *i.e.*, the year after Kshaya (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 107, Text; *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 239; *E.C.* XII, Pavagada 69) in which, according to *Sravana Belgola* 328, Dēva-Rāya II is said to have died. The year in which gifts were made by Prithuvi-Setti's sons was *Saka* 1370, *Vibhava* (A.D. 1448), which was again one year *after* Mallikārjuna succeeded to the throne. The Kodakani and the two Sravana-Belgola records can accordingly only refer to the death of king Dēva-Rāya and not to that of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, his younger brother. As a matter of fact, so far, no record has been discovered giving us any information as to the date of the death of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Srīgiri. If, indeed, the latter was the assassin of king Dēva-Rāya II and not his nephew, as stated by Nuniz (see below), then he should have died between November 1442 and April 1443 A.D., *i.e.*, he should have predeceased king Dēva-Rāya II by nearly four years. There is nothing inconsistent, therefore, in the suggestion that there was a Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya independently of king Dēva-Rāya II during the latter's reign, that he was his younger brother as mentioned in the Satyamangalam and the Chitaldrug plates and that he was identical with Srīgiribhūpāla of the Madras Museum plates and Bowringpet 15 referred to below. The son of Vijaya-Rāya who is mentioned in the last mentioned record (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 15) should have been, looking to the proximity of the place where the inscription has been found to Marataknagara, Srīgiri. This inference is well supported by the text of the inscription which Mr. Rice has deciphered as follows :—*Srī-Vīra-Pratāpa-Vijayabhūpati-rāya-mahārāya-kumāra-srīmān-mahā-mandalēsvara Srī-vīra*.................................*rigi*...............*yaru*, where the last words should probably be read as *Srī-vīra-srīgiri-yaru.* (See *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 15, Text, page 165). This shows that Srīgiri was only a *Mahāmandalēsvara* or governor of Maratakanagara and that the title *Srī-vīra-pratāpa* which commences the name of his father Vijaya-Bhūpati-Rāya, was also part of his own, as an inherited one. There are a few references to this Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya which may be noted here. In a couple of copper-plates of Virūpāksha III, a Pratāpa-Mahipati (see the Sajjalur plates, *E.C.* III, Malavalli 121, dated in 1474 A.D.) and a Pratāpa-Rāya (See Srisailam plates, *E.I.* XV, 8, dated in 1476 A.D.) are referred to as his father, his mother in the one being called Simhala-Dēvi and in the other Siddhala-Dēvi. It now seems agreed that Simhala-Dēvi is a misreading for Siddhala-Dēvi. Both the copper-plates state that Pratāpa-Rāya mentioned in them obtained his kingdom from his elder brother (*Nijagrajat-prāpta*).

Mr. Rice's translation of this phrase as "elder sister" and the further suggestion that it "may perhaps refer to the princess married into the Bāhmani family" seem to lack foundation. (See *E.C.* III, Malavalli 121, Text and Translation and *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 116; also H. Krishna Sāstri in *A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 252, *f.n.* 5). First of all, there was no "elder sister" of his own known to the records of his reign; and secondly it is very doubtful, as we have seen, if Ferishta's account of giving away a daughter of his in marriage to Fīrūz is at all well founded. The question as to who this Pratāpa-Rāya, who was the father of Virūpāksha III, was, has been answered in two different ways. Dr. Kiëlhorn identifies him with king Dēva-Rāya II. (*E.I.* V, App. II, 18a). So does Mr. Gopinatha Rao (*E.I.* XV, 15), who accordingly finds it impossible to understand who the elder brother of Dēva-Rāya II was who could have bestowed the kingdom on him, under what circumstances he did it, why such a gift is not mentioned in Dēva-Rāya's own grants but only in those of some of his successors and why such a gift of a part of a kingdom only (Ghanādri or Penukonda province only) long after he had ruled over the whole of the empire and died. These are the complications to which one is reduced by ignoring the plain wording of the Satyamangalam plates that there was a younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya II of the name of Pratāpa-Rāya, or Pratāpa-Dēva-Mahārāya or Praudha-Pratāpa (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 121) and that he at first ruled over the Maratakanagara province and then over the Ghanādri province, to which he appears to have been later (some time after the date of the Singavaram record, 1432-3 A.D.) transferred by his elder brother, the king. It gets special mention in the records of Virūpāksha III because (1) Virūpāksha III was the son of this Pratāpa-Rāya, the younger brother of king Dēva-Rāya and (2) the Penukonda-rājya was, next to occupying the royal seat, considered the most important province over which authority could be exercised. (On the destruction of Vijayanagar in 1565 A.D., it became the capital of the fourth Dynasty of kings). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seems accordingly quite correct when he suggests that the Pratāpa-Mahīpati of the Sajjalur copper-plates is "in all probability" the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II "referred to in the genealogical tables." (*A. S. I.* 1907-8, Page 252, *f.n.* 5). Another record which mentions a grant of his is a copper-plate *nirūpa*, which comes from Tumkur, dated in 1447 A.D. It refers to him as Mahāmandalēsvara Pratāpa-Rāya. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 52). Srīgiri *alias* Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya appears to have been governor of Chandragiri, in 1430 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1910; App. C. 173).

Vijaya-Rāya also left a daughter named Harima, who was married to Sāluva-Tipparāja, father of Sāluva-Gōparāja, who belonged to the family to which Sāluva Narasinga I, the usurper, belonged. (See below).

Death of Vijaya-Rāya, 1424 A.D.

As mentioned already, Vijaya-Rāya died about the close of 1424 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Dēva-Rāya II. (See above). The date is given by Tirthahalli 161, *Krōdhi* year, *Māgha Sudda* 6, which would fall in February 1425 A.D. As this is the date of a grant made after his death, the death may be presumed to have actually occurred about the close of 1424 A.D.

Deva-Rāya II, 1424-1446 A.D.

Dēva-Rāya II ascended the throne in 1424 A.D. He was known by a number of names among which are Immadi-Dēvarāya (or Dēva-Rāya II), Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, Praudha-Dēva-Rāya, Abhinava-Vīra-Dēva-Rāya, Dēvarāya-Gajabēntekāra, etc. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 240 dated in 1442 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 177; *I.A.* XX, 303). Among his titles was the one which called him "who took all countries." (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 53). His records have been found in large numbers in almost every part of Southern India including every district of this State. During his reign, the kingdom reached the height of prosperity and its fame, if not its authority, spread to distant lands. The empire enjoyed the blessings of peace. We do not indeed hear of any wars with the Bāhmani kingdom until well over half the period of Dēva-Rāya's reign.

A Bēdar insurrection suppressed, 1427 A.D.

What appears to have been a rather bloody insurrection raised by a Bēdar chief in the Āraga province was put down under the royal orders. It is narrated at some length in a Nagar record. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). This inscription is, however, wrongly dated in *Saka* 1149, Cyclic year *Sarvajitu*, Māgha Su. 10, Sunday. *Saka* 1149 corresponds to 1227 A.D., which is an impossible date for Dēva-Rāya I or Dēva-Rāya II. That the *Saka* date is wrong is thus certain. Equally certain is the fact that it cannot be *Saka* 1249, which would fall in A.D. 1327, which is impossible for Dēva-Rāya I, who is specifically named as the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagar. If we take the *Saka* year as 1349, it would fall in A.D. 1427, which would suit Dēva-Rāya II, as we have lithic records for him from at least 1424 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Sorab 565, etc.). Taking the inscription as one dated, therefore, in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II (*not* Dēva-Rāya I as stated by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in *E.I.* XV, 14), we have to note that it occurred during the period that Vīranna-Odeyar was chief of Kāmpelu-maloge and the other 18 Kampanas of Āraga. From the mention of this chief, it may be inferred that the insurrection occurred in his division and that its leader belonged to it. Then, as regards the insurrection itself, it is stated that Boleya Mummeya Nāyaka, a leading man of the division, having slaughtered people all over the country and carried off (many as) prisoners, was causing many and great disturbances and famine in the kingdom. The king being anxious about the disturbances thus created, gave an order saying, "The Bēda must be brought to proper order." Vīranna-Odeyar, raising an army, marched against the Bēdar. According to his orders, the chiefs of Anevari-nād assembled a large number of horse and foot and the people of the surrounding *nāds* also collected their forces and presented themselves before Vīranna-Odeyar. Vīranna addressing the assembled chiefs and men said: "We are not breakers of the word we have given; Vīra-pratāpa-Harihara-Mahārāya's great minister Gundappa-Dannāyaka gave us the title of champion over the three kings (*mūvara-rāyara-ganda*). So that this title shall be sung (in song), in such manner will I break and put down the Bēda's force." Thus saying, Tiriki-gauda (one of Vīranna's chiefs), taking sword and shield, broke and put down the hostile force, slew and knocked down the leaders, and himself gained *svarga* (heaven). His wife committed *sati* with him. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 29). With the leaders "knocked down" and the "hostile forces put down," the insurrection was quelled.

Bāhmani invasion, 1435 A.D.

Āhmad Shāh, the Bāhmani Sultān, died early in February 1435 and was succeeded by his son Alā-ud-dīn III. Alā-ud-dīn's first act was to despatch a powerful army under the command of his brother Muhammad Khān against Dēva-Rāya II. Muhammad laid waste the country and Dēva-Rāya was, it is said, "glad to procure peace by giving twenty elephants, a great sum of money and two hundred female slaves skilled in music and dancing, besides a valuable present to Muhammad Khān." Muhammad, shortly after, rebelled against his brother and was, according to Ferishta, befriended by Dēva-Rāya II in his action. Though he took a number of places, he was utterly defeated by the Sultān's forces. Alā-ud-dīn, however, forgave him and conferred on him the fortresses and territories of Raichur.

Settlement of Muhammadans at Vijayanagar as soldiers, *Circa* 1435 A.D.

An interesting passage in Ferishta makes mention of the steps taken by Dēva-Rāya II as to why the Bāhmani Sultān and his forces should be successful against his kingdom and forces, though his own kingdom was larger in extent and better populated and his own forces more numerous than his neighbours. After due consultation in a general council of his advisers, he took steps to induce a settlement of Muhammadans at his capital by allotting them *jāgīrs* and erecting a mosque for their use. He is said to have commanded that "no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion." He also ordered, it would appear, that a copy of the *Korān* should be "placed before his throne, on a rich desk, that the Mussalmans might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence, without sinning against their laws." He is also said to have made "all the Hindoo soldiers learn the discipline of the bow; in which he and his officers used such exertions that he had at length two thousand Mussalmans and sixty thousand Hindoos, well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances." (Scott, *Ferishta* I, 118; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 72).

Attempt on the life of Dēva-Rāya II, between November 1442 and April 1443 A.D.

Abdur Razaak, the Persian Ambassador to the courts of Calicut and Vijayanagar, gives an account of the attempt that was made on Dēva-Rāya's life in or about the end of 1442 A.D., or the beginning of 1443 A.D. Of this "extraordinary and most singular occurrence" as he calls it, he gives a long account from which the following is taken:—

"The king's brother, who had had a new house built for himself, invited thither the monarch and the principal personages of the empire. Now, it is an established usage of the infidels never to eat in presence of each other. The men who were invited were assembled together in one grand hall. At short intervals the prince either came in person or sent some messenger to say that such or such great personage should come and eat his part of the banquet. Care had been taken to bring together all the drums, kettledrums, trumpets and flutes that could be found in the city, and these instruments playing all at the same time, made a tremendous uproar. As soon as the individual who had been sent for entered the above mentioned house, two assassins, placed in ambush, sprang out upon him, pierced him with a poignard, and cut him in pieces. After having removed his limbs, or rather the fragments of his body, they sent for another guest, who once having entered this place of carnage, disappeared.........In consequence of the noise of the drums, the clamour, and the tumult, no one was aware of what was going on. In this manner, all those who had any name or rank in the State were slaughtered. The prince, leaving his house all reeking with the blood of his victims, betook himself to the king's palace, and addressing himself to the guards who were stationed in that royal residence, invited them with flattering words to go to his house, and caused them to follow the steps of the other victims. So that the palace was thus deprived of all its defenders. This villain then entered into the king's presence, holding in his hand a dish covered with betel-nut, under which was concealed a brilliant poignard. He said to the monarch: 'The hall is ready and they only wait your august presence.'

"The king, following the maxim which declares that eminent men receive an inspiration from heaven, said to him, 'I am not in good health to-day.'

"This unnatural brother, thus losing the hope of enticing the king to his house, drew his poignard, and struck him therewith several violent blows, so that the prince fell at the back of his throne. The traitor, thus believing that the king was dead, left there one of his confidants to cut off the monarch's head; then going out of the hall he ascended the portico of the palace, and thus addressed the people: 'I have slain the king, his brothers, and such and such emirs, Brāhmins, and vizirs: now I am king.'

"Meanwhile his emissary had approached the throne with the intention of cutting off the king's head, but that prince, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, struck the wretch with it with so much violence on the chest that he fell upon his back. The king then, with the help of one of his guards, who at the sight of this horrible transaction had hidden himself in a corner, slew this assassin, and went out of the palace by way of the harem.

"His brother, still standing on the steps of the hall of council, invited the multitude to recognise him as their king. At that moment, the monarch cried out, 'I am alive. I am well and safe. Seize that wretch.'

"The whole crowd assembled together, threw themselves upon the guilty prince and put him to death.

"The only one who escaped was Danaik, the vizir, who previously to this sad event had gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon. The king sent a courier to him to invite him to return, and informed him of what had just occurred. All those who had in any way aided in the conspiracy were put to death. Men in great numbers were slain, flayed, burnt alive and their families entirely exterminated. The man who had brought the letters of invitation was put to the last degree of torture............"

Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, also gives an account of this attempted assassination, though he states that it was directed, *not* against "Deorao" (Dēva-Rāya II) who is named by him, but against his "son who inherited the kingdom." The following extract from his *Chronicle*, however, shows that the incident referred to by Abdur Razaak and Nuniz should be the same; only as Abdur Razaak was personally in India at the time, he must be taken as the more reliable authority. Nuniz writes:—

The king was killed by treason by the hand of a nephew whom he had brought up in his house like a son, who thus caused the death of the king. (Abdur Razaak relates the same story, and fixes the event as having taken place between November 1442 and April 1445 A.D., "while he was at

Calicut)". The nephew resolved to marry, and for the feasts at his wedding he prayed the king, his uncle, that he would command that he should be attended and honoured at his wedding by the king's own son; and the king, for the love that he bore him and the pleasure that he had in honouring him, bade his son make ready with his following, and sent him with the ministers and captains of his court to attend and honour the wedding of his nephew. And he, making all ready, as soon as they were in his house, being at table, they were all slain by daggers thrust by men kept in readiness for that deed. This was done without any one suspecting it, because the custom there is to place on the table all that there is to eat and drink, no man being present to serve those who are seated, nor being kept outside, but only those who are going to eat; and because of their thus being alone at table, nothing of what passed could be known to the people they had brought with them. And after he had killed the king's son with all the captains, the minister set out to ride as if he were going to bear a present to the king, and as soon as he arrived at the gates of the palace, he sent a message to the king saying that he was there, and had brought him a present according to custom. (This seems to imply that the nephew of the king had been one of the twenty ministers (*regedores*) mentioned in the chronicle). And the king being at that time at leisure and amusing himself with his wives, bade him enter; and as soon as he was come to where he stood, he presented to the king a golden bowl in which he had placed a dagger steeped in poison, with which he wounded him in many places; but the king, as he was a man who knew how to use both sword and dagger better than any one in his kingdom, avoided by twists and turns of his body the thrusts aimed at him, freed himself from him, and slew him with a short sword that he had. And this done he ordered a horse to be saddled, and mounted it, and rode holding his nephew's head in his hand; and he took the road to the latter's house, apprehending that treason might have been wrought and fearing that his son might be dead. And as soon as he arrived, he beheld the treason in every deed, and how wicked a deed his nephew had done; seeing that his son and his principal captains were dead, and that the traitor would have prevailed against himself had he had the power. In great wrath the king commanded his men to inflict dreadful punishments on all found guilty of this treason, and indeed many who were not so. He himself remained grievously wounded with the poisoned wounds and he lasted only six months, and these ended, died of the poison carried on the dagger.

According to Abdur Razaak, the attempt was made by the king's brother; while according to Nuniz, it was a nephew that made the attempt. Nuniz states that the king died six months later, whereas Abdur Razaak declares that he was presented to the king about December 1443, *i.e.*, some 12 to 13 months after the event. There can be no doubt that Abdur Razaak should be believed, for Nuniz is wrong in other details. Razaak says that the assembled crowd fell upon the "guilty prince and put him to death." Who was he? Was it Vīra-Pārvati-Rāya-Odeya, governor of Terakanāmbi, or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the younger brother of the king, who is mentioned in the Satyamangalam and the Chitaldrug plates? If he was the latter, as suggested by Mr. V. Venkayya and as seems probable, because it was he who rose to be governor of Penukonda as well and probably aspired to be king, then he should have died about 1423 A.D. Apparently, he had organized a conspiracy and had placed himself at its head. If Nuniz's statement that it was a nephew who made this attempt, then he must have been a son either of Vīra-Pārvati-Rāya or of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, who has been identified with Srīgiri of the Madras Museum plates' inscription. We, however, know of no son of Vīra-Pārvati-Rāya or of Srīgiri, other than Virūpāksha. As the latter long survived king Dēva-Rāya II, he could not have been the assailant, more especially as we are told that he was killed by king Dēva-Rāya II. Nuniz's narrative rather mixes up the events of different reigns at about this point and as it was put together over a century after the time they actually occurred, there is some excuse for him. It must, therefore, be conceded that Abdur Razaak is right when he states that the arch-conspirator was the king's "brother." So far as our present knowledge goes, the suspicion should rest on Srīgiri, who was both an able and an ambitious prince, and might have coveted the throne at a time when Mahāpradhāna Lakhanna-Dannāyaka was absent from the capital.

Fresh Bāhmani invasion, 1443 A.D.

Immediately following on the attempted assassination and taking advantage of the confusion caused, Allā-ud-din, the Bāhmani Sultān, sent out an expedition against Dēva-Rāya II. He made a demand for "seven lakhs of *varāhas*," apparently thinking that the time was opportune then to crush once for all his enemy. Dēva-Rāya returned a spirited answer in the negative and prepared for war. According to Abdur Razaak, who mentions this war, Lakhanna-Dannāyaka "set out on an expedition (apparently a counter move) into the kingdom of Kulburga" and took many of the enemy as prisoners and retraced his steps. Evidently the two armies met on the frontiers and retired to their respective homes. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 75). Ferishta also describes this war but states that it was a wanton attack on the part of Dēva-Rāya II. This, however, seems a gratuitous assertion, as it is most unlikely that Dēva-Rāya would have indulged in a war so soon after the treacherous attack on him. He could not have been well prepared for it, as all his nobles and generals had been lost to him. Abdur Razaak's version seems, accordingly, the more reasonable one. Ferishta states that two of Dēva-Rāya's sons were engaged in this war, one in the siege of Bankāpur and another in the siege of Raichur and that the latter was wounded in action and fled towards Bankāpur, the siege of which was raised by the former. It would appear that actions were fought in the space of two months between the two grand armies and that in the first of these, the death roll was heavy on both sides. Ferishta adds that the Hindu having the advantage "the Mussalmans experienced great difficulties" and that in the last action "the eldest son of Deo Roy was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zumaun, which event struck the Hindoos with a panic, and they fled with the greatest precipitation into the fortress of Mudkal." It would seem to follow from this that Dēva-Rāya II lost his eldest son in this war. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 75-76). Peace was then agreed to between the two parties, Dēva-Rāya agreeing to pay—according to Ferishta—the usual tribute and the Sultān promising not to molest his territories, a promise which he kept.

Invasion of Ceylon, 1443 A.D.

According to Nuniz, "in his time, the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Puleacate (Pulicat) and Peggu (Pegu) and Tennacary (Tennaserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him." Parākrama Bāhu VI (A.D. 1412-1468) of the Kotte dynasty was then the ruling king. Not only Singhalese poems of the time speak of the people of Jaffna as Kanarese but also Valentyn mentions an invasion of the Kanarese, *i.e.*, of the Vijayanagar forces. Though it is uncertain whether this was the occasion or the result of the conquest of Jaffana (see H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 92), there seems little doubt that Nuniz is correct when he definitely states that tribute was levied from Ceylon. Lakkanna-Dandanāyaka, one of the chief ministers of Dēva-Rāya II, has been identified with the "Danaik" who is said to have gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, p. 58). As the conquest of Ceylon has been attributed to Virūpāksha II (son of Harihara II) in or about 1385 A. D., the conquest mentioned in this reign, may be a reconquest of the northern part of the island, with which Lakkhanna-Dannāyaka's visit to Ceylon was apparently connected. This voyage was, according to Abdur Razaak, not so much to Ceylon as to its "frontier." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 72). Closely connected with this campaign was the expedition to Adriampet (Adhirāmpattanam) in South India, occasioned, according to Valentyn, by the seizure of a Ceylon ship laden with cinnamon. (H. W. Codrington. *A Short History of Ceylon*, 84). As at the time the "voyage" to the Ceylonese "frontier" had been undertaken by Lakkhanna-Dannāyaka, the attempt to assassinate Dēva-Rāya is said to have taken place, by reason of which Lakkhanna himself was saved from murder like the rest of his compeers, the re-conquest of Ceylon should have occurred between November 1442 A.D. and April 1443 A.D. when the attempt on Dēva-Rāya II appears to have been perpetrated.

Domestic Life.

Dēva-Rāya had at least two wedded queens. Of these, Ponnala-Dēvi bore him a son called Mallikārjuna, who was also known as Vijaya-Rāya II, Immadi-Dēva-Rāya and Immadi-Praudha-Dēva-Rāya. The other queen, Bhīmā-Dēvi does not appear to have had any issue. If Ferishta's account of the war of 1443 A.D., is correct as to details, the eldest of his sons should have died in the action at Raichur. If so, he must be an unnamed son probably omitted by the genealogists. His younger brother Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, governor in succession of Mulbagal, Maratakanagara and Penukonda, appears to have had, by his queen Siddhala-Dēvi, a son named Virūpāksha III. (See above). Mr. Venkayya has suggested that as Mallikārjuna's father's name has been given twice in *Gangadāsapratāpavilāsa*, a dramatic work, as Pratāpa-Dēvarāja, without any royal titles, he might have been the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, the governor, and later adopted as son by king Dēvi-Rāya II. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 47). This suggestion, however, does not appear to be well founded, for it is stated in one or two records that he was born to king Dēva-Rāya II by the grace of the god Mallikārjuna of Srīparvata, *i.e*, Srīsaila in Kurnool and that he was so named after that god. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65 dated in 1455 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1907—08, Para 61, quoting the Trayambakapura plates dated in 1447 A.D.). He must be taken as the Dēva-Rāya III, who, it has been suggested by Mr. Sewell, succeeded king Dēva-Rāya II, the more so as both the names are mentioned in certain inscriptions as alternative names of the same king (as in *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65) and the earliest records of Mallikārjuna come immediately after 1447 and 1449 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 67; *E.C.* VI, Koppa 44). In Nagar 68, dated in 1463 A.D., he is called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya and Nagar 69, dated in the same year, specifically states that Mallikārjuna "was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya." So, it has to be conceded that the suggested Dēva-Rāya III is none other than Mallikārjuna himself. As suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, he must also be the *Pina Rao*, a term which is the exact Telugu equivalent of the Kannada sobriquet *Chikka Rāya* (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 252, *f.n.* 5), which was usually applied to the crown prince. As we have seen, Nuniz has erroneously stated that an attempt was made on his life instead of on that of his father, king Dēva-Rāya II. (See *ante*). He has also, by a slip, mentioned that Dēva-Rāya was succeeded by Pina Rao and then by his son whose name he has failed to fill in in his *Chronicle.* (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 304). He makes Virūpāksha III, the son and successor of this last unnamed king, who according to inscriptions, succeeded directly to Mallikārjuna himself. Virūpāksha III, as we have seen, was the nephew of king Dēva-Rāya II. He should be distinguished from Virūpāksha IV, the son of Mallikārjuna. (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). As the inscriptions of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III overlap in their dates, it is possible that Virūpāksha III was co-regent of his cousin or tried to supplant him, *i.e.*, Mallikārjuna, the reigning king. (See below). That no other king *intervened* between the reigns of Dēva-Rāya II and Mallikārjuna is further clear from the fact that Nagar 65 definitely states that Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya had a son named Mallikārjuna and then adds:—"On the death of his father, Immadi (Praudha)-Dēvēndra became king of the world," Immadi-Praudha-Dēvēndra being, according to what precedes in the record, none other than Mallikārjuna himself. This fact is made perfectly plain by Nagar 67 which states in so many words that Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II, "was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya," a statement that is fully confirmed by the inscriptions of Mallikārjuna following immediately those of king Dēva-Rāya II.

Generals and ministers.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, Vīra-Pāndya-Dēva was governing Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 42 dated in 1440 A.D.). He has been identified with the Vīra-Pāndya who set up the colossus at Karkala in the South Kanara District. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, p. 250, *f. n.* 2). Rāyanna-Odeya, son of Baichapa-dandanāyaka, was ruling the Āraga kingdom. The people of Āraga and Holeya-Honnur made a grant in favour of the *Sattra* and other works of merit he established at Kūdali. (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 71 dated in 1431 A.D.). His son Srīgirinātha-Odeyar is said, in a record of 1427 A.D., to be also governing over the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 27). Apparently, he succeeded his father in the charge of this province. He continued in charge as late as 1433 A.D. In 1424, Goa and Chandragutti were governed only by one Tryambaka-Dēva. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 565). Six years later, they were in the charge of Handiya-Rāya, son of Arasappa, styled the Treasurer. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 40). In 1448, Irugappa-Odeya was the governor (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 489) while two years later—the last year of Dēva-Rāya II—we find Mallarasa-Odeya in charge of them. (*Ibid*, Sorab 495). Mangalūr-rājya was under Nāganna-Odeya in 1425 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 25). In 1429, it was under Dēva-rāja-Odeya of Nāgamangala. (*Ibid* No. 28). He built in 1429 A.D., the Hosabasti at Mudabidare. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 28). He was evidently a Jain. Bārakūr-rājya was, in 1425 A.D., administered by Narasimha-dēva-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 171). It was, in 1431 A.D., in the charge of Chanarasa-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Appendix No. 148). In 1429, Perumāle-Dannāyaka was minister. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 28). As he is mentioned in inscriptions found in the Mangalūr-rājya, he was presumably in charge—either independently or jointly—of that province. But the most famous ministers of Dēva-Rāya II were Singanna-Dannāyaka and Lakkanna-Dannāyaka. Lakkanna, as we have seen above, was known as the Lord of the Southern Ocean. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that he might have been in charge of the southern province "perhaps the Rājagambhīra-rājya." (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, Page 249). As this rājya is now identified with Padavīdu, this suggestion of Mr. Krishna Sāstri cannot be justified. He appears to have been in office from 1428. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 104). In 1430, he was in charge of Mulbagal and Tōkal provinces. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 72). He and his brother Mādanna-Dannāyaka, called Heggadedēvas, are frequently mentioned as in power between 1431 and 1433 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 2 and 96 and Bowringpete 87). In 1440, Mādanna is said to have obtained a victory. They are described as the sons of Vommayamma and of the Vishnuvardhana-gōtra. (Mulbagal 96). It is possible that they were descendants of the last Hoysala king. They built a temple in 1431 A.D., at Virūpākshapura, in the Kolar District called Prasanna-Virūpāksha and provided for it an enclosure wall, towers, golden finials, a Manmatha pond, *mantapas*, *agrahāras*, a *matha* for mendicants and for decorations and illuminations. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 2 and 96). In 1432 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Malur 3, also Malur 1, the *Saka* date of which (1438) is, as Mr. Rice has pointed out, wrong and should be 1352) Lakkanna and Mādanna handed over charge of the Tekal province to Sāluva-Gōparāja. It is specifically stated that this handing over of Tekal was under the orders of king Dēva-Rāya II. Lakkanna's last year accordingly in Mulbagal was 1432-33 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 87). He was evidently transferred to the Tundīra province for we find him making grants in the present South Arcot District. Thus he made gifts for the merit of his brother Mādanna at Pirānmalai, in the present South Arcot District, in 1438 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 141). In 1440 A.D., we see him making gifts in the Bārakūr-rājya. (*M.E R.* 1901, No. 128). It is possible he had been transferred to that province about that time. Lakkanna was, as we have seen, the Dannaik, who, owing to his absence on his Ceylon expedition, escaped the general massacre. His expedition to Ceylon may have earned for him the title of "Lord of the Southern Ocean." (See above). He seems to have issued a copper coin in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1904-1905, p. 58). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seems correct in identifying Lakkanna and his brother Mādanna with the Lakkanna Nāyaka and Mattana Nāyaka, who appear in the list of Nāyak rulers of Madura given by Mr. Nelson. They come in that list between 1404 and 1451 A.D., which is obviously wrong, as Lakkanna did not leave Mulbagal-rājya till 1432 A.D., and then we see him at Bārakūr in 1440 A.D. It may be that he was in the Pāndya (or Madura) province after 1440 A.D. (See *A.S.I.*, 1907-1908, page 249, *f. n.* 14). Singanna-Dannāyaka appears with Lakkanna in certain records. Singanna appears to have been in charge of Bārakūr-rājya in 1436 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 109). Associated with him was Arunapa-Odeya. (*Ibid*). This Arunapa-Odeyar was evidently in charge of Mulbagal province in 1444 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 11). Gōparāja, who became governor of Tēkal province in 1431 A.D., was the son of Tippa-Rāja-Odeyar, (*E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 3) who was the husband of Harima, elder sister of Dēva-Rāya II. (*E C.* XI, 29). Tippa-Rāja is described in the inscriptions quoted above as *Mahāmandalēsvara*, Kathāri-Sāluva, Tribhuvani-Rāya, establisher of Sambu-Rāya, subduer of the southern Suratrāna, etc. Gōpa-Rāja restored in or about 1431 A.D., the Tekal fort, the older one built by Ballappa-Dannāyaka and Singi-Dannāyaka, minister of Ballāla-Rāya (whose identity is not clear) having gone to ruin. Gōpa-Rāja, it is said, built both the inner and the outer fort and erected the *Rāja-gambhīra* bastion in it. The title "Establisher of Sambu-Rāya" given to Tippa-Rāja and the name "Rāja-gambhīra" given to one of the bastions in the new fort show that they were taken from a Sāluva who took a prominent part in the restoration of the Sāmbavarāya who was defeated by Kampana II. (See *ante*). This ancestor must be Sāluva-Mangi who, according to the *Sāluvābhyudaya* and the *Rāmābhyudaya* accompanied Kampana II in his campaigns against Sāmbuvarāya and the Muhammadan Sultān at Madura and who was honoured with the title of Sāmbuva-rāya-sthāpanāchārya. (*Ibid*). After building the bastion, Gōpa-Rāja and his son Tippayya (evidently named after his grandfather Tippa-Rāya) had tigers seized and brought and hunted them at it. This bastion is called the "indispensable or urgency bastion," (*Avasarada Kottala*) and it was built, it is said, close to the *mantapa* facing the god Varada-rāja in the fort. The object of this tiger hunt on the occasion of the restoration of the fort is not clear. The work of restoration was carried out by Singa-Rāja, the minister of Gōpa-Rāja (*E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 3). This

Singa-Rāja was the son of Mallanna-Rāja and is credited with the transportation in 1431 A.D., of the image named *Ganda-bhērunda*, which was on the Māragandankatte, west of Dūdanahalli in Pāla-nād, to the door of the *gōpura* in front of the *mantapa* facing the god Varadarāja at Tekal. (Malur 3). This Singana has to be distinguished from Singana, the Brāhman agent of Tippa-Rāja, who is highly eulogized in a record of 1430 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 29). One Gururāya is also mentioned as having been the Chief-minister of Dēva-Rāya II. Chandrakavi mentions him in his poem *Virūpākshasthāna*, a poem descriptive of Vijayanagar, written at the express orders of Gururāya. Chandra Kavi speaks of Gururāya as a new Bhōja-Rāja in his love for arts and science and says that he was entitled the *Rāya-Bhandāri Nārāyana* (Royal Treasurer Nārāyana). He also states that Gururāya commanded him, who was proficient in eight languages—to write a poem on the Lord of Pampa. (Narasimhachār, *Karā-Kavi* II. 81). This Gururāya is, however, not known to inscriptions. Dēva-Rāya II had another minister Mangappa-Dannāyaka, who made a grant by the personal order of the king to the Sōmadēva temple at Sankara-Samudra, (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 127, dated 1431 A.D.), in order that long life, health and increase of wealth may be to Dēva-Rāya.

Fame of Vijayanagar; descriptions by foreign travellers.

During the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, the city of Vijayanagar had attained the zenith of its glory. Foreign travellers were attracted to it, some of whom have left descriptions which give a lofty idea of its wealth and magnificence.

Nicolo dei Conti's account, 1421, A.D.

The Italian Nicolo Dei Conti was, if not the first European to visit it, was, at any rate, the earliest whose description has come down to us. He appears to have been at Vijayanagar in 1420 or 1421 A.D. He calls it

Bizenegalia, apparently the Italian form of the name. He says :—

> "The great city of Bizenegalia is situated near very steep mountains. (He is apparently referring, as Mr. Sewell has pointed out, to the confused and tumbled mass of rocky hills, some rising to considerable altitude). The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city, there are estimated to be ninety-thousand men fit to bear arms."

Of the inhabitants of the city, he says that they marry "as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their husbands." "Their king," he says, "is more powerful than all the other kings of India." His statement that the king had "12,000 wives," of whom 4,000 followed on foot wherever he went seems an obvious exaggeration. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 84-85).

Abdur Razaak's account, 1443 A.D.

Abdur Razaak, the Persian ambassador, arrived at the city at the end of April 1443 and stayed till 5th December of the same year. While still at Calicut, he received a special invitation to visit the city. He calls the city *Bidjanagar*, though in Sir Henry Elliot's *History* (IV. 103 *et seq*) it figures as *Bijanagar*. The following is an extract descriptive of the city from the latter :—

> From our former relation and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascertained that the writer Abdur Razaak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men. In the whole of Hindustan there is no *Rai* more absolute than himself, under

which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brāhmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer walls there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one-half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the top of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes.

The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others; in it is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazaars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace, or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazaar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazaars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers. (See also Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 90-95, where a slightly different rendering is given).

Dēva-Rāya II holding his Court.

Abdur Razaak describes the king's elephants, the mint and the governor's residence, which was guarded by 12,000 soldiers. Then follows a pen-picture of king Dēva-Rāya II himself as he held Court in the Palace from which the following is taken :—

> "The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by most imposing attributes of State. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water, and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin, and he was rather tall; on his cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing."

He adds :—

> "If report speaks truly, the number of the princesses and concubines amounts to seven hundred."

This is considerably below the "12,000 wives" mentioned by Conti. Apparently the most wild ideas seem to have been entertained in this respect by foreign travellers. Then follows a description of the brilliant scenes Razaak saw on the Maharnavami day at the king's palace and an account of the Throne on which he saw Dēva-Rāya seated. This throne was, he says, "of extraordinary size" and "made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value."

Literary Progress.

The reign of Dēva-Rāya II is one of the brightest in the literary history of Kannada. Among the poets who made his reign famous were some Vīrasaivas who have attained to great celebrity. Mahālinga-Dēva, the author of *Ēkōttara-Shatsthala* and *Shatsthala-Vivēka* was one of these. He composed his works for the benefit of his disciple Jakkanārya, who was apparently a general of Dēva-Rāya II. As he is spoken as *Vīrasaiva-ganāchārya*, his fame as a writer and teacher must have been great. Another was Lakkanna-Dandēsa, identical with the general Lakshmana-Dandanātha, the chief minister of Dēva-Rāya II. From the particulars he gives of himself and his position under king Dēva-Rāya II, there is no doubt whatever that the general was an eminent poet in Kannada. He wrote the *Sivatatva-Chintāmani*, a work of great philosophical merit and literary charm. In describing his work, he speaks of it as the *Sūtra* of the *Vīrasaiva-siddhānta-tantra*, the fundamental *Sūtra* of all the *Vēdas* and *āgamas*, etc. Another notable poet of the period was Kumāra-Bankanātha, the author of *Shatsthalōpadēsa* and other works and the *guru* of Jakkanārya himself was a great poet and a greater patron of Vīrasaiva writers. It has been remarked by Gubbiya Mallanna, in his *Vīrasaivāmruta-Purāna*, that he spent his incalculable riches in the production of Vīrasaiva works. Chāmarasa, the author of the well-known work *Prabhulingalīle*, and his brother-in-law Kumāra-Vyāsa, the author of the Kannada *Bhārata* (the first ten cantos) also lived during this reign. Stories are told in certain later works, *e.g.* in the *Kathāsūtra-Ratnākara* of the *Bhairavēsvara-Kāvya* (1672 A.D.), *Gururāja-Chāritra* (about 1650 A.D.), *Chōra-Basava-Charitra* (1763 A.D.), etc., that Kumāra-Vyāsa and Chāmarasa both produced Kannada versions of the *Bhārata*, but that Kumāra-Vyāsa getting jealous of Chāmarasa's version, which was the better of the two, prevailed on his wife to destroy it, that Chāmarasa would not be consoled at the loss he had sustained and that on the inspiration of lord Siva himself, he wrote another work—*Prabhulinga-Līle*—which was so very much admired that king Dēva-Rāya gave up the idea of honouring Kumāra-Vyāsa and honoured instead Chāmarasa and himself adopted the Vīrasaiva faith. Closely connected with this story is the other one that Chāmarasa described to the king that Kumāra-Vyāsa's *Bhārata* dealt with *dead men* while his own was devoted to the lives of those who had lived *eternal lives*. This tale, however, is attributed in the *Kathāsūtra-ratnākara* as occurring in a disputation between Jakkanārya and *Vandyāchārya*, the Vaishnava *guru* of Dēva-Rāya. These stories, told in varying ways, have had considerable vogue, but seem to lack foundation. They, however, suggest that the poets Jakkanna, Kumāra-Vyāsa and Chāmarasa were contemporaries and lived in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II; that Kumāra-Vyāsa's work attained great reputation and that Chāmarasa wrote his own work, the *Prabhulinga-Līle*, by way of a counter literary production from the Vīrasaiva school of poets; and that the latter work acquired an equally good reception at the royal court and the literary public. There can be hardly any doubt that the *Prabhulinga-Līle* has been amongst the most famous Vīrasaiva works known and its translation into the two other Dravidian languages (Tamil and Telugu) shows the great popularity it enjoys among the Vīrasaivas throughout Southern India. Kumāra-Vyāsa, to whom the destruction of his rival's version has been attributed, produced a version of the *Bhārata*, which for its diction or melody has few rivals in the whole range of Kannada literature. There is not a household in the Kannada country which has not a copy of it. It is today the one Kannada work which is read publicly to large audiences, like the Sānskrit epics, throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is no wonder that the Vīrasaivas should have attempted to produce a work which could vie with it in popularity. The fact that Chāmarasa's work has attained to the celebrity it has shows that it possesses merits of a high order not merely as a mere literary effort but also in the epic character of its contents. It is composed in a lofty narrative style of poetry, its diction is elevated and its descriptions pertain to the exploits of religious heroes. Other poets of the period, mainly belonging to the Vīra-Saiva sect were Kallamathada Prabhudēva, author of *Lingalīlā-Vilāsa-Charitra* and other works, who is said to have belonged to Vijayanagar city. Srī-girīndra, who has written a commentary on Jakkanārya's *Ēkōttara-Sthala*; Karasthalada-Nāgidēva, author of a *Tripadi* named after himself; Maggiya-Māyidēva, author of *Anubhava-Sūtra* and other works; Gurubasava, another equally voluminous writer, who was the author of *Sivayōgānga-bhūshana* and other works, and was styled *Vīrasaiva-sthāpanāchārya*; Baththalēsvara, who though a Vīrasaiva, wrote a version of the *Rāmāyana*; Chandrakavi, the author of *Virūpāksha-Sthāna* and other works; and Kalyāna-Kīrti, who was a Jain and wrote the *Gnāna-Chandrābhyudaya* and other works. (See on the whole subject, R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka Kavicharite* II, 43-86). The strength and character of the Vīrasaiva writers indicates the influence they should have wielded in the kingdom in Dēva-Rāya's time.

The patronage that Dēva-Rāya seems to have extended to poets and authors generally seems to have attracted to his court literary men from other parts of the country. We have, for instance, an account of the visit that Srīnātha, the famous Telugu poet, paid him at Vijayanagar. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 60-62, and V. Prabhākara Sāstry, *Chātupadya-manimanjari*, 115-138). Srīnātha, to whom are attributed the stray verses in which the story of his visit is given, mentions that he was received in the Pearl Hall of the Southern Ruler, *i.e.*, the king of Vijayanagar, and was bathed in gold coins, *dināras* and *tankas* (*Kanakābhishēka*), the conventional way in which eminent poets were honoured by kings in olden days in India. At Dēva-Rāya's court, in the presence of Chandrabhūshana Kriyāsakti, he is said to have triumphed over the Gauda poet Dindima-Bhatta, in token of which the latter's bell-metal drum (*Kanchudhakka*) was broken and himself dubbed with the title of *Kavi Sārvabhauma* (or Kaviratna), *i.e.*, world poet, or king of poets. Srīnātha was the court poet of the Reddi chiefs of Koṇdavīdu and was the author of the *Srungāra Naishadham*, *Kāsikhandam* and other well known works. He is said to have visited most of the kings and chiefs of his time and the many stray (*chātu*) verses attributed to him describe his peregrinations, not infrequently in a spirit of gentle raillery, if not satire. His poetry is famous for its easy flow, melody and beautifully turned similies. He was a Vīra-saiva in his religious faith, which should have commended him to king Dēva-Rāya II. Other Telugu poets patronised by Dēva-Rāya II were Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka Charitramu* and his son Jannamantri. Jakkana dedicated his work to one Siddhamantri, who, it is stated by him, was greatly honoured by Chāmanāmātya, a minister of Dēva-Rāya II. (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 63-64). Dēva-Rāya II was apparently a good judge of caligraphy for we are told that he presented one Ambamantri with a gold style in recognition of his superb writing. (*Ibid* 65).

Gopa Tippa—the grandson of Harima, the sister of Dēva-Rāya—who, we have seen, governed over Tekal, with his father Gōpa-Rāja (*E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 3 dated in 1434 and 1431 A.D.), was a Sānskrit scholar. Among his works are *Kāmadhēnu*, which is a commentary on Vāmana's *Kāvyālankāra Sūtra*; *Tāla-Dīpika*, a work on music devoted to the determining of the different ways of keeping time; and a work on dancing to which reference is made in his two other productions.

Social life in the Middle of the 15th Century.

Hindu society showed visible signs of stiffening about the middle of the 15th century. With the downfall of the Chōla, Pāndya and Hoysala empires and the inroads of the Muhammadans, the tendency for caste to crystallize into water-tight compartments appears to have increased. Hence the praise given to the Vijayanagar kings of this period—1336 to 1486 A.D.—as maintainers of the *varnāsrama dharma.* The instinct of self-preservation drove the Hindus to knit themselves together, against the Muhammadans, who showed no kindliness of spirit in their dealings with them or their most cherished religious and social beliefs. Still, the free right to marry between Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, seems to have been in full force, as we hear of the existence of Brahma-Kshatriyas in this period as well. (See *ante*). Since the restoration of amity between the Srīvaishnavas and Jains in 1368 A.D. by Bukka-Rāya I, there appears to have good feeling between them. Religion still dominated the every day life of the people. Gifts to Brāhmans—learned Brāhmans, poets and men who lived lives approved by society—were still in vogue. Learning, indeed, was held in such high esteem that grants to those pursuing learning were as common as ever before. The re-establishment of worship and the restoration of festivals in the temples after the driving out of the Muhammadan invaders had added not only to the popularity of the first kings of the First dynasty but also had added immensely to their power with the masses. Such good feeling towards themselves, neither kings nor ministers would have failed to notice nor use to their fullest extent. The result was social progress was retarded, while religious feeling had stirred up men's minds against the foreign invaders who could neither respect another's religion nor sympathize with its social code. Therein lies—as it seems—the root of a problem that is still agitating the public mind in India. But in the time of Dēva-Rāya II, the first step was taken by him to invite Muhammadans to settle in the land as friendly neighbours. He showed the better way—by meeting their very religious susceptibilities in regard to making their obeisance before him. He even went to the extent of ordering that nobody should molest them and even granted them *jāgīrs* and erected a mosque for their use in the capital. (See *ante*). That is not merely toleration; it was brotherliness in religion and in social conduct. No wonder that Dēva-Rāya succeeded in winning the goodwill of his Muhammadan recruits and through them improved the efficiency of his army in certain directions. We have not only the evidence of Ferishta in this connection but also of contemporary inscriptions. (For example, *Seringapatam* 15 dated in 1430 A.D. states that Dēva-Rāya II had 10,000 Turushka horsemen in his service. *E.C.* III).

Among social customs the one that had persisted through ages—the practice of *sati*—continued unabated during the whole of this period of Vijayanagar rule. Instances of it abound in the inscriptional records, quite apart from what Nicolo dei Conti and Abdur Razaak state in this connection. (*E.g.*, Inscription dated in 1410 A.D. found at Bandanike, *M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 115: *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 37: *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 484 dated in 1410 A.D.; Sorab 467 dated in 1412 A.D.; Sagar 8, dated in 1410 A.D.; Sagar 36, dated 1419 A.D., etc.). A social custom which was found to be inconvenient was the practice of bargaining for marriage, which appears to have been already common in the Padaivīdu (*i.e.*, the Tundīra) Province. The Brāhmans of the province, among whom were Karnāta, Tamil, Telugu and Lāta, signed a compact that marriages among them should be concluded only by *kanyādāna*, *i.e.*, gift of the bride. (*S.I.I.* I-82). The tax on marriage was remitted in regard to all classes in the village of Ballālapura in

1462 A.D. This is one of those vexatious taxes that had been levied in Chōla times, if not indeed long anterior to it. Royal sport apparently consisted in the hunting of tigers and elephants. An example of the former is afforded in the tiger-hunt conducted by Gōpa-Rāja, the nephew of Dēva-Rāya II, and his son Tippayya at Tekal. (See *ante*; *E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 3). Dēva-Rāya himself is specially distinguished in inscriptions by the title *Gajabētekāra* or *Gajabēntekāra*, or the elephant-hunter. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this title has a direct bearing on the legend *Rāya-Gaja-Gandabhērunda* which appears on the obverse of certain copper coins of Dēva-Rāya II, the reverse containing the figure of an elephant. If a royal title is to reflect this legend, Mr. Krishna Sāstri thinks it probable that the Tamil translators who rendered *Gajabētekāra* into *Gajavēttai-Kand-aruliya* (*i.e.*, who was pleased to witness the elephant hunt), misunderstood the import of the title. In his opinion, the complete form of the title would be, if it is to correspond to the legend on the coins, *Rāya-gaja-bētekāra*, (which is found in *E.C.* X Mulbagal 147) or rather *arirāyagaja*. He, however, admits that the title *gaja-mrigaya-vihāra* assumed by Virūpāksha-Rāya in a record dated in 1467 A.D., (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 20) points definitely to the fact that the title *gajabētekāra* was, in his reign, understood in the sense of "Elephant-hunter." Abdur Razaak gives an interesting account of the mode of capture and the treatment of elephants at Vijayanagar at the time of his visit. This sport of elephant hunting should accordingly have given occasion for the coining of this title in Dēva-Rāya's time. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, P. 250).

Foreign trade.

Foreign trade seems to have been well developed in the Vijayanagar kingdom during this reign. We learn from Srīnātha's *Haravilāsamu* that his patron, apparently a Vaisya by caste and profession, imported valuable articles both by land and sea, and supplied them to the ruling chiefs of the time. Among the goods imported by him were camphor plants from the Punjab, elephants from Ceylon, horses from Ormuz, musk from Goa, silks from China, etc. His customers included the kings of Vijayanagar, the Bahmāni Sultāns, the Gajapati rulers of Orissa and the Reddi chiefs of Kondavīdu. (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 37-38). This merchant of the Telugu country was evidently like Kunjanambi of the Malayāla country who had settled himself at the Hoysala court in the 13th century. (See *Hoysalas* under *Sōmēsvara*). Srīnātha is confirmed by Edoardo Barbessa, who travelled in 1516 A.D., or about seventy years after the death of Dēva-Rāja II. He describes Vijayanagar as an active seat of trade in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar. (See below under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya*).

Religious faith.

Dēva-Rāya II seems to have been a devout, but tolerant Saiva. He is said to have made the *tulāpurusha* and other great gifts and ruled the kingdom in peace and wisdom. (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 71 dated in 1431 A.D.). A curious gift made by him is mentioned in a record (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 15) dated in 1430 A.D. It is that of a golden cow adorned with jewels along with an *agrahāra* to Brāhmans. He caused a Jain temple to be built in 1426 A.D., in the capital. This temple appears to have been situated not far away from the king's palace. (*S.I.I.* i. 82).

Death of Dēvarāya II, 1446 A.D.

Dēva-Rāya died on Tuesday, the 24th May 1446. (*I.A.* XXV, 346; *E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola 328, which gives the date as *Kshaya* near and Vaisākha month; and *E.C.* II Sravana-Belgola, 330). An inscription dated in 1448 A.D. states that one Prithuvi-setti, the head of the

Chandragutti 18 Kampana, who was apparently devotedly attached to him, on hearing of his death, went secretly to Kodakani and in the presence of the god Rāma, is said to have "gained the feet of the god," *i.e.*, died. (*E.C.* VIII Sorab 18). This *hari-kari* should have been performed by him shortly after he heard of his sovereign's death, though the gifts mentioned in the inscription might have been made a couple of years later (in *Saka* 1370, *Vibhava* year, Māgha, *ba* 11). From this record and from the words used in *Sravana-Belgola* 328. ("matchless Dēvarat," etc.) it might be inferred that Dēva-Rāya II had proved himself a popular king. Sorab 18, indeed, states that on his "setting," he became "a mahārājaka" or demi-god. That his death was deeply lamented is further testified to by the composer of the inscription which has been thus translated by Dr. F. Kiëlhorn in appropriate dismal terms:—

"In the evil year *Kshaya*, in the wretched (month) second Vaisākha, on a miserable Tuesday, in a fortnight which was the reverse of bright, on the fourteenth day, the unequalled stores of valour (*pratāpa*) Dēva-Rāya, alas! met with death." (*I.A.* XXV. 346).

The question to whose death this inscription refers—whether to the death of king Dēva-Rāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya (*alias*) Srigiri—has been discussed above. There is confirmatory evidence from another source to show that he died in or about 1446 A.D. In the Triyambakapura copper-plates of his son Mallikārjuna, which record the grant of a village in the Hoysala country by Mallikārjuna to certain Brāhmans, there is a verse, from which we have to infer that his father, Dēva-Rāya II, should have recently died at the date of the grant. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 61). The verse in question is as follows:—

Pitaryuparatē srīmān dhī (mān) punyavatām varah ।
Immadi-Praudhadēvēndro divyātyātra nripāgranīh ॥

Mallikarjuna, 1446-1487 A.D.

Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II by his que Ponnalā-Dēvi, ascended the throne on the death of h father. He was also known as Vijaya-Rāya II, Imma Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, Immadi-Dēva-Rāya and Dēva rāya-mahārāya. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65; Tirthahal 206, etc.; also *ante*). He may be styled Dēva-Rāya II for purposes of history. Like his father, he bore th title of *Gajabēntekāra*. (See *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 20 where it is stated that the name of *Gajabēte-Dēvarāya pura* was given to a village gifted by him in the Ārag province in 1463 A.D.). According to one record date in 1447 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 38), it is probable that he was known also as Virūpāksha, though his full name is given as *Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya*. It is possible that Virūpāksha was an additional name of this king, though it is not by any means clear whether *Dēva-Rāya* is the shortened form of *Virūpāksha-Dēva Rāya* or *Immadi Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya*, etc. He i said to have been born through the favour of the go Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri, *i.e.*, Srīsaila, in the Kurno District. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65). Hence the na Mallikārjuna, which is the name of the deity presidi over Srīsaila. The exact length of his reign is not kno There is a Tiruvennainallūr record of his dated in S 1407, *Visvāvasu* (=1455 A.D.) in which he is cal Kumāra-mallikārjunarāya. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para App. B. No. 473 from Tiruvennainallūr in the Sou Arcot District. The suggestion that he may be anoth and a "later" Mallikārjuna, made in this report corrected in *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 39). The late mention made of his reign is in a record from Tiruttal in the present South Arcot District, (*M.E.R.* 1926, Pa 39; also App. B. No. 422) dated in Saka 1409, *Visvāvas* corresponding to A.D. 1487-8. The statement made b Mr. Gōpinātha Rao that he "appears to have died in year Saka 1387 *Vyaya* Samvatsara" (=A.D. 1465 herefore, untenable. (He cites no authority for the date entioned by him. The coronation of Virūpāksha took ace, according to the Srīsailam plates in Saka 1388, Pārthiva; from this, it might be presumed that his father night have died in *Tārana*, the preceding cyclic year and ot in *Vyaya*, the succeeding cyclic year). Apparently, a revolution occurred in or about Saka 1388 (=A.D. 1466) when Mallikārjuna was apparently superseded by Virūpāksha III, his nephew (son of the brother of king Dēva-Rāya II), the donor of the grant mentioned in the Srīsailam plates. (*E.I.* XV. 8-24). Though superseded as sovereign, he appears to have continued to rule, apparently as a rival sovereign with Virūpāksha III for at least another twenty-one years (from 1466 to 1487 A.D.). The total length of his rule, so far as at present known, is about 41 years. (1446 to 1487 A.D.). When exactly he died is not yet known. He must have been, equally with Virūpāksha III, swept away by the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya.

Invasions of Vijayanagar, 1446 A.D. and 1462 A.D.

Almost immediately after his accession to the throne, allikārjuna had to meet a formidable invasion of his pital which, according to the Sanskrit drama *Gangāsapratāpavilāsa*, was jointly undertaken by the hmani Sultān (apparently Alā-ud-dīn) and the Gajati king of Orissa (identified by Mr. Venkayya with apilēsvara, A.D. 1434-5 to 1469-70 A.D.). An alliance etween these two monarchs, with a view to their mutual enefit, had been in existence for some time. The effect f it was to check Vijayanagar aggression on the East oast, which, as we have seen, had extended up to at ast Kondavīdu, where was stationed a Vijayanagar iceroy. Some time before the reign of Dēva-Rāya II, n extension of territory appears to have been effected by conquest of Vinukonda in the present Guntur Dist. This appears to have become the head-quarters of a governorship in Dēva-Rāya's reign. (S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 17, pp. 55-6). Though there is no inscriptional confirmation of this assertion made by Vallabharāya, the author of *Kridābhirāmam* (see V. Rangāchārya, *List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, 846-7; *M.E.R.* 1913, App.), it may be conceded that he is stating an actual fact that he was the Vijayanagar governor of Vinukonda. Such advance could not apparently go unchecked. The combined invasion of the Bāhmani Sultān and the Gajapati king of Orissa was probably the result of such extension. There were evidently two attempts made by these two kings—once against the capital itself, in 1446, immediately on the death of Dēva-Rāya II and again, about 16 years later, in or about 1462 A.D. on the dominions of Vijayanagar, the objective being apparently Kānchi and the surrounding country. The *Gangādāsa-pratāpavilāsam* suggests that there was an earlier attack of these two kings—earlier than the accession of Mallikārjuna—but that it had been repulsed. Taking advantage of the youth of the monarch, they seem to have renewed their attack immediately on his accession and besieged Vijayanagar City. Mallikārjuna is said to have sallied forth from his capital, like a lion from his den, and " routed the enemies so thoroughly that the two allied kings just escaped with their lives." (See *M.E.R.* 1906 Para 47; 1907, Para 56 quoting Professor Eggeling's India Office Library Catalogue VII. 1610; see also Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 25-26). Of this defeat sustained by Sultān Alā-ud-dīn (not Ahmad Shah as mentioned by Mr. Venkayya in *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 47), Ferishta makes no mention whatever; nor indeed does he tell us anything between the years 1443 and 1458 A.D. That the defeat was actually inflicted there can be no doubt. In a record dated in 1450 A.D., Mallikārjuna is spoken of as *Tuluk-*

kadala Vibhādan i.e., the destroyer of Muhammadan forces. This may be taken to refer to the successful opposition he offered to the combined forces of the Gajapati and Bāhmani kings. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 39; App. C. 154 of 1919). Alā-ud-dīn died in 1458 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Humayun, a prince of "cruel and sanguinary temper." He besieged Dēvarakonda (in the Guntur District) but was driven off with ignominy. He died in 1461 A.D. and was succeeded by Nizām Shāh, who made room after a short reign, to Muhammad in July 1463 A.D. The death of Alā-ud-dīn and the internal disputes that subsequently arose in the Bāhmani kingdom left Kapilēsvara to look solely to himself for his conquests in the south. Undaunted, he seems to have made a further effort at conquest in or about 1462 A.D. in the country around Kānchi. This expedition of his against the Tundira (*i.e.*, Tondamandala) province of Vijayanagar seems reflected in contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous lithic inscriptions found in that area and in the dramatic romance called *Kanji-Kāvēri Pothi.* (S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 6). Apparently, the commotion created by this expedition was great. Thus, a record dated in 1473 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III, refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan (*i.e.*, the Orissa king) and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Siva temple of Jambai in the South Arcot District for ten years. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 93 of 1906). Another record, dated two years earlier (A.D. 1470-71) during the reign of Sāluva Narasimhadēva-Mahārāya also refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan about "8 or 10 (years) ago," and to the Vishnu temple at Tirukoilūr getting out of repair in consequence. From these records, the inference is plain that there was a fresh invasion of Kapilēsvara, the king of Orissa, into the Tundīra province of the Vijayanagar kingdom about

1462-3 A.D. Kapilēsvara, we know from other sources, spent the whole of his reign in warring with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar or with the Muhammadan kings of the Bāhmani dynasty or in suppressing internal revolts." (*J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, i; also *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 56). An inscription of Kapilēsvara, dated in 1465 A.D. recording a grant near Kondapalli, in the present Guntur District, has been found at Bezwada. This grant should have been made after the expedition he led against Tundira. (*I.A.* XX, 390; see also Rangāchārya, *List*, II, No. 60).

Levy of illegal exactions stopped, 1446 A.D.

A record of 1446, *i.e.*, of the very first year of Mallikārjuna's reign, shows that illegal exactions had to be stopped by the new king. It would appear that the ministers "in the kingdom had been taking presents (by force) from all *raiyats* belonging to both the right-hand and left-hand classes at the *commencement of each reign.* As a result of this extortion, all the *raiyats* had been harrassed and had run away to foreign countries." Worship and festivals ceased in temples; the country became full of disease; all people (that remained) either died or suffered. Mallikārjuna ordered, through his ministers, the immediate cessation of this levy, thus relieving the poorer people from a burden which apparently had become well nigh intolerable to bear. (See *M.E.R.* 1906-7, Para 55; *A.S.I.* 1907-8, p. 247, *f.n.* 1).

Pāndyan occupation of Kānchi, *Circa* 1469-70 A.D.

About the time Kapilēsvara invaded the Vijayanagar territory from the north-east, a Pāndyan king, of the name Bhuvanaika-Vīran Samarakōlāhalan, appears to have led an expedition against Kānchi from the South. As we have seen, the Sāmbavarāyas ruled over Kānchi as the feudatories of the Pāndyas, and Kampana II on his conquest of Rāja-Gambhīra-Sāmbavarāya and the capture of Padaividu, invaded the Pāndyan kingdom and drove out the Muhammadan Sultān (identified with Nasir-ud-din Dainaghan Shāh) whom he killed. The Vijayanagar occupation of the Pāndyan Kingdom was disputed in the reign of Harihara II, who is said to have reconquered the country. Virūpāksha II, as mentioned before, accomplished this re-conquest and became its governor with the Tundira and Chōla countries. The Pāndyans seem to have next got a chance at the time Mallikārjuna came to the throne. In the confusion caused by Kapilēsvara's repeated invasions, Bhuvanaika-vīra, the Pāndyan king, should have tried his luck at the re-capture of Kānchi, which had been lost to the Vijayanagar prince Kampa II. Bhuvanaika-vīra should have been an intrepid prince and powerful enough to re-assert Pāndyan rule over such a distant province as Tundīra, whose capital Kānchi was. That he was an active prince is proved not only by this attempt at the re-capture of Kānchi but also by the active rule he appears to have set up in his own kingdom. Many coins of his containing the telling legends of *Samarakōlāhalan* and *Bhuvanāikavīra* on their reverse and the figure of a kneeling Garuda on a fish—the Pāndyan emblem—show that he should have attempted to regain a little of the ancient glory that belonged to his royal House. (See *M.E.R.* April 1890, Para 2, App. No. 25). His coins are still popular in the Madura bazaar, which shows the vogue they should originally have had. As an inscription of his dated in 1469 A.D. and recording two villages in the Pāndyan country and called after himself (as Samarakōlāhalanallūr and Bhūvanāikavira-nallūr) has been found in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kānchi, it has to be inferred that he was in actual possession of that city for some time after its conquest. Seeing that his inscription is dated in 1469 A.D., his occupation of it cannot have been long anterior to that date.

Massacre of Muhammadans at Bhatkal, 1469 A.D.

In 1469 A.D., the Muhammadans at Bhatkal, who at the time had monopolized all the coast trade and upon whom the Vijayanagar kings had to a large extent depended for the supply of horses required by them, sold all that they imported to the Muhammadans of the Deccan. King Virūpāksha II, enraged at this conduct, ordered his feudatory at Honawar "to kill all these Moors as far as possible and frighten the rest away." The result, according to Barrós, who relates the story, was that there was a terrible massacre in which 10,000 Muhammadans lost their lives. The survivors fled and settled themselves at Goa, thus founding the city which afterwards became the capital of Portuguese India. Barros does not mention the king who ordered this massacre, but Nuniz supplies the missing name, when he states that "Goa, Chaull and Dabull" were lost to Vijayanagar in the reign of "Verupaca," who has to be identified with Virūpāksha III. The ordering of this messacre is entirely in keeping with the character of Virūpāksha III as we know it. Though Purchas states that this massacre took place in 1479 A.D., Barros seems to be correct when he sets it down to 1469 A.D. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 99).

The massacre avenged, 1469 A.D.

Shortly afterwards—about the middle of 1469 A.D.—Mahmud Gawān, the minister of Muhammad, the Bāhmani Sultān, led an army to the west and after a fairly successful campaign, attacked by land and sea Goa, then a Vijayanagar possession, and captured it. This loss of Goa in Virūpākaha's reign is duly chronicled, as mentioned above, by Nuniz. This probably is one of the wars referred to by Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who visited the Bāhmani kingdom between 1468 and 1474 A.D. Referring to Mahmud Gawān, entitled Mallik-al-Tijar, he says he had been fighting the Kofars (Hindus) for twenty years, being sometimes beaten but mostly beating them." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 103).

Virūpāksha's attempt to retake Goa, 1472-3 A.D.

Virūpāksha, however, did not fail to attempt the recapture of Goa from the Muhammadans. Ferishta tells us that in 1472-3 A.D., the Vijayanagar governor of Belgaum (called *Balgoan* by Ferishta), instigated by his king, marched to retake Goa. On hearing this, Muhammad Shāh immediately marched an army against Belgaum, which is described as "a fortress of great strength, having round it a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach, defended by redoubts." The place was taken, and we have to presume that the diversion had its effect. The name of the Vijayanagar governor of Belgaum is given by Ferishta as "Perkna," by Briggs as "Birkana" and by Major King as "Birkanah" and five other variants of it are also known. Mr. Sewell has suggested that the real name was Vikrama. (See *A Forgotten Empire,* 100).

Though thus foiled in his attempt, Virūpāksha's successor; Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya appears to have made another attempt to re-capture Goa in or about 1482. It was the last year of Sultān Muhammad's reign and just before his death, he planned, according to Ferishta, an expedition to relieve Goa, which, he adds, had been besieged by a Vijayanagar army sent there by Sewaroy (probably Narasimha-Rāya, meaning Sāluva Narasimha, the usurper). But Muhammad Shāh's death put a stop to the despatch of the projected relieving force. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* quoting Major King's *Burhan-i-Maāsir*).

Athanasius Nikitin's description of Vijayanagar, *Circa* 1474 A.D.

Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller, visited Kulbarga between 1468-1474 A.D. Whether he visited Vijayanagar personally or not is not ascertained. He has, however, left a description of the capital, which, on the face of it, seems to be based on *hearsay*; it is so far correct as might be expected in the circumstances. He calls the Hindu kingdom *Chenudar* and *Benudar*, which

Mr. Sewell thinks are variants of the name *Vijayanagar*, called farther on as *Bichenegher*. He states that the Hindu king possessed 300 elephants, 100,000 infantry and 50,000 horse, as against Sultān Muhammad's 900,000 foot, 190,000 horse and 575 elephants. It cannot be surprising that with this enormous army, Muhammad and his minister Gawān were always fighting against the "Kofars" *i.e.*, Hindus. Nikitin thus describes Vijayanagar city:—

"The Hindu Sultan Kadam (probably Karnatic, the name by which Vijayanagar was ordinarily known in those days) is a powerful prince. He possesses a numerous army and resides on a mountain at Bichenegher, (*i.e.* Bijanagar or Vijayanagar). This vast city is surrounded by three forts and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful jungle, and on the other a dale; a wonderful place and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible; a road goes right through the town and as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 105).

The "Hindu Sultan Kadam," which seems a literal rendering of the phrase *Karnātaka Hindu suratrāna* of the inscriptions, who was in power between 1468 and 1474 A.D., was Virūpāksha III, as the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha had not yet been accomplished.

Famine in the Deccan, 1475 A.D.

There was a terrible famine in the Deccan in 1475 A.D. It is said to have lasted for two years. Parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom should have suffered from it as the Telugu country, now forming part of the Kistna and Guntur, appears to have been ravaged by it. How far it extended into the interior and whether it affected any part of South India proper is not known. The people of Kondapalli (in the present Guntur District) rose in rebellion, killed the Muhammadan governor and invited aid from the king of Orissa. Sultān Muhammad advanced in person for the relief of the place. The Orissan army retired; Rajahmundry fell and Muhammad Shāh advanced on the Orissan king, who made peace with him. The reduction of Kondapalli was followed by the destruction of its temple and the raising of a mosque on its site.

Sultān Muhammad's war against Narasimha, *Circa* 1480-1481 A.D.

Muhammad next secured the Telingana country and "resolved on the conquest of Narasing-Raya," apparently the usurper Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya. Ferishta describes him thus :—

> "Narasing was a powerful Rāja possessing the country between Carnatic and Telingana, extending along the sea-coast to Matchilipattam (Masulipatam), and had added much of the Beejnuggur territory to his own by conquest with several strong forts." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* 101; Scott, *Ferishta* I. 167).

March on Kānchi and its capture, 1481 A.D.

The *Burhān-i-Maāsir* states, differing from Ferishta in this matter, that Narasimha had forestalled Sultān Muhammad at Rajahmundry. He and his large army, however, fled before Muhammad. After occupying Rajahmundry, he marched on Kondavīdu, the seat of a Vijayanagar governor, and from there "after its conquest, advanced on Malur, a possession of Narasimha, towards the kingdom of Vijayanagar." This place has been identified by Mr. Rice with Malur in the Kolar District, which, considering the statement of Ferishta that it was reached immediately after Kondavīdu, seems impossible. (See *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 117). The *Burhān-i-Maāsir* also describes Narasimha as one "who owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagar." It adds that he "had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanara and Telingana and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar." Muhammad, on his march towards Vijayanagar, heard of the opulent city of Kānchi

(*Kunchy* of Ferishta and *Ganii* of the *Burhān-i-Maāsir*) and its gold-plated walls and roofs ornamented with precious stones. His cupidity was kindled and he made a forced march on it with 6,000 cavalry and sacked it. On his march back, he is said to have taken Masulipatam, which was in Narasimha's hands. Mr. Sewell thinks the capture of Kānchi "exceedingly improbable" as the distance to be covered was 250 miles, and the way lay "through the heart of a hostile country." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 101, *f. n.* 4).

Fall and dismemberment of the Bāhmani Kingdom, 1489 A.D.

Within a couple of years of the revolution at Vijayanagar, which ended in the subversion of the Sangama dynasty and the establishment of the Sāluva dynasty in its place, the Bāhmani kingdom fell as the result of internal troubles and civil wars. The cold-blooded murder of Mahamud Gawān, his famous minister, by Sultān Muhammad in 1481 A.D., so disgusted his adherents that the great nobles fought among themselves and thus came out of the dismembered kingdom the five independent principalities of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Berar and Bidar. The first of these, with which our history will be principally concerned, was founded in 1489 A.D.

Domestic Life.

Mallikārjuna appears to have had six sons. Three of these were Virūpāksha IV, Dēva-Rāya IV (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206) and Rājasēkhara (*E.I.* III, 36; *M.E.R.* 1892, Para 9) though the last of these is usually shown as "unnamed" in the genealogical tables. Dēva-Rāya IV appears to have been born in or about 1463 A.D., the date of Tirthahalli 206 wherein it is mentioned that Mallikārjuna made the gift of a village "at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva-Rāya." Mr. Rice thinks that the occasion was the name-giving (*nāmakarna*) ceremony of Dēva-Rāya, a son of Mallikārjuna. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has, however, suggested that as "we do not know of any son of Mallikārjuna of that name," it is "more likely that the author omitted to repeat the word *tanayasya* a second time for the sake of metre." He, therefore, inclines to the belief that the occasion "would be the birthday of Dēva-Rāya, a grandson of Mallikārjuna," whom he would identify with the *Padea Rao* of Nuniz, (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 251, *f*, *n*. 10). There is, however, no reason whatever to read the word "son" as "grandson" in this record and interpret the Dēva-Rāya mentioned in it as a grandson named Dēva-Rāya of an unnamed son. Nor is it necessary to suggest, as Mr. Gōpinātha Rao has done (*E.I.* XV 17), that the record "does not mention what name was given to the child," when it specifically states that the name-giving ceremony was of the king's (*i.e.*, the donor's) son Dēva-Rāya, *i.e.*, the child who was dubbed Dēva-Rāya is actually mentioned as such. (See *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206). There is no need for these forced interpretations as we now know that Mallikārjuna lived as late as 1487 A.D. (see above) and that Dēva-Rāya, the son named in the Tirthahalli record, would have been in that year, (*i, e.*, 1487 A.D.), about 23 years of age, if he was living in that year. The further suggestion that we do not otherwise know of a Dēva-Rāya as a son of Mallikārjuna, and so he must be taken to be his grandson, is easily explained on the basis that neither of the sons of Mallikārjuna succeeded him on the throne and so it cannot be regarded as otherwise than natural that we do not hear any further of this Dēva-Rāya, the son of Mallikārjuna. We now come to Virūpāksha IV, the first named son of Mallikārjuna. He appears to have had two sons. One of these was Praudha-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1903, App. A, No. 593 of 1902 dated in 1486 A.D.). The Praudha-Dēva-Rāya of the Parnapalle record of 1476 A.D. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 97), may have to be identified with this prince, if the existence of this alleged record is proved to be true hereafter. He has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with the *Padea Rao* (Praudhadēvarāya) of Nuniz, in whose time the Sāluva usurpation is said to have taken place. Nanja-Rāja-Odeyar was another son of Mallikārjuna. He is referred to in certain inscriptions found in the Mysore District, as *Mahāmandalēsvara.* His records bear the dates 1488 A.D., 1491 A.D., 1492 A.D. and 1494 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 53; 118; 102, 100, T.-Narsipur 67 and Nanjangud 101). He is probably the person whose name has been read by Mr. Rice as "Mallikārjuna's son Junjana-Rāya." As Mr. Rice says the copy from which he abstracted the contents was a "very corrupt" one, the name may have been wrongly read. (See *E C.* IX, Dodballapur 51 and *f. n.* 1; Translation, page 69). As Sāluva Narasimha's usurpation was complete about 1487 A.D., it is not surprising that Nanja-Rāja is described as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara.* (Nanjangud 102 and T.-Narasipur 67). Similarly, another son of Mallikārjuna, who apparently ruled over a portion of the Mysore District, was Parvatayya. He is also described as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara* in a record dated in 1494 A.D. It is evident that these two brothers accepted without demur their respective subordinate positions under Sāluva Narasimha. His sixth and last son Dēpanna Vodeyar is mentioned in a record dated in 1484 A.D. (*E.C.* IV Chamrajnagar 127). He is described in it as *Mahāmandalēsvara* the Srī-Vīra-āneyabēntya Immadi-Rāya-Vodeyar Kumāra (*i.e.*, son of Immadi-Rāya-Vodeyar, the Elephant-hunter). He made a grant of Haradanhalli to the great god of gods, the god Anilēsvara, probably the god in the Divya-lingēsvara temple at Haradanhalli, Chamrajnagar Taluk.

A double revolution, 1466 and 1486 A.D.

During the reign of Mallikārjuna, there was a double revolution, which ended finally in the supplanting of the

Sangama Dynasty by the Sāluva Dynasty. The first revolution appears to have been led by Virūpāksha III, son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, *alias* Vijaya-Rāya, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II. Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Vijaya-Rāya had been, as we have seen, co-regent of his brother in the last year of his reign. This should have afforded Virūpāksha a convenient reason to try his fortune against the legitimate heir Mallikārjuna. His revolution should have occurred before 24th October 1465 A.D., corresponding to Saka 1388, Cyclic year *Pārthiva*, the date of the Srīsailam Plates. These plates record a grant by this Virūpāksha to the Srīsailam temple on the *occasion of his coronation when he was seated upon the throne of his ancestors* (*pitryam simhāsanam*), thus testifying directly to the fact that Mallikārjuna, the reigning king so far, had been successfully superseded by him, so successfully indeed as not to be counted among the kings who had preceded him on the throne. The suggestion is complete that he came in by a *revolution* and not by *succession*. This inscription further states that Virūpāksha (III) was Siva himself reborn under the name Virūpāksha to Prātāpa-Rāya and his queen Siddhala-Dēvi, and that he obtained the kingdom by his power (or by the prowess of his own arms, *nijapratāpadadhi gatya*), and that having conquered his enemies with his sword, he reigned with happiness. This statement of his winning the kingdom by his own prowess is confirmed in two other records dated in 1472 and 1474 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 60 and *E.C.* III, Malvalli 21). Among the *birudas* (titles) given for him are:—"the conqueror of the *Suratrāna*" (apparently a reference to the defeats he, probably with his cousin Mallikārjuna, inflicted on Alā-ud-din, the Bāhmani Sultān, in 1446 A.D. as above mentioned); "he who drove the Āndhra king" (this is undoubtedly a reference to the unsuccessful invasion of Vijayanagar by the Orissan king Kapilēsvara, as detailed above); he who was Suratrāna among Hindu kings (see Nikitin's description below); "Tri-rāja-bhujagōnnata"; "who was a lion to the elephants, the enemy kings"; "who produces fear in the minds of his enemies," etc. It is clear from this inscription that Virūpāksha III and his party should have had put to death a number of persons belonging to Mallikārjuna's party and perhaps even drove them out of the capital and carried out his coronation as king. These are probably the deeds of prowess he refers to in certain of his grants. (See above). Who all fell in this confessedly sanguinary civil warfare it is not clear. That Mallikārjuna himself escaped is now evident from the discovery of his records dated many years after this incident, in fact dated as late as in 1485 and 1487 A.D. Apparently he condemned himself into banishment from the capital. As regards his six sons, Virūpāksha IV is mentioned in a record of 1483 A.D., from Gangaikonda-chōlapuram in the present Trichinopoly district; Dēva-Rāya IV in a record, dated in 1463 A.D.; Rājasēkhara in records dated in 1479 and 1480 A.D.; Nanjarāja-Wodeyar in records dated from 1491-1495; Parvatayya in records of the same period. This shows that not only Mallikārjuna but all his sons survived the revolution.

Is the Virūpāksha of the *Prapannāmritam* the Virūpāksha who compassed this revolution?

There are one or two points to notice in connection with the first revolution. The editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* has identified Virūpāksha III, (see No. 27, *Prapannāmritam*, pages 71-73; also Introduction pages 6-7) who accomplished this revolution with the Virūpāksha of the *Prapannāmritam*, who, as already stated, has to be identified with Virūpāksha II, son of Harihara, who was a competitor for the throne with his brothers Bukka-Rāya II and Dēva-Rāya II in 1404-5 A.D. (see *ante*). The statement made in the *Prapannāmritam* that out of gratitude for relieving him from the trouble of the ghosts, Virūpāksha gave up his sign-manual on his seal of *Srī Virūpāksha* and substituted for it *Srī Rāma* (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Introduction, 6; Text, 73) is contradicted by the Srīsailam plates, which record a grant by Virūpāksha III immediately after the revolution, on which we might naturally have—if he indeed was the Virūpāksha in question—expected the use of the new sign-manual. But it bears actually the old sign-manual of *Srī-virūpāksha.* (*E.I.* XV, No. 2, page 25; See *Text*, Line 90).

Nuniz's account of the affair.

Nuniz's account of this double usurpation is a tangled mass of detail, which, however, has not been corroborated by contemporaneous inscriptional records. Nuniz thus narrates the story of the first revolution which, he says, ended in the murder of Verupaca, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha IV (see *Pedigree* at the end of this section), the great grandson of Dēva Rāya II, and his unnamed elder son, at the hands of his own (the latter's own) younger brother:—

"On t[illegible] of this king succeeded a son named Verupacarao [illegible]ksha-Rāya). As long as he reigned, he was given o[illegible]e, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himse[illegible]rink and amuse himself, and never showed himself eith[illegible] captains or to his people; so that in a short time [illegible]at which his forefathers had won and left to him. A[illegible]obles of the kingdom, seeing the habits and life of [illegible], rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, Chaull and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm. This king in mere sottishness slew many of his captains. Because he dreamed one night that one of his captains entered his chamber, on the next day he had him called, telling him that he had dreamed that night that the captain had entered his room to kill him; and for that alone he had him put to death. This king had two sons already grown up, who, seeing the wickedness of their father and how he had lost his kingdom, determined to kill him, as in fact was done by one of them, the elder, who was his heir; and after he had killed him, when they besought him to be king, he said, "Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood;" which was done, and the younger brother was raised to the throne. And when they had entrusted the kingdom to him he was advised by his minister and captains that he should slay his brother, because, as the latter had killed his father so he would kill him if desirous of so doing; and as it appeared to the king that such a thing might well be, he determined to kill him, and this was at once carried out, and he slew him with his own hand. So that this man truly met the end that those meet with who do such ill deeds. The king was called Padearao; and after this was done he gave himself up to the habits of his father and, abandoning himself to his women, and not seeking to know aught regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city.

"One of his captains who was called N[illegible]ua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing h[illegible] of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom [illegible] should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, [illegible]ed to attack him and seize on his lands; which sch[illegible] at once put into force.

"He wrote, therefore, and addresse[illegible]ptains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it [illegible] hem not to have a king over them who could govern p[illegible] and how it would be no wonder, seeing the manner of his life, if the king soon lost by his bad government even more than his father had done.

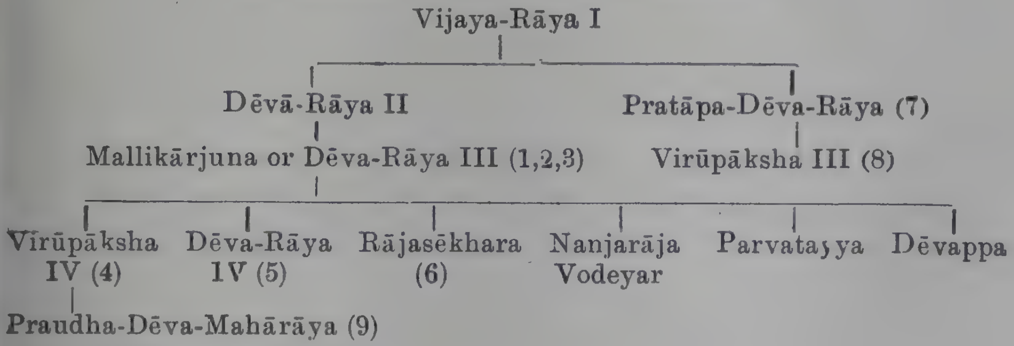
"He made great presents to all of them so as to gain their goodwill, and when he had thus attached many people to himself he made ready to attack Bisnaga where the king dwelt. When the king was told of the uprising of this captain Narsymgua, how he was approaching and seizing his lands and how many people were joining him, he seemed unmindful of the loss he had suffered, he gave no heed to it nor made ready, but, instead, he only ill-treated him who had brought the news. So that a captain of the army of this Narsymgua arrived at the gates of Bisnaga, and there was not a single man defending the place ; and when the king was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be. Then the captain entered the city, and the king only said that it could not be. Then he even entered his palace and came as far as the doors of his chamber, slaying some of the women. At last the king believed, and seeing now how great was the danger, he resolved to flee by the gates on the other side; and so he left his city and palaces, and fled.

" When it was known by the captain that the king had fled he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city and of the treasures which he found there; and he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsymgua. And after that Narsymgua was raised to be king. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymgua."

Comparison between epigraphic data and Nuniz's account.

The differences disclosed by a comparative study of the data made available by contemporary inscriptional records and those furnished by Nuniz writing about a century after the events to which they relate happened cannot be put more graphically than by the two following tables :—

ACCORDING TO EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS.


Vijaya-Rāya I
Dēvā-Rāya II
Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya (7)
Mallikārjuna or Dēva-Rāya III (1,2,3)
Virūpāksha III (8)
Virūpāksha IV (4)
Dēva-Rāya IV (5)
Rājasēkhara (6)
Nanjarāja Vodeyar
Parvatayya
Dēvappa
Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya (9)

(1) Tirthahalli 206.

(2) *M.E.R.* 1902, 570.

(3) *M.E.R.* No. 37, dated 1465 A.D. from Kānchi.

(4) *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 83 of 1892, dated in 1483 A.D. from Gangaikonda-chōlapuram. *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 53, No. 398 of 1909, dated in 1485 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1922, re-examining *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 101, dated in 1469 A.D.

(5) *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206, dated in 1463 A.D. The full name given in the record is: Dēvarāya-Mahārāya-Virūpāksharāya-Prouda-Dēva-Mahārāya which Dr. Hultzsch has interpreted (correctly, I think) as Prouda-Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha-Rāya IV and the grandson of Dēva-Rāya III. (See *M.E.R.* 1903, Para 15).

(6) 1479-1480, 1486-87 (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 9, *E.I.* III, 36). Rājasēkhara is mentioned in *M.E R.* 1921, Para 42: Appendix C. No. 121 of 1921 dated in 1470 A.D.

(7) Dēva-Rāya mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1890, No. 39, dated in 1470 A.D. as the father of Virūpāksha and identified wrongly by Dr. Hultzsch with Dēva-Rāya II.

(8) Mentioned in Srīsailam plates, *E.I.* IV, 8, dated in 1465 A.D., as the son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and *M.E.R.* 1890, No. 39, dated in 1470 A.D., as the son of Dēva-rāya identified by Dr. Hultzsch wrongly as Dēva-Rāya II. (See *M.E.R.* 1890, Para 2 and 1892 Para 9), *M.E.R.* 916 Para 61 and Appendix C. No. 269, dated in 1471 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 49 and Appendix C. No. 210 of 1921, dated in 1471 A.D.

(9) *M.E.R.* 1903, Para 15, Appendix A, 593 of 1902 from Anbil. His vassal Sāluva-Sangama-Dēva Mahārāya mentioned in records dated 1481 and 1486 A.D. which come from Anbil.

M.E.R. 1903, Para 15, Appendix A. 593 and 594. In the earlier record he omits to mention his sovereign's name; but in the later one he mentions it.

ACCORDING TO NUNIZ'S CHRONICLE, 305-6

Vijaya-Rāya
|
Dēva-Rāya II
|
Pina-Rāya
|
Unnamed son
|
Verupaca (= Virūpāksha IV)
(murdered by his unnamed elder son)

- Unnamed elder son (1) (murdered by his younger brother Padea Rao).
- Padea Rao, who murdered his elder brother and lost the kingdom to "Narsymgua" = Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya.

(1) Nuniz says that "Verupaca" had two sons already grown up, the "elder" of whom, he says, murdered his father and was in turn murdered by his "younger" brother. (Nuniz's *Chronicle*, 305). Mr. Sewell in summarising Nuniz on page 97 of his book, by a slip, says that "Virūpāksha was murdered by his *eldest* son who in turn was slain by his younger brother, *Padea Rao*," thereby suggesting that "Verupaca" had more than two sons, which is not covered by Nuniz's authority.

Examination of differences between the two sets of data.

A close examination of the above two tables will show that while according to Nuniz it was Virūpāksha IV, the great-grandson of Dēva-Rāya II, who proved himself a vicious and wicked ruler and was put to death by his elder son, who was in turn put to death by his younger brother, who in turn lost the kingdom to Sāluva-Narasimha, according to the inscriptions (see Srīsailam plates, the Sajjalur plates—Malvalli 121—and Sagar 60), it was *Virūpāksha III*, nephew of Dēva-Rāya II, who superseded Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya II, and celebrated his coronation ceremony in or about 1465-6 A.D., when Mallikārjuna was still alive. It would seem to follow from this that Mallikārjuna was either let off with his life or escaped "the powerful arms," as it is suggested in the Srīsailam and the Sajjalur plates of Virūpāksha III. Secondly, according to Nuniz, there were a series of murders—of father, son and a brother—before the kingdom was lost to Sāluva-Narasimha; but according to the inscriptions of the period, found in widely different parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom, there seem to have been none such. The murders, if any, should have been perpetrated, so far as the first revolution was concerned, before the coronation of Virūpāksha III, which took place in 1465-6 A.D. Mallikārjuna, his chief rival, was, as we now know, alive up to at least 1487 A.D.; Virūpāksha IV, his eldest son, was, according to an inscription, alive up to 1483 A.D.; of the latter's younger brothers, Dēva-Rāya IV was alive in 1463 A.D. and Rājasēkhara, some of whose records dated in 1469, 1479 and 1487 A.D. have come from Ambur and Tiruvannamalai, was alive up to at least 1487 A.D.; Nanjarāja and his two younger brothers also escaped and bore rule long after in parts of the Mysore District. (See *ante* Mallikārjuna under *Domestic Life*). We also know that Dēva-Rāya IV was an infant in 1463 A.D. and as such could not possibly have fallen into the hands of Virūpāksha III and even if he had been secured, his murder would not have encompassed anything for Virūpāksha III as the infant's father and elder brother were at liberty; not only was Praudha-

Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha IV, alive up to at least 1486 A.D. but also is represented as ruling, one of his subordinates Sāluva-Sangamadēva-Mahārāja making a grant in his reign mentioning him as the ruling king. It would thus seem that not only Mallikārjuna but also his two sons and his grandson Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, in other words, he and all his direct descendants, were alive for many years after the coronation of Vrūpāksha III. From these data, the inference seems possible that Virūpāksha's revolution prevented the succession of Mallikārjuna's sons to the *sovereignty*, though there is evidence to show that all his six sons and his grandson Praudha-Dēva Mahārāya bore rule—probably as local governors—in the old Tundīra and Chōla and Mysore countries from where their inscriptions came. Mallikārjuna also seems to have ruled over parts of the same countries including the modern Coimbatore from where many of his later records come. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 41; see *M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 45 and references to records therein.)

Brief enumeration of the differences.

As between the testimony of Nuniz and the testimony of the inscriptional records of the period they deal with, the latter has undoubtedly to be preferred. The following reasons may be urged against the acceptance of Nuniz's story:—

(1) His narrative gives no details as to names, and is confessedly one made up from the memory of his informants, who appear to have gone wrong; (2) his statement about successive murders is not confirmed by any of the inscriptions so far discovered; on the other hand, all of them indicate that the persons alleged to have been murdered—*i.e.*, Virūpāksha IV and his brothers—were living for many years after the coronation of Virūpāksha III; (3) his account confuses the life-stories of the two Virūpākshas of the period—Virūpāksha III, son of Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya and nephew of king Dēva-Rāya II and Virūpāksha IV, the eldest son of Mallikārjuna,

and attributes to the latter's sons the first revolution whereas according to the Srīsailam and the Sajjalur plates and Sagar 60, it was actually Virūpāksha III who "by his prowess" managed to dethrone Mallikārjuna and got his coronation celebrated at Vijayanagar.

In view of every one of the sons of Mallikārjuna surviving the revolution of Virūpāksha III, it has to be presumed that the revolution effected by him was a bloodless one, so far at least as the immediate parties were concerned though not unaccompanied by deeds of cunning which the composers of the Srīsailam and the Sajjalur plates have described as deeds of prowess. There is, however, an element of truth in Nuniz's account, which deserves to be noted. The statement made by him that "Padea Rao," the last son of Virūpāksha IV, lost the kingdom to "Narsymgua," *i.e.*, Sāluva Narasimha (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 306-7) may be true in this sense that he was *possibly* the last direct lineal descendant of the Sangama dynasty who was probably entitled to the throne, which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya usurped from Virūpāksha III in or about 1485 A.D., the supplanting being virtually completed in that year.

The story of the two revolutions as indicated in epigraphic records of the three sovereigns.

That this is as nearly as may be what actually occurred in connection with the first revolution and how this first revolution led to the second revolution by which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I came to occupy the Sangama throne will be clear from a consideration of the inscriptional records of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha III and Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I, the usurper. These are set out below, in chronological order, in Tables A, B and C. These tables will indicate the position much more clearly than any explanatory glosses on the records themselves.

TABLE A.

INSCRIPTIONS OF MALLIKĀRJUNA.

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
1	*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 68.	1441-2 A.D.	Refers to a death in a (?) local fight in the reign of Immadi-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya at Vijayanagar, "protecting it in righteousness."
2	*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 240.	1442 A.D.	Raising the seige of a village in the reign of Rājādhirāja Rāja Paramēswara Vīrapratāpa Immadi-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāja (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna).
3	*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 36.	1445 A.D.	Records a *sati* when Immadi-Dēva-Rāya was ruling a peaceful kingdom.
4	*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 38, App. C. No. 251.	Saka 1368 Kshaya (A.D.1446)	Registers a remission by a local ruler in the reign of Mallikārjuna, son of Vīra-Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya.
5	*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 239.	1447 A.D.	Records a *sati* in the reign of Rājādhirāja Paramēsvara Vīra-pratāpa Mallikārjuna Mahārāya.
	E.C. XII, Pavagada 69.	1447 A.D.	Grant by Mallikārjuna, called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, who was so called because he was "double of his father in valour." The gift was of a village re called Dēvarāyapura in Rāyadurg Kingdom. The donee is said to have been the author of *Bhāshyābhūshā* and proficient in all kinds of learning. He was examined by the king in an assembly of the learned and all the learned men were, it is said, pleased with him.
6	*M.E.R.* 1907-1908, Para 61 (copper plate record).	1447 A.D. Saka 1369 Prabhava Year.	The record states *inter alia* that Mallikārjuna was so named because he was born by the favour of God Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri and mentions the grant of a village in the Hoysala country to certain Brāhmans. It was renamed Praudha-Dēva-Rāya-pura after himself.
7	*E.C.* VI, Koppa 32.	1448 A.D.	Records a grant made when Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna Mahārāya was in Vijayanagar maintaining the *Varnāsramadharmas*.
8	*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 473.	1448 A.D.	Records a death in a raid in the reign of Mallikārjuna, son (*Kumāra*) of King Dēvarāya II.
9	*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 11.	1448 A.D.	Records the grant of a village belonging to Kannambādi by Mallikārjuna, also called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, to a Brāhman named Dēvara Bhatta.

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
10	*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 67.	1450 A.D.	When (?Immadi) Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya was in Vijaya, royal city of many countries, protecting all the country in his own right (*Svadharmadallu*) a grant of certain insignia of office was made in favour of Chidbōdha Bhārati by Bhōgavardhana-vāla-purusha, descended in the line of Suresvarāchārya, disciple of Sankarāchārya.
11	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 220.	About 1450 A.D.	A grant in the time of Immadi-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya.
12	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 155.	About 1450 A.D.	A grant by Srīgirimalla Odeyar, Governor of Āraga, in the reign of the victorious Mahārājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna at Vijayanagar, ruling a secure empire.
13	*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 125.	(?) 1450 A.D.	Records a grant by Mallikārjuna Odeyar.
14	*M.E.R.* 1921, App. B. No. 524 of 1920, Lithic inscription at Gōpināth Temple at Pattisam, Kumbakōnam Taluk.	1450 A.D. (Saka 1372 Promodūta).	Records gift of land by Sāluva Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārāya.
15	*E.C.* VI, Koppa 44.	1451 A.D.	Records a grant when Mahārājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya, was in Vijayanagar upholding the *Varnāsramadharmas.*
16	*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 566.	1451 A.D.	Refers to a *Sati* Chandragutti Province in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa Mallikārjuna-Rāya.
17	*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 96.	(?) 1452.	Records a grant by Hamparasa, of the customs, in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna.
18	*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 167.	1454 A.D.	Refers to the setting of a *Vīragal* in the Governorship of Treasury by Lingappa-Vodeyar of the Chandragutti Province during the reign of Mallikārjuna Mahārāya.
19	*E.C.* III, Malvalli 86.	(?) 1454 A.D. (Prabhava)	When Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Mallikārjuna Mahārāya was ruling the Kingdom of the world. (Record incomplete.)
20	*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 65.	1455 A.D.	States that to King Praudha-Dēva-Rāya II and Ponnala-Dēvi was born, through the favour of God Mallikārjuna of Srīgiri, a son called Mallikārjuna. On the death of his father, Immadi (Praudha)-Dēvēndra (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna) became the king of the world. He is termed "powerful" and "Chief of Kings."

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
21	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 91.	1457 ...	Records a grant to a temple in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja-Vīra-Pratāpa-Mallikārjuna-Rāya-Mahārāya.
22	*E.C.* V, Hassan 16.	1458 A.D.	Grant by order of Mahārājādhiraja Ariraya Vibhāda, captivator of the women of Kuntana (Kuntala), Mallikārjuna-Mahārāya.
23	*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 89.	1458 A.D.	When Mahārājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa Immadi-Praudha-Dēva-Rāya called Mallikārjuna Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, Timmanna-Dannāyaka who was the lord of Nāgamangala and Chief Minister of Mallikārjuna erected a *mantapa* for feeding Srīvaishnava Brāhmans and provided for the maintenance of the dining hall by the grant of two villages with the permission of Mallikārjuna.
24	*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 133.	1458 A.D.	States that Timmanna-Dandanātha became minister of Mallikārjuna or Immadi-Dēva-Rāya. With the permission of Mallikārjuna, Timmanna's wife made a grant of two villages for the Goddess Lakshmi, at Mēlkōte.
25	*M.E.R.* 1920, App. C. No. 212 of 1920.	Saka 1381 Pramathi (A.D. 1459).	Records a grant of land for daily worship in a temple, in the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa-Kumāra-Mallikārjuna. (Four other inscriptions in the *M.E.R.* 1920. App. C. Nos. 216, 231, 234 and 236 dated in the cyclic years Promodūta, Prabhava, Prabhava and Prabhava respectively mention the reigning king as "Mallikārjuna-Rāya" or "Mahāmandalēsvara Mallikārjuna-Rāya").
26	*E.C.* III, Mandya 12.	1459 A.D.	Records a grant by Mahārājādhirāja Srī Pratāpa Mallikārjuna and his chief minister Timmanna-Dannāyaka while at Penugonda on business connected with Narasinga's Kingdom, *i.e.*, Province (Apparently Narasinga was then governing over the Penukonda province). It is stated in this record that Mallikārjuna was at the time "ruling the Kingdom in peace" from Penukonda.
27	*E.C.* Mandya 59.	1459 A.D.	Similar to Mandya 12, and dated in the same year. The grant mentioned in it was made by Mallikārjuna while on a visit to Penukonda with his chief minister Timmanna on business connected with Narasinga's Province.

TABLE A.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
28	*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 2.	(?) 1460 A.D.	Refers to the time when Mallikārjuna was king at Vijayanagar.
29	*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 562.	1461 A.D.	Refers to a local fight in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Mallikārjuna-Rāya.
30	*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 24.	1462-3 A.D. (Saka 1385 Chitrabhānu.)	Records an exemption from certain taxes in favour of a temple when Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Mūru-Rāyara-Ganda, etc., Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya (II), was on the throne, granted by one Tammairagattur of Muluvāyi, who was apparently a subordinate of Kattari-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeya, the future usurper.
31	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 206.	1463 A.D.	Records the grant of a village in the Āraga province made by Mallikārjuna, named Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva-Rāya.
32	*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 69.	1463 A.D.	Refers to a grant in the reign of the "Great King" named Mallikārjuna, who was called Immadi-Dēva-Rāya, by the king himself while at Vijayanagar. The grant was made by the king on his birthday (under his natal star).
33	*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 51.	1464 A.D.	Records a grant by the Mahānāyaka Nanja-Rāja-Odeyar (wrongly read as *Junjana Rāya*), son of Mallikārjuna, "the great Ganda-bhērunda to the three kings."
34	*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 36.	1465 A.D.	Records a grant to the God of Srīparvata when Mallikārjuna was ruling the Kingdom.
35	*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18.	1465 A.D. (Pārthiva)	Records the grant of certain levies (tribute money for sacred ashes and revenue from forced sales) which were levied for the palace from the temples of the Muluvāyi Province, to the temple of Syāyambhunātha at Madaivala, in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna-Rāya Mahārāya. This grant, it is said, was made according to the order of Vīra-Singa-Rāya-Odeyar (apparently a shortened form of or a mislection for Narasinga-Rāja-Odeya, the future usurper). The inscription being incomplete, it is not clear what position he held under Mallikārjuna.
36	*E.C.* III, Malvalli 64.	1465 A.D.	Records the restoration of the Arkēsvara temple at Malavalli and the erection of a *jalandara* for the God on the date mentioned while

TABLE A.—*concld.*

Sl. No.	Authority quoted from	Date of Record	Contents of Record
			Rājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāya was *promoting the increase of his kingdom.* (The name *Dēva-Rāya* is read in place of the usual *Immadi Dēva Rāya*).
37	*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 56.	1467 A.D.	Records a Kodagi grant in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vīra-Pratāpa Dēva-Rāya (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna).
38	*E.C.* IX, Magadi 44.	1475 A.D.	Records the setting up of a pillar when Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna) was ruling all the empire.
39	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 153.	About 1480 A.D.	Refers to a grant made out of a grant made by Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya in the name of Narasimha Bhārati-Odeyar—the grant having been made before the eyes of Purushōttama-Bhārati-Odeyar, in the presence of God Vidyāsankara, at the feet of Narasimhēsvara. (This refers to a grant carved out of a grant by Dēva-Rāya II).
40	*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 48; App. B. No. 473.	Saka 1407 Visvavasu (A.D. 1485).	Registers the grant to the Kaikolans of Valudailambattu-rājya in the Kānchi province, certain privileges, in the reign of Kumāra Mallikārjuna.
41	*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 39; App. B. No. 422 of 1925.	1487 A.D. (Saka 1409-Visvavasu).	Records a royal charter, issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēvarāya-Mahārāya, "who instituted the elephant hunt," in favour of the Kaikolans of the Kānchi province in response to their representation to Aramvalatta-Nāyinar, the king's minister.

TABLE B.

INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRŪPĀKSHA III.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
1	*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 38.	1447 A.D. Cyclic year Prabhava. (Lithic inscription at Dharmapura, Devanhalli Taluk, on a stone north of the Tirumala-Dēva Temple.)	Records a grant when Mahārajādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara, master of the four oceans, Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya-Mahā-Rāya was ruling a secure kingdom. (This is the earliest inscription known of Virūpāksha, which Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri remarks "could not be explained otherwise than by supposing that the king (presumably Mallikārjuna) was also called Virūpāksha."

TABLE B—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
2	*E.C.* V, Belur 135.	1466 A.D. ...	A grant by Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīrapratāpa Virūpāksharāya Mahārāya of Hebbalur village to God Channakēsava of Belur.
3	*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 41.	1468 A.D. ...	A grant made in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa Chakravarti Virūpāksha-Dēva.
4	*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 143.	1468 A.D. ...	Refers to the setting up of a *Vīrāgal* in the Āraga Kingdom during the Governorship of Dēvappa Dandanāyaka-Odeyar, the great minister, in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksha-Mahārāya who was in Vijayanagar ruling the empire in peace and wisdom.
5	*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 139.	1468 A.D. ..	Mentions Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Mahārāya as governing the kingdom of the world.
6	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 20.	1468 A.D. ...	Records that when Mahārājādhirāja Gajabēte-Kāra, Vīra-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the world, one Muluvāyi Hariyappa remitted *in order* that *dharma* might accrue to Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar (doubtless the usurper Sāluva Narasimha), certain fixed rent due to him from a local City merchant, on condition that he daily presented two betel leaves for God Sōma of Mulbagal as long as the sun and moon exist.
7	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 147.	1469 A.D. (Virōdhi year)	Incomplete. Records that when Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāya Vibhāda and Gajabētegāra Virūpāksha-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, some Mahāmandalēsvara did something (probably made a grant).
8	*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 62.	1469 A.D. ...	Records a grant in his reign to the God Dāmōdaraperumāl at Bannerghatta.
9	*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 29.	1470 A.D. ...	When Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa-Virūpāksha was ruler of the world, and his great ministerSingappa-Dannāyaka was administering the kingdom (called *Srī-rājya*) mahāsāmanta Kalaru-Nāyak's mother Kallarasiyamma renewed the whole temple of Sidda Mallikārjuna at Sampige, Gubbi Taluk.

TABLE B—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
10	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 253.	Saka 1388, Cyclic year Vikāri, which do not agree. Saka 1388 falls in Cyclic year Vyaya and would be A.D. 1446; and Vikāri in Saka 1392, or 1470 A.D. If the Cyclic year may be taken as the guide, the date 1470 A.D., may be accepted as correct.	Records a grant by Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar (*i.e.*, Sāluva Narasimha) when the Mahā-Rāja, lord of the eastern and western oceans, Gajabetēkara, Virūpāksha-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
11	*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 86.	1471 A.D. ...	Mentions Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Mahārāya, also subduer of hostile kings, etc., as governing the kingdom of the world.
11*a*	*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Appendix B. No.461 of 1921, Lithic record at Tiruvennainallūr, South Arcot District.	1471 A.D. (Saka 1393) Vikriti Kumbha See pratāna Monday Uthiram.	Records the gift of certain taxes for maintaining certain services at the temple and mentions Sāluva Narasimha Dēva Mahārāja.
11*b*	*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix D. No. 120 of 1921. Lithic inscriptions at Ayyapālyam, Ārni Division, North Arcot District.	1471 A.D. (Saka 1393, Khara).	Registers the remission of taxes and the grant of privileges to those who colonised Narasimha Tirupati founded by Īswara Nāyaka, the agent of Sāluva Narasingarāya I.
12	*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 60 (Yiduvani stone-inscription at the Yiduvani Pārsvanāthabasti, Sagar Taluk).	1472 A.D. ...	Records a grant at the time of Solar eclipse to a Pārsvanātha temple built by Parsagauda, who was devoted to "gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning," at Iduvane in Hebbayal-nād, in the present Sagar Taluk, in the reign of "the great Virūpāksha-mahārāya," MahārajādhirājaRājaparamēsvara, glory of the Īsvara-kula, refuge of the world. favourite of the minds of earth and fortune, who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess. (The phrase is not concluded but may be filled in from other records such as Sajjalur and Srīsailam).

TABLE B—*concld.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
13	*E.C.* Bowringpete 19.	1472 A.D. ...	Records a grant when Mahārajādhirāja Rajaparamēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-Rāya was ruling the kingdom to God Syayambhūtha at Madivāla by Linganna-Rāja, the officer of Bethamangala, in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsa Medinimisra-Ganda Kathāri Sāluva Narasingarāja-Vodeyar.
14	*E.C.* III, Malvalli 121.	1474 A.D. ...	Mentions a grant of "the celebrated Virūpāksha" who was Siva himself reborn. Rajādhirāja; king of the world; great in making gifts; fountain of mercy; who had acquired by his own prowess the kingdom; who had obtained obedience from every part of his dominion; who had conquered every enemy on the battle-field; who shone in the world as a true hero; the holder of titles such as Mūru-Rāyara-Ganda; Pararāyara-bhayankara; Hindu-rāya-Suratrāna, etc. Later on, in the grant portion, he is spoken of as king Virūpāksha who was *Karnātēsvara-rāya-Kunjara* (chief among the chiefs of the Karnāta). He is also described as the son of Pratāpa-Mahīpati and Simhala-Dēvi (a mislection for Siddhala-Dēvi).
15	*E.C.* VIII, 527.	1475 A.D. ...	Records the purchase of lands for the Kasurkuppa temple God in Edunad, in Chandragutti Province, when Virūpāksha-Rāya was in Vijayanagar ruling the kingdom.
16	*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 153.	1478 A.D. ...	A grant by Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-Paramēsvara Vīra-Pratāpa Virūpāksha-mahārāya when he was in the residence of Hastināvati (Vijayanagar)ruling a peaceful kingdom.
17	*E.C.* Bowringpete 69.	1478 A.D. ...	Incomplete. Mentions that when Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Virūpāksharāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, etc.
18	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 104.	1485 A.D. ...	Seems to record a grant by one Linganna when Virūpāksha-mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world—but the significant words occur, "in the administration of Narasimha-Rāja-Vodeyar" (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Narasimha). The words used are: *Virūpāksha-mahārāyaru prithivi-rāyam geyutam yiralu Narasimha-Rāja-Vodeyara pālaneyalu*).

TABLE C.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SALUVA–NARASIMHA–RĀYA I.

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
1	*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix B. No. 253, Lithic Inscriptions at Tirumala Venkatēsaperumāl temple.	1456 A.D. (Saka 1378, Dhātri.)	Gift of a village to the temple by Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya, son of Gundaya-Dēva-Mahārāya.
2	*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. 762, Lithic inscription at Gōvinda Rāja Perumāl Temple at Lower Tirupati, North Arcot District.	1457 A.D. ...	Records that Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva Mahārasu ordered certain procedure to be adopted with regard to distribution of food in the Tirupati Hill and other temples and refers also to the feeding houses controlled by him at Tirupati.
3	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. 270, Lithic inscription at Timmakkottai, Mannargudi taluk.	1466 A.D. (dated in Vijaya, Saka 1388.)	Records a gift of land by Vīra-Narasinga-rāya-Nāyaka (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 346, undated, which mentions the same chief, may also belong to him).
4	*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. No. 53, Lithic inscription at Nōchchikulam near Kunimedu, South Arcot District.	1466 A.D. (Saka 1388, Vijaya.)	Gift of land for offerings, festivals and a flower garden at Munnini by Tammarao, agent of Annamarasayya, *avagaram* of Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyār.
5	*E.C.* X, Kolar 23.	1467 A.D. ...	Records a grant by Mahārājādhirāja Mandalēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāyarāyya-mahā-arasu for the God of Bayirava of Sihatti. By this grant, he restored the villages given by Rājēndra-Chōla and Vīra-Ballāla and in his own name he offered "new trays of offerings," including a *Chattra* for feeding daily 215 Brāhmans which, he says, "we have carried on."
6	*M.E.R.* 1921 22, Appendix B. No. 371 of 1921, Lithic inscription at Tiruvadi, Cuddalur Taluk, South Arcot District.	1469 A.D. (Saka 1391, Khara, Vaishaka Su. 10.	Mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya. Records the gift of taxes of a village by Timmnāyaka, agent of Annamarasayya, the *avagaram* of the king.
7	Do ...	1469 A.D. Vikriti (expired) and Khara (current).	Gift of land by Timmnāyaka, agent of Annamarasayya, the *avagaram* Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya for burning lamps in the temple.

TABLE C—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
8	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 166. Lithic inscription at Brahmadesam, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. (Saka Virodhi year, Kartika 8.)	Mentions Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya and records gift of land by Servai-Nāyaka, agent of Annamarasayya, Minister.
9	*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. No. 4. Lithic inscription at Sembedu, Ginjee Taluk, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. Vikriti Masi 21 (Saka year not mentioned but it should be 1392.)	Registers a gift of taxes by *avagaram* Annamarasayyar for worship and repairs to Sundarēswarasvāmi temple at Sembedu made on the Sivarātri day, Narasinga being, according to *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, deeply devoted to it.
10	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 374. Lithic inscription at Tiruvandar Kōil near Pondicherry.	1470 A.D. (Vikriti, Phalguna Su. di. pratam. The Saka year is not mentioned but should be 1392.)	Mentions Narasinga-rāya and Tammināyaka, agent of Annamarasa, chief minister of Narasinga I.
11	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 172. Lithic inscription at Brahmadesam, South Arcot District.	1470 A.D. (Saka 1392, Vikriti, Punguni 2.)	Mentions and records Narasinga-Mahārāya's grant of certain local taxes for maintaining 40 lamps in the temple by Annamarasa, the *avagaram* (*i.e.*, *avasaram*) or agent of the king.
12	*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Appendix C. No. 8 inscription at Abhirāmēswara temple, Tiruvāmāttur, South Arcot District.	1471 A D. (Saka 1393, Vikriti Arpasi 15.)	Mentions Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyār and the grant of certain taxes for restoring the village and the temple, long lying deserted, in the name of Narasinga-Rāya, by *avasaram* Annamarasayya, his agent.
13	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79.	1472 A.D. (Nandana.)	Records the setting up by one Chikka-Allappa-Nāyaka of a Dīpa-māli-Kamba (pillar) in front of the Lakshmi-Kāntha temple in Devalāpura, Nagamangala Taluk, which had been granted to him by Mahā mandalēsvara, Mēdinimīsaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Narasingayya Dēva-mahā-arasu.
14	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 89.	1476 A D. (Durmukhi.)	Records a grant by Srīman mūvarurāyaraganda-bhērunda Narasinga Dēvaru and Nāga Nāyakaru (*i.e.*, Sāluva Narasimha and another).

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Date	Contents
15	*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 357 of 1925. Lithic inscription in Īswara temple at Papankōil, North Arcot District.	1477 A.D. (Vilambi adi 21. No Saka date given, it should be Saka 1399)	Mentions a grant of land to the temple by one Mugappa vadari-Rāmaiya-Nāyakar for the merit of Narasinga-Rāya-Udaiyar.
16	*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 158.	Saka 1400, Vilambi year (=A.D. 1478).	Records a grant to a *matha* by Varadarāja-Dēva-Nāyak of the village of Chakkalur, Channapatna Taluk, "in order that *Dharma* may be to the Mahāmandalēsvara, *Mēdinimīsara-ganda*, Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar.
17	*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Appendix B. No. 408. Lithic record at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District.	1478 A.D. (Saka 1400, Vilambi *Su.* Paurnima Friday Chittra).	Mentions Sāluva-Narasinga-Dēva Mahārāya. The agent of his, *dalavay* Īswara, constructed a car for the God and instituted certain festivals and made also gifts of land to it on behalf of his brother.
18	*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74.	Saka 1400, Pingala year, which do not agree. Saka 1400 falls in Vilambi. If Saka 1400 is the intended date, then it would be 1478 A.D. ; but if Pingala year is intended, it would be Saka 1419, or A.D. 1497. There is now no doubt that Sāluva Narasimha I was still alive in 1497 A.D. (See Nos. 13 and 14 below in this Table).	Records the grant of two villages to God Bānēsvara of Magge in Bayalnād by Tipparasa-ayya, the minister of the house-hold of Srī-Prithvi-Vallabha Srīman mahā-mēdini-mīseyara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya mahārāya. It is added :—"We have made this grant in order Narasinga-Rāya-mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years." (*Narasinga-Rāya-mahārāyarige-Sāviru-kālasthira-rājya-āgabēkendu Kotter*).
19	*M.E.R.* 1921—1922, Appendix B. No. 370 of 1921. Lithic Inscription at Tiruvadi, South Arcot District.	1479 A.D. Vikāri (Saka date not given but should be 1401).	Does not mention Mahāmandalēswara Narasinga-Dēva mahārasa, though he was the supreme person in power. Gift of a village for burning perpetual lamps in the bathing hall and in the mahāmandapa for offerings, made by the agent of Narasa-Nāyaka.

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Sl. No	Authority	Date	Contents
20	*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8.	1481 A.D. ...	Records the grant as a *pura Dharma-Sāsana* the village of Chikka-Manalvadi, by the *Mahāmandalika*, *Mēdini-mīsara-ganda* Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeyar. The place is stated to belong "to our Province of Channapatna" (*namma Channapatna rājyakke Saluva*, where *rajya* has to be understood as "Province," and not literally as "Kingdom" as translated by Mr. Rice).
21	*M.E.R.* 1921—1922, Appendix B. No.450. LithicInscription at Tiruvennainallūr, South Arcot District.	1482 A.D. (Saka 1404, Plava, Chitrai 14).	Mentions Mahāmandalēswara Narasinga-Dēva Mahārāja and refers to the heavy taxes imposed on the shepherds in charge of temple cattle and their consequent migration to other places. Their reduction by Aramvalatta Nāyanar, agent of Narasa-Nāyaka.
22	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59.	1484 A.D. (Krodhi).	Records the grant of a village to the Chunekana-Bhairava temple by Vīrūpāksha-Dēvanna, minister of the house-hold of Mahāmandalēsvara, *Mēdini* Mīsara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar.
23	*M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 318 of 1909.	1484 A.D. ...	Records the finding of a village on a hill at Tirukkachchar for the merit of king Narasinga-Rāya and Nāganna-Nāyaka, the foremost of his servants.
24	*E.C.* IX, Magadi 32.	1484 A.D. ...	Records the grant of a village to one Ganga-Vodeyar when Mahāmandalēsvara, Mēdini-Misara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva, Narasinga-rāya-mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
25	*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 86.	1485 A.D. ...	Mentions Vīra-Vīra-Narasinga Dēva's minister (his name illegible).
26	*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 78, Appendix C. No. 112. Lithic record in *Sivatvisthar*, Chingleput District.	1485 A.D. Saka 1407, Parabhava Magha Suddha Madras Uttiram).	Mentions Narasimha-Dēva-Mahā-Rāja, son of Gunda Rāja-dēva Mahārāya. Records the remission of a tax on the village for providing for offerings in it.
27	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 710 of 1917. Lithic Inscription at Ramapuram, Anantapur District.	1485 A.D. September 9 Friday (Saka 1407, Visvasa. Asvigaba).	Records the gift of a village by a subordinate of Narasimha-Rāya I. He mentions its conversion into Narasimhambudhi after the king.

TABLE C—*concld.*

Sl. No.	Authority	Dtae	Contents
28	*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54.	1486 A.D. ...	When Rāja-Paramēsvara Prauda-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Rāya, seated on the diāmond throne in Vidyānagar, was ruling the earth, by his order a *Gaudike* (headship) was granted.
29	*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 47.	1489 A.D. (Saumya year).	Records the grant by the people of Kalesale to Kambala Siddere-Vodeyar the village of Talakere, in the Nelamangala Taluk, "in order that *Dharma* might be to the Mahā-mandalēsvara, Mēdini-Mīsara-ganda, Narasinga–Rāya-Mahārāya.
30	*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 14	1489–1490 A.D. (Saumya year).	From the uneffaced portion of the inscription, it is inferred that it records a grant by Srīman Mahāmandalēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva at Rāmasāgara, Bowringpete Taluk.
31	*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 11.	1493 A.D. ...	When (Narasinga-Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the earth. (Rest effaced).
32	*E.C.* III, Mysore 38. Lithic inscription at Hanchi, Varakod hobli, Mysore District.	1496 A.D. (Saka 1418, Nala, Asvayuja, *Su* 12 *Sō*.)	Narasanna-Nāyaka, the Mahāpradhāna of Mēdini-Mīsara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga–Rāya, made a grant of Hanchi belonging to Melapur for the God Agastēsvara at the junction of the Cauvery and the Kapila rivers. It is added that *prādhāni* Narasanna-Nāyaka, in accordance with a *nirūpam* (order) of Narasinga-rāya, granted, on the occasion, to Chikkanna, the Hebbarava who was the son of the *Sthānika* of the Agastēsvara temple, 70 *honnu* as *uvachārá*, (*i.e., upachāra*), or courtesy gift.
33	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917. Lithic Inscription at Agali, Madaksira Taluk, Anantapur District.	1497 A.D. (Saka 1420, Pingala, Chaitra Su-di 15, Saturday).	Records a grant to the temple at Rāmēsvara by Kāchapa-Nāyaka II who had gone to that place with Narasimha-Nāyaka. Kāchapa Nāyaka held the Rāyadurga-chāvadi, which included all the surrounding country, as a fief from Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāja and Narasanna-Nāyaka.

Note.—There are a couple of inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1555, Vibhava, corresponding to A.D. 1663, in the reign of Narasimha-Rāya I, who is spoken of as Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya in them. They both came from Tiruvennainallūr, South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Appendix B. 470 and 492 of 1921). They confirm the grants of *Sarvamānya* villages made to a temple. The date mentioned in them is too late for Narasimha-Rāya I. As remarked by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, the date may refer to the copy made in that year of an earlier grant made originally in the reign of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I.

A study of the above inscriptional tables A, B and C. *Table A*: Mallikārjuna.

From the above inscriptional tables certain well-grounded inferences are possible. First, as to Mallikārjuna and how he lost his throne at Vijayanagar. Mallikārjuna apparently began to rule—according to his records—as co-regent with his father from about 1441 A.D. That he did rule as co-regent with his father has to be conceded, not only because there are inscriptions dated in his reign five years before he ascended the throne, but also there is one record dated in 1450 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 67) which actually states that he was then *ruling in his own right*, which would seem to indicate that he was as co-regent, ruling *not* in his *own* right but in virtue of his father's. As his inscriptions range in date from 1441 to 1487 A.D., so far as at present known, he should have reigned both from Vijayanagar and from another place, which is not so far known, for about 46 years. Having succeeded his father Dēva-Rāya II in 1446 A.D., he seems to have gone on well enough up to about 1459 A.D., when we find the first signs of restlessness on the part of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I. He was then probably governor of Penukonda having been transferred from Mulbagal, where his cousin Gōpa, son of Tipparāja, brother-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II, was ruler of the country round Tekal. (See *ante*). Two inscriptions (*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59) mention a visit paid by Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmanna-Dannāyaka, on business—it is stated in them—connected with the affairs of Narasinga's province. It should be noted here that these two records have been greatly misunderstood because the term *rājya* mentioned in them has been, under a misapprehension, translated by Mr. Rice as "kingdom." That it should be understood as meaning nothing more than "province" is evident from a very large number of other inscriptions in which the word is similarly used. Moreover, Narasinga, had not, at the period of these records, yet revolted against his sovereign. Apparently the first beginnings of his assertion of independent authority were visible and Mallikārjuna and his minister visited Penukonda, where apparently some overt act against imperial authority had occurred, and, without doubt, set right matters. That this should have been so, might be inferred from numerous records dated in the names of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha III and Narasinga-Rāya I himself, ranging from the date of these records (1459 A.D. and 1485), when Narasinga-Rāya I became the actual sovereign, Virūpāksha III being a mere raifaineant. The affair on which Mallikārjuna and his minister visited Penukonda in 1459 A.D. cannot be construed as the revolution itself, for *after* the visit to Penukonda, Mallikārjuna is described as ruling from Vijayanagar. This position continued from 1460 A.D. onwards up to the last inscription known of Mallikārjuna's reign, dated in 1487 A.D., though his rule as from his throne at Vijayanagar wholly disappears from 1466 A.D., the date of his supercession by Virūpāksha III. That the Penukonda "business" of 1459 A.D. cannot have been the final act in the revolution effected by Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I is further confirmed by the fact that at that time the first revolution of Virūpāksha III had not yet taken place, for it came off only in 1466 A.D. But the date of this Penukonda "business" is, however, important as indicating that Narasinga's influence was growing apace. Thus in 1462-1463, we have a grant by a subordinate of his named Tomma-Irugattur of Maluvāyi, his gubernatorial province. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 24). That he had not yet broken off from his allegiance is proved by a record dated in 1465 A.D., in which we find registered a grant "in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna" at the express orders of Narasinga-Rāya-Vodeya. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18). Apparently he was still governor of Mulbagal province at the time of this grant. Dated in the same year, we have another record which definitely indicates that Mallikārjuna, the reigning king, was still holding on to his position at Vijayanagar. Indeed, he is stated in this record to be "promoting the increase of his kingdom." (*E.C.* III, Malvalli 64). What exactly he was doing to promote the "increase" of his kingdom, there is no means of knowing As we know that Virūpāksha's revolution came off in the succeeding year (*i.e.*, 1466 A.D.), it is possible he was taking steps to counteract the evil influences against him and trying to ward off the blow that was being aimed against him by his cousin.

Table B: Virūpāksha III.

Turning to Virūpāksha III, a reference to Table B above will show that inscriptions in his name are, except for one record, found dated from 1466 A.D. to 1485 A.D., *i.e.*, during a period of nineteen years. The single excepted record is dated in 1447 A.D. and is an unique one in character. It is a lithic record, coming from Devanhalli, Bangalore District, and registers a grant in the reign of *Virūpāksha-Dēva-Rāya*, who is described in it as ruling a secure kingdom. Mr. Krishna Sāstri remarks of this record that it "could not be explained otherwise than by supposing that the king (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna, who was in 1447 A.D. the ruling king) was called Virūpāksha." Since the surname *Dēva-Rāya* is also used as part of the name, this might be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the use of "*Virūpāksha*" in this particular record. But a more probable and at any rate a little more convincing explanation seems to be that in 1447 A.D.—the year succeeding the death of Dēva-Rāya II—there was doubt in the public mind as to who would succeed him, whether Mallikārjuna, his son, or Virūpāksha, his nephew. This record might have mentioned the latter in anticipation of his coronation. If this be so, there was trouble in the air already in regard to the succession, n the very first year of Mallikārjuna's accession. Quite apart from what is stated in the Srīsailam plates, dated in 1466 A.D. about his coronation, with the aid of his own prowess, which is confirmed by the Sajjalur plates (1474 A.D.) and by Sagar 60 (*E.C.* VIII) dated in 1472 A.D., we can see from the range of his records, both as to date and as to territories covered by them, that he should have become king in or about 1466. As both are mentioned *directly* and *definitely* in both sets of records as kings—with all the imperial titles—they must be construed as having been kings coterminously during the whole period that Virūpāksha lived, *i.e.*, up to at least 1485 A.D., up to which date his records have been found. As the last known record, so far, of Mallikārjuna, is dated not many years later (*i.e.*, 1487 A.D.), it might be inferred that they lived and ruled together, tolerating each other, probably in different parts of the country. As there are no inscriptions *dated after* 1466 A.D. mentioning that Mallikārjuna ruled *from Vijayanagar* (see Table A above) though there are several records mentioning that Virūpāksha III ruled *from Vijayanagar* (see Table B above), it might be suggested that Mallikārjuna had been driven away from his capital from about 1466 A.D. and that Virūpāksha III was the effective occupant of it from that date. The terms "great" (Sagar 60 dated in 1472 A.D.), and "celebrated" (Malvalli 121 dated in 1474 A.D.) applied to Virūpāksha show that after his usurpation of royal power, he proved himself an intrepid and active prince and that he won renown by his wars. He thus came to be known as "subduer of hostile kings" (Seringapatam 86, dated in 1471 A.D.), "a true hero," "Hindu-rāya Suratrāna" (*i.e.*, the Hindu Sultān) and "Karnātēsvara-rāya Kunjara," *i.e.*, chief among the chiefs of Karnāta, (Malvalli 121 dated in 1474 A.D.). Narasinga-Rāya, (*i.e.*, the future usurper Sāluva Narasimha) appears in Virūpāksha's inscriptions as well from about 1468 A.D., *i.e.*, some ten years later than in the records of Mallikārjuna. He is mentioned in the same Mulbagal province in which we find him in the records of Mallikārjuna from 1462 to 1465 A.D. (See above). Thus in a record of Virūpāksha III dated in 1468 A.D., we have a grant made by one Muluvāyi Hariyappa "in order that *dharma* might accrue to Narasinga-Rāya-Odeya," doubtless the future usurper. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 20). In another record dated in Virūpāksha's reign in 1470 A.D., we have a grant by Narasinga-Rāya himself (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 253); while in a third record, dated two years later, in 1472 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III, coming from the same province of Mulbagal, we have a grant by the local officer of Betamangala, "in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara-Mēdini-Mīsara-ganda Kathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Vodeyar." This shows the growing influence of Narasinga-Rāya. Apparently he took advantage of the existing disunion between the two rival kings and improved his own position. Finally we have in a grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in 1485 A.D. and coming again from Mulbagal, the significant statement made that the gift is bestowed when Virūpāksha (III) was ruling the kingdom of the world and "in the administration of Narasimha Rāya-Vodeyar," *i.e.*, Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya. (See Table B above for the exact Kannada words used). It would seem to be clear from this record that while Virūpāksha III was "reigning," the actual "ruling" (*pālane*) was that of Sāluva Narasimha.

Table C: Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I.

How he came to acquire this predominant position in the counsels of the empire, so as practically to oust the ruling sovereign Virūpāksha III, we get glimpses of from the records dated in the name of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I himself, from the year 1467 A.D. onwards. While as we have seen above, there is a record dated in 1468 A.D. registering a grant, mentioning the name of the ruling king Virūpāksha III, but being made for the accruing of *dharma* to him, we have in the previous year (*i.e.*, 1467 A.D.) a grant made by himself *without mentioning the ruling king's* (*Virūpāksha's*) *name*, in the self-same province of Mulbagal. In this he styles himself *Mahāmandalēsvara-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāyarāyya-Mahārasu*, which though it begins modestly with *Mahāmandalēsvara* ends in the right royal style of *Rāyarāyya-Mahārasu.* (*E.C.* X, Kolar 23). His power had so far increased within the next five years (1467 to 1472 A.D.), that though we have a couple of records, dated in 1470 and 1472 A.D. (see above) mentioning the ruling king's name in the grants made by him or by his subordinates, there are others in which the name of the ruling king is omitted and his own prominently mentioned. Thus, in one record dated in 1472 A.D., a village is granted to a temple by a subordinate chief in which there is no mention of Virūpāksha III but it is stated that the village had been granted to him (the donor) by *Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-Mīsara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasingayya-Dēva mahā-arasu.* (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79). This description is very much like the one contained in the record of 1467 A.D. quoted above. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 23). Similarly, from a record dated in 1476 A.D., we see that he makes a grant in his own name (*Srīman-Mūvaru-rayara-ganda-bhērunda Narasinga-Dēva*) without mentioning Virūpāksha's name. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 89). The other grants included in Table C above, dated in 1478 (*E.C.* X, Channapatna 158), 1478 (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74), 1481 (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8), 1484 (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59), 1484 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 32) and 1485 (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 36) are very similar in character.

While they mention the name of Narasinga-Rāya, they omit all reference to the reigning king Virūpāksha III. In one of these (Heggadadevankote 74), the grant is by Tipparasayya, the Minister of the Household of Narasinga-Rāya, and he states specifically why he makes the grant (two villages to a temple in Bayanād, modern Wainād). He says:—"We have made this grant in order that Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya may have a secure reign for a thousand years." (For the words used in the text, see Table C above, No 5). The usurpation should have been nearly complete even in name, so far as this record is concerned, for it refers to Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya I as "Srī-prithivi-vallabha," etc. In the record of 1481 A.D., above referred to, we have the interesting statement that the village granted by Narasinga-Rāya belonged to his province of Channapatna (*namma Channapatna rājyakke saluva*, etc.). In the record of 1484 A.D., another Minister of the Household of Narasinga-Rāya, by name Virūpāksha-Dēvanna, is mentioned. So far, he has been all but uniformly termed a *Mahāmandalēsvara* or a *Mahāmandalika* and *Vodeyar* (as in *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79 and *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8), though also styled in some cases as *Mahā-arasu* and in one record (Heggadadevankote 74) even styled *Srī-prithivi-vallabha*. Still, it must be confessed, the usurpation, even according to his own inscriptions, was not yet an accomplished fact. In 1484 A.D., it was scintillating this way and that way; for which reason, he is in one record, dated in that year, called *Mahāmandalēsvara* and *Vodeya* (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59), and in another, dated in the same year, though described as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, is styled *Narasinga-Rāya-Mahā-Arasu* and spoken of as *ruling the kingdom of the world*. This is nearly analogous to the description we have in a record dated in the *next year* (*1485 A.D.*) *in the reign* of Virūpāksha III, where the latter is said to be the *reigning* king, though the actual *rulership* (*pālane*) was in the hands of Narasinga-Rāya. (See above). A record dated in 1486 A.D., takes us directly to the next—inevitable it would seem—step. This record does not of course even whisper the name of Virūpāksha but describes Narasinga thus:—When *Rājaparamēsvara Praudhapratāpa Narasinga-Rāya, seated on the diamond throne in Vidyānagara was ruling the earth*, by his order, a *gaudike* (headship of a village) was granted, etc. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54). Though the usurpation was thus complete in 1485 A.D., still the provincial subordinates, in issuing grants, though they dated them in his rulership, appear to have stuck to the more humble style of *Mahāmandalēsvara* in referring to Narasinga. (See *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 47 dated in 1489 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 14 dated in 1490 A.D.). This, however, ceased in 1493 A.D., when he is spoken of as *Mahārāya* and described as *ruling the kingdom of the earth*. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 11).

Is the story of the flight of *Padearao* applicable to Virūpāksha III.

It will thus be seen that the story of the first revolution which ended in the coming into power of Virūpāksha III as told in the inscriptions, is not reflected in Nuniz's *Chronicle*. Similarly, the story of the second usurpation which resulted in the establishment of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya I as told by Nuniz is not borne out by the inscriptional records. In the latter case, however, it is just possible that round one or two facts popular legends had grown up by the time of Nuniz with the consequence that we have a story referring to the subversion of the Sangama dynasty which is all but a perversion of the actual facts. While it is not true—so far as the inscriptions of the period are any guide to us—that Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya displaced Padearao, the younger son of Virūpāksha (IV), there is scarcely any doubt that barring Virūpāksha III, whom he actually supplanted, Praudha-Dēva-Mahārāya, the son of Virūpāksha IV, was the last lineal descendant in the Sangama line whom he could be legally considered to have displaced in usurping the kingdom, after the flight—taking Nuniz to be correct in this particular—of the last *reigning* king. The last reigning king according to the inscriptions of the period was Virūpāksha III and so the story told by Nuniz of Padearao seems a faint echo of what probably occurred in the case of Virūpāksha III himself. We do not hear any more of him after 1486 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54). If really the story told of the flight of Padearao is applicable to his flight from the palace in the face of the advancing army of Narasinga, he should have proved himself a craven and not the brave soldier that he is described to have been twenty years before, when he himself drove Mallikārjuna out of the capital and installed himself king. The inscriptions which describe this incident speak of the "deeds of prowess" done by him, and so prepare us for the belief that he would, like other kings who thought they had done dark deeds to get to the throne, at least have the redeeming feature of putting up a brave fight when it came to yielding his position or at least dying on the battle-field boldly opposing the enemy. Virūpāksha, if Nuniz's account of Padearao is at all applicable to him—and it could not, so far as the testimony of the inscriptions go, apply to anybody else—did not play the part of a Macbeth, who, we are told, murderer though he might have been, cried out, when he heard the enemy was advancing against him :—"Blow, wind, come, wrack! At least, we'll die with harness on our back" or like a Richard III, who, though he proved himself no less bloody in the methods he adopted for seizing the throne, had yet the martial instinct strong in him to exclaim when the crisis came, "A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!" Virūpāksha's exit was apparently an inglorious one, indeed, no better than that of a coward unworthy of the throne he had seized.

Ministers, Provincial Governors and Generals.

There is nothing to show that in the earlier part of his rule (1446 to 1466 A.D.) Mallikārjuna was not loyally served by his ministers and provincial governors. A general of note who subsequently appears to have become the chief minister during his reign was Timmanna-Dannāyaka, who is referred to in terms of high praise in certain records of the period. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 89 and 133 both dated in 1458 A.D.; Seringapatam 97 of about 1458 A.D., and Mandya 12 and 59 both dated in 1459 A.D.). He was a Srī-vaishnava Brāhman and both he and his wife did many acts of piety and charity at Mēlkote. (See *M A.R.* 1907, Para 31). He is spoken of as the great lord of Nagamangala, the ornament of the Lohita family, son of Singana and Sitāmbika, establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*, restorer of Yādavagiri (*i.e.*, Melkote) devoted to the lotus feet of Yadugiri-Nārāyana (*i.e.*, the god Nārāyana at Mēlkote), bestower of the *tulāpurusha* and other great gifts. He was the son of Mahāprabhu Singanna. In 1458, he and his wife Rangāmbika made certain gifts which are registered in the first two of the four inscriptions mentioned above. His wife had, as a mark of devotion for the god at Mēlkote, erected a *mantapa* with a large pond, and presented a palanquin set with jewels and all other kinds of gifts. At the place where the *mantapa* had been put up (see under *Sculpture* for a description of the pillars of this *mantapa*), a bank having been grown up and being unsightly, Timmanna bought the ground and established therein a *matha* endowing it in such a manner that twenty-four Srī-vaishnava Brāhmans learned in the *Vēda* might be fed daily in it. With the permission of Mallikārjuna, he granted two villages in the Hoysala province for the maintenance of this charity. He also bought lands yielding 400 *pagodas* annually and left it in trust with the Rāmānuja-jiyya for defraying the annual expenses of the *matha*. This Jiyyar was also made responsible by him for the daily distribution of food for the offerings to be made to the goddess Lakshmi in the (Mēlkote) temple, and for the salaries due to the servants. A careful administrator, he also left the instruction that if any funds were left over with the Jiyyar, he was to use them "for whitewashing, sweeping and keeping the place clean." He also confirmed the Jiyyar and his disciples in priestly succession in possession of the trust properties, so that the charity may be carried out *in perfetuum*. In the same year, his wife made a grant of two villages, with the sanction of Mallikārjuna, for the goddess Lakshmi. These two villages, like the two above, were situated in the Kuruvankanād-Venteya, included in the Mēlkote-Rājya, which apparently was another name during the period for the Hoysala-rājya (or province). In 1459 A.D., Timmanna accompanied Mallikārjuna on his visit to Penukonda, on business connected with that province, then in charge apparently of Sāluva-Narasinga I, the future usurper and founder of the Sāluva dynasty, and was incidentally instrumental in providing for certain other temples at Belatur. (Mandya 12 and 59). From the latter of the two records which furnish this information, it is clear that Mallikārjuna visited the Nāgamangala country, referred to in it as the "dannāyaka's country," apparently by way of a compliment to his faithful minister. In the Mysore part of his kingdom, Mallikārjuna had three of his sons, Nanjarāja-Odeyar, Pārvatayya and Dēvappa, in charge of tracts of country. (See under *Domestic life*). During the greater part of his reign, the Mulbāgal province was in the charge of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya, above referred to. He eventually usurped the kingdom, driving out Virūpāksha III, who had himself usurped the throne from Mallikārjuna. His usurpation was completed about 1485-1486 A.D. (See below). He appears to be mentioned in a record dated in the reign of Mallikārjuna in 1465 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18). In a record coming from Kāvēripākkam, in the present Chingleput District, dated in 1469 A.D., three years after Virūpāksha's usurpation of the kingdom, we hear of a gift "for the merit of Narasinga-Rāja-Udaiyar." This and many other records of a similar kind seem to indicate that Virūpāksha's usurpation was not recognized, at least for a time, in all parts of the kingdom, grants being dated in the reign of the exile king. From an inscription dated in 1485 A.D., which comes from Tiruvennainallūr in the present South Arcot District, we have reference to a Aramavalartta-Nāyanār, who was evidently a subordinate of Mallikārjuna. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 48; App. B. No. 473). He was apparently in charge of Valudilambatta-Rājya, evidently a part of the old Tundīra kingdom. He had his head-quarters at Conjeevaram. According to tradition, he was a minister of Krishna-dēva-Rāya. It is possible he served also in the reign of Mallikārjuna. (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 39; App. B. No. 422 of 1925). A person of the same name was the donor of a village, in the reign of Krishna-dēva-Rāya, for meeting the cost of maintaining a *matha* built by himself and others. (V. Rangacharya, *List of Madras Inscriptions*, I, No. 532). Another subordinate of Mallikārjuna in the Tamil country was a scion of the old Chōla dynasty, named Mahāmandalēsvara Vikramasōla-Dēva-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1446-47 A.D. from Kīlappalavūr, in the Trichinopoly District. He is spoken of as Uraiyur-Puravaradhīsvara. He was probably ruling over the tract of country round about Kīlappalavūr which went by the name of Uttungatunga-Valanādu. (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 38; App. C. No. 251). According to an inscription dated in 1450 A.D., Srīgirinātha-Odeya was in charge of the Āraga province. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 155). He may be identified with Sirigirinātha-Odeya of the Brahma-Kshatriya family, already referred to. He is the same person mentioned in another record dated in 1449 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 32, see Text, as the translation does not mention his name). During the period of the usurpation of Virūpāksha III, Āraga was first under Dēvappa-dannāyaka. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 143). He was in power in 1466-7 A.D. He was the son of Srīgirinātha. In 1470 A.D., Singappa-Dannāyaka held the office of minister to Virūpāksha III. (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 29). The kingdom of Vijayanagar is called in this record *Srīrājya* or the fortunate kingdom. About 1449 A.D., Chandragutti was being administered by Bayichanna-Udaiyār, son of Tryambakadēva-Udaiya. In 1488 A.D., he raided Uligenād to settle a boundary dispute. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 473).

Mallikārjuna as a literary patron.

From a copper-plate grant dated in 1447 A.D., we have a glimpse of Mallikārjuna as a literary patron. (*E.C.* VI, Pavagada 69). In that year, he honoured Ādityārya, a Brāhman learned in the *Vēdas*, *Sāstras* and the *Purānas* and in the six systems of philosophy, with the grant of a village, renamed Dēvarāyapura after himself, in the Rāyadurga province, in recognition of his scholarship. It is stated that he was the author of a work named *Bhāshyabhūshā*, which apparently was a work of merit. It is added that the scholar was examined by the king in a learned assembly in all branches of learning, and that all the learned men were pleased with him. The recipient was of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* and the son of one Virūpāksha. The point to note is that the grant was not made to him without a test of his learning conducted openly in an assembly of learned men presided over by the king himself. It has to be presumed that the king was capable of following the discussions conducted before him. (See below under *Literary Progress*).

First signs of the growing influence of Srī-Vaishnavism.

During this reign, we have the first signs of the growing influence of Srī-Vaishnavism, which under the Sāluva, Tuluva, and Karnāta dynasties became so powerful in the whole of Southern India. We have seen above, the grants obtained by Timmanna-Dannāyaka, the chief minister of Mallikārjuna, for the Mēlkote and other temples, as also a grant by Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya dated in 1467 A.D. for the maintenance of a dining-hall intended for the feeding of a number of Srī-Vaishnava Brāhmans at his expense. Gōparāja, governor of Tekal province, was another member of Sāluva family, who showed a predilection for Srī-Vaishnavism. (See *E.C.* X, Malur 1 and 2).

Forced abdication of Mallikārjuna and its effects.

How long exactly Mallikārjuna survived his forced abdication is not yet determined. The latest inscription mentioning him is, as already remarked, dated in 1487 A.D. Seeing that that is the year of the actual abdication also of Virūpaksha III and the usurpation of Sāluva Narasinga I, it might be tentatively assumed that Mallikārjuna did not live long after that date. Though the two revolutions which ended in the supplanting of the Sangama dynasty by that of the Sāluva did actually take place, the true causes that led to them are still shrouded in mystery. While Nuniz's account of murders on murders stands unsubstantiated, his story of Virūpāksha's flight in sight of Narasinga's army may contain an element of truth in it. That is all that we know of the incidents that led up to Sāluva Narasinga's coming into power. Narasinga as a powerful subordinate saw his opportunity and helped himself to the throne without compunction. (See below). Of the effects of the revolution wrought by him, there can be no doubt. It prepared the way for still another revolution which ended in the supercession of his own short-lived dynasty, which had to make way for the Tuluva dynasty, which revived the glories of the empire once again for another half a century longer.

Survey of social, religious and rural conditions during the Sangama Period, 1336-1486 A.D.
(i) Social Life.

Before concluding the history of the Sangama dynasty, a brief review of the social, religious and rural conditions which prevailed during the century and a half it held sway practically over the whole country south of the Krishna, except for a part of the West Coast and the extreme Eastern sea-board, may be added. During this period, foreign aggression in the shape of repeated Muhammadan invasions and the iconoclastic spirit they invariably exhibited made people realize that social order and religious practice would ever be in danger if they did not agree in sinking their differences and hold fast under the rule of one of their own kings. The signal success which attended the first kings in effecting a silent revolution in their favour is evidence of the common feeling that should have animated the generality of the people of the time. The kings that followed them may not have been uniformly successful in their wars against the foreign aggressors, but it is historically correct to state that during the one hundred and fifty years they ruled, they managed to keep them at bay. If Ferishta is to be wholly believed, they managed to do this by buying them off more frequently than by beating them on the field of battle, though, as we have seen, the stories told by Ferishta are not beyond criticism. He is frankly too partial and it has been proved beyond cavil that where the Hindus were successful he has been as silent as he has been eloquent when they were defeated. However this may be, the threatened disruption of society was avoided and the Hindus continued as a social group by themselves during the period. The frequent praise bestowed on the kings of this dynasty as those who maintained the *Varnāsramas* should not be taken literally but in the more restricted sense that they made social order prevail for the common good. It was apparently a political precept of the times that social law and order should be enforced even at the sacrifice of individual liberty. Caste, however, had not attained the rigidi of a later age; even the highest caste admitted admixture. The existence of Brahma-Kshatra rule directly connected with the royal house, in Ārag throughout the whole period, shows that such inte mingling was not merely tolerated but was in vogue a sanctioned custom. Brāhmans were still in the arm as generals and commanders. The case of Chāund Mādhava, the Upanishadic scholar and gallant soldier who won the whole of the West Coast as far as Goa, is a notable case in point. The times were such that for the defence of the country and religion, of home a hearth, anybody would have been welcome into the arm As a matter of fact, we find a continuance of the o martial spirit of the Chōla and the Hoysala periods sti rampant in the land. Memorials to those who fell fighting valorously in fights against the enemy continued to be put up. The *vīrgals* of this period were not restricted to those who fell in mere cattle raids. These raids do not appear to have been as frequent as in the olden days, but frontier fights were apparently common enough. Devotion to kings was, we see, still personal. Instances have been quoted above (see for example the reign of Dēva-Rāya II) to illustrate this point. *Hari-kari* was not thus an unknown virtue. Among women, the performance of *sati* was as much a social as a religious custom. The foreign chroniclers and travellers have left rather exaggerated accounts of this rite, but there is hardly any doubt that it had great vogue in the times we are writing of.

(ii) Religious life:
(*a*) The faith of Harihara and his followers: Saivism of the Pāsupata school.

The kings of the first dynasty were ardent but tolerant Saivas, who kept well with all forms of faith current in the country. They attained great fame by checking the Muhammadan advance which was destructive of social and religious order. The expeditious manner in which they restored peace, renovated the destroyed temples and provided facilities for re-commencing worship n them won for them the affection of the people at large. Their grants to temples were numerous and in many ases munificent. Harihara I and his brother were isciples of Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti, who was probably a āsupata. Mārapa mentions him in a grant of his dated 1347 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 375). Kriyāsakti was lso the *guru* of the learned minister and general ādhava, who mentions him in a grant of his dated in 1368 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 281). He is described as "a manifest incarnation of Girīsa," *i.e.*, Siva, in the latter record; in the former, it is said that "he attained ch fame that he was himself Triyambaka," *i.e.*, Siva. e was probably the inspirer of the compilation *aivāgama-Sāra-Sangraha*, issued jointly by Mārapa nd Mādhava. It is significantly described as containing the commandments of Triyambaka and given to the world out of love for mankind. (Sorab 375). There can be no question that the minister was deeply devoted to his *guru* and it was at his instance that he performed the great Saiva rite described at length in Shikarpur 281. Harihara II was also his disciple for he claims him as is *Kulaguru* in a record of 1378 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 256). It was with his permission (he is styled *Srimad Rājaguru Mahāmandalāchārya Vānivilāsa Kriyāsakti*) that Harihara II made in 1379 A.D. the munificent grant of the district of Gadag, consisting of 66 villages, mentioned in the Dambal plates, to the Siva and Vishnu temples of Gadag and to a umber of learned Brāhmans made up of poets, strologers, singers of Sāma hymns and experts in the Sāstras. Among these were two from the Sringēri *math* called Sringēri-bhatta and Vidyāsankara-bhatta. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Paras 105-6; and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 30). He as been identified by Mr. R. A. Narasimhachār with handrabhūshanadēva-Odeyar, who is mentioned in an inscription found at Vagata in Hoskote taluk, dated in 1377 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 129). He is described in it as the worshipper of Syambhu-Triyambakadēva of the Southern Vāranāsi (*i.e.*, Vagata) and as *Mandalāchārya-Samsiddha-Chakravarti*, *Ācharyavarya*, *Abhanga-rāhuttarāya*, etc., titles which show that he should have been a great religious teacher. The title of worshipper of Triyambaka is also given to Kriyāsakti in Sorab 375 and other inscriptions. Vagata is called in the above quoted record as *Bhāgīrathapura* and *Southern Vāranāsi*, which is well worth remembering in connection with this suggested identification as Kriyāsakti is called in the Shikarpur record "Sivaguru Kāsivilāsa." At the end of the Vagata record, further, the name of a *Sthānika* of the name of Kriyāsakti-dēva is given, which is significant. As we know that the Pāsupatas were strong in many parts of Southern India, from early times, and had settlements in different parts of this State, and in several of the districts of the present Madras Presidency, we may take it that Kriyāsakti was a teacher from Vagata, who became celebrated as the *guru* of the first Vijayanagar kings. He is mentioned as the *Kulaguru* of Kampana II, son of Bukka, in the *Vīrakamparāyacharita*. In an inscription dated in 1389 A.D., we find Immadi-Bukka, son of Harihara II, making a gift with his permission to the god Vidyāsankara set up in the name of Vidyāsankara, the predecessor and *guru* of Vidyāranya at Sringēri. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 11. The text and translation of this important record require to be revised). Kriyāsakti belonged to the Saivāgama school, while the Sringēri *matha* belongs to the Advaita school of thought. It is entirely in keeping with the catholicity of the Saiva school to be tolerant towards other faiths and it is no wonder therefore that Kriyāsakti was a consenting party to the grant to the *matha* founded by the great Advaita teacher Sankara. The Vagata inscription above referred to, it is interesting to note, records the gift of certain lands to the local Vaishnava temple of Varadarāja by Kriyāsakti himself. Bukka I, a disciple doubtless of Kriyāsakti, was equally tolerant. His reconciliation of the Jains and Vaishnavas shows that he looked beyond the mere forms of faith. His declaration that the "Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one body; they should not be viewed as different" should be regarded as one of the most famous in the religious history of this land. Since that mid-fourteenth century fiat, there has been no whisper of a fight or difference between the two faiths. How long Kriyāsakti lived is not clear. In the Harihar plates of Harihara II, dated in 1398 A.D., he is referred to as *Rājarājaguru* Kriyāsakti-Dēva, and in a manner indicating he was still alive and being "worshipped" by Harihara II, his royal disciple. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 99). Remembering that the earliest reference to him is in 1347 A.D., it is not impossible that the Kriyāsakti of Mārapa's record of that year was the same as the Kriyāsakti of the Harihar plates of Harihara II dated in 1398 A,D. The period covering these two records is just 50 years, during which period one *guru* might have been in office. The Kriyāsakti mentioned as the *guru* of Vithanna-Odeyar, governor of Āraga, in a record dated in 1403 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 133) may also be the same person. As he is there termed "*Kriyāsakti-guru-munīsvara*," he might be taken to have been an aged ascetic at the time. But it is a question if the *Kāsivilāsa* Kriyāsakti, the *guru* of Mādhava-mantri mentioned in the Shikarpur record and other inscriptions, is identical with the *Vānivilāsa* Kriyāsakti of the Dambal plates. Probably the latter was the nominated disciple of the former. However this may be, it seems inferable that there were other *gurus* who came after Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti and continued in the position of Royal *gurus* to the successors of

Harihara II and his brothers. Thus in the reign of Vīra-Bhūpati, who issued the Dandapalli plates (*E.I.* XIV, 68) there is mention made of a Kriyāsakti-Dēsika. Vīra-Bhūpati's period was between 1409 to 1424 A.D. He founded a village called Kriyāsakti-pura after his *guru* in the Mulbāgal province which he governed. (*Ibid*). Then, in the reign of Dēva-Rāya, we hear in the literary writings of the Telugu poet Srīnātha of a Chandrabhūshana Kriyāsakti, in whose presence he carried on a public disputation with the poet Dindima. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 30). Singanna-Odeya, grandson of Kampana I, is stated in a record dated in *Saka* 1299, Cyclic year *Pingala* (=A.D. 1377), as a disciple of Ākāsavāsi Sāmavēdiguru and to have received from him the initiation of Bhuvanēsvari. (*M.E.R.* 1918, App. B. No. 681). The epithet *Ākāsavāsi* has been considered to be a variant of *Ākāsamukhin*, which denotes a class of Saivas who always keep looking at the sky (*i.e.*, dwelling mentally in it). Apparently, Singanna's *guru* belonged to this class. In an inscription dated in 1417 A.D., in the reign of Dēva-Rāya I, one Vairāgya Sivāchārya Dakshinā-Mūrti-Dēva is mentioned as the *Rāja-guru* or royal-preceptor. Whether he was connected with Kriyāsakti is not clear. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 162). The exact relationship of the Pāsupata (or Lakulāgama) school to which Kriyāsakti and his disciples seem to have belonged to the Vīrasaiva school is not yet clearly made out. But there seems no doubt that the Vīrasaivas built on the foundations of the Pāsupatas and later absorbed them. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain how, for instance, those who are described as the disciples of Kriyāsakti are also claimed as Vīrasaivas.

(*b*) Connection with Sringēri *Matha* and its effects.

Though strict Saivas—in fact, in literature they are called Vīrasaivas—the kings of this period kept close touch with the *matha* at Sringēri founded by

Srī-Sankarāchārya, the great Advaita teacher, with which their own success, especially in the earlier days, was not a little connected. They encouraged them by generous grants from time to time, up to the days of Mallikārjuna, in whose reign a grant is *recorded.* (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 153, dated in 1480 A.D.). If it was through the aid of Vidyāranya that Harihara I and Bukka I founded the kingdom and its capital, it was through the aid of the latter that Vidyāranya and his brother were enabled to get the commentaries on the *Vēdas* written up. (See *ante*). One of the most affecting chapters in the history of this dynasty of kings is the friendly—nay, affectionate and devoted—regard that it bore to the Sringēri *matha* during the whole period it existed. The good feeling was mutual and should have meant no little for the maintenance of social and religious order in the land, for the influence that the *matha* wielded in both spheres of life was by no means insignificant. As the result of this mutual regard, Vēdic scholarship and Sanskrit learning generally received considerable impetus under this dynasty of kings. The personal and practical interest that they evinced—the *Saivāgama-Sāra-Sangraha* was a work of Mārapa, a brother of Harihara I—in the propagation of Vēdic faith and learning was, indeed, so great that it is no wonder that it inspired the literary effort of the period which is to-day the rock-bottom of the Brāhmanic faith. The revival of Brāhmanism, indeed, may be taken as completed contemporaneously with the end of the first Vijayanagar dynasty.

(*c*) Lull in temple architecture and sculpture.

Beyond minor construction work and repairing and restoring of ancient works, neither the kings nor the people of this period appear to have added to the architectural or sculptural riches of the country. The primary reason was, there was a sufficiency of structures of this type for use in the country; the secondary cause should have been the need to find funds for carrying on the work connected with those already existing before thinking of adding to them. The work of maintenance should have been greatly added to by the sanguinary warfare of the times, which meant attacks on temples and other religious edifices, which, in the eyes of the aggressive invaders, were symbols of idolatrous beliefs which they were as religiously to shun as their opponents were to venerate and keep to. The work of restoration fell on successive kings, generals or provincial rulers, whose piety took this turn.

(*d*) Temple renovation and maintenance how met.

In the last resort, it fell on the local committees or trustees (*Sthānikas*, as they were called) who depended on the yield from the endowments in their charge. Sometimes kings remitted the taxes on certain adjoining villages—as was done by Mallikārjuna once for meeting the cost of the repairs of a temple. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 76; App. C. 102). Royal control and authority, however, still counted for much in regard to the augmenting of their revenues. Thus temple precincts (*madaivilāgam*) were subject to royal control. Its free colonization might be conceded by royal sanction, as was done by Mahāpradhāni Sōmappa, the minister of Kampana II in 1361 A.D., in favour of the Nāgēsvara temple at Serkād, in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922, App. B. Nos. 203 and 204). Even then, the grant may be a qualified one, *i.e.*, taxes may be imposed and collected, though not by the king's officials, and handed over to the temple for its benefit. It is clear from this record that the king had the power to dispose of the taxes payable by the settlers. Among these taxes were the following:—*Sērkadamai, tarikkadamai, ayan* (tax on share or profit), tax of a *panam* on each house or house site (*manai*) and portal entrance (*vāsal*), *virpanam* (tax on sales), duties on oil-mills and duties levied on the shepherds.

(e) Temple management, etc.

Trustees managed temple funds; and leased or farmed out the various taxes to local people for lumpsum amounts. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 41, App. C. No. 45).

Grants for the support of dancing girls attached to the temples continued to be made. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 45 dated in 1403 A.D.). But there is reason to believe that these "dancing girls" had ceased to be the institution they had been intended to be in the Chōla period. A record dated in 1470 A.D. calls them actually "god's *basavis*," which indicates the lower position to which they had been relegated. The higher conception of *service* had apparently ceased to inspire them. (See *E.C.* XII, Gubbi 29). Gifts of human beings—father and son for instance—were not infrequently made to temples "free from all assessments," *i.e.*, free from the obligations and public duties which they would otherwise have to do, for carrying out certain specified duties fixed by the donor. Among these were:—maintaining perpetual lamps in the temple, carrying the images of gods in processions, etc. (*M.E.R.* App. B. Nos. 312 and 313 dated in the reign of Virūpanna-Vodayar, *i.e.*, Virūpāksha II). The royal dues from temples were often excused. Among these are mentioned *Vibhūti-kānikkai-honnu* (tribute money paid for sacred ashes) and *Kadāyada-huttuvali* (revenue from forced sales). These were levied on behalf of the Palace from all the temples, though occasionally the revenue derived from these sources from any Province was made over to a particular temple in order that merit might accrue to the ruling sovereign. Such a release was made in favour of the Svayambhūnātha temple at Madivāla in the Kolar District in the reign of Mallikārjuna. (See *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 18 dated in 1465 A.D.). The levy of dues of these kinds on temples appears to have been general throughout the empire and the harsh manner in which they were collected was one of the causes of the Sāluva revolution. Thus, an inscription dated in 1427 A.D., in the reign of Dēva-Rāya II refers to an edict which excused the levy of all such dues except the *Vibhūti-kānikkai* in the case of the more famous religious centres like Conjeeveram, Kālahasti, Tiruvorriyūr, etc. These remitted dues were, however, to be collected and deposited into the treasuries of the respective temples and utilised for their benefit. That such remission in favour of the temples was common from the early days of the empire seems to be evidenced by a record dated in 1430 A.D., in which instances of such remission from the days of Hariyappa Dandanāyaka and others are quoted. Srīgiri-Vodeyar, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāya II, on the representation of certain Mahēsvaras of a Siva temple at Kālahasti, restored the concession in favour of that temple. The tax in this case was a levy of one *panam* on every loom levied for meeting the expenses of the god. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 45; App. C. No. 207). Where such transfer of right took place, the temple appears to have collected the tax from the Kaikōlans (or weavers) and credited the dues to its own treasury. It had, however, to see that the levy was a just one; else strikes took place and the temple suffered. Thus, we are told in a record of the reign of Harihara II that the Kaikōlars who were tenants of the temple migrated in a body "without paying the dues to the temple, deserted the premises and left it in ruins." A compromise followed and they were induced to return, reopen their looms and agreed to pay the settled assessments to the temple. (*M.E R.* 1910, Para 63; App. B. No. 354). When villages were granted as *dēvadāna*, *i.e.*, gift for the use of temples, care was often taken to see that the rights of proprietorship assured to them did not include the right to disturb the existing tenants and their heirs. *Dēvadāna* grants of this kind were called Kudinīn-ga-dēvadāna (literally *dēvadāna* leaving out the tenants' rights). (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App.

C. No. 32 dated in 1445 A.D.). The record which furnishes this information also details the several taxes and contributions realized from *Dēvadāna* villages. These taxes could not, in the aggregate, have been heavy in their incidence, for we are told that in this particular case their total annual value was but 12 *pon.* This suggests that the rate of assessment adopted should have been extremely low. (*Ibid*; for another list of taxes levied, see *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 5; App. C. No. 230 dated in 1443 A.D.; also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 67; App. B. No. 328 of 1917 dated in 1390 A.D.).

(f) Toleration in religion, a political necessity and a virtue.

As remarked above, during the period the first dynasty ruled, toleration was not merely a social but also a political necessity. It had nearly been dignified into a virtue. Besides the existence of the religious sects—Jain, Smārtha, Srī-Vaishnava, Mādhva, Vīrasaiva, etc.—the advent of the Muhammadans and the close contact they had established with the Hindus opened the eyes of the latter to grow even more tolerant amongst themselves. The treatment accorded to Muhammadan settlers by Dēva-Rāya II at his capital may be taken as typical of the general attitude of Hindus towards Muhammadans at the period. The sweet reasonableness that made him meet their susceptibilities in every possible way shows a fine sense of scruple which deserves a word of praise. It was not merely social courtesy or religious toleration that he showed by his conduct but also political virtue of a high order. Virtue of this kind could have been evolved only by practice in the past of toleration in his own sphere, both by the king and his subjects. The tolerant spirit of the times is seen in the singularly liberal minded invocation of the God Kēsava at Belur which identifies him with the chief object of worship in every sect, orthodox or heterodox. "He whom Saivas worship as Siva, the Vēdāntins as Brahma, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas skilled in proof as Kartta, the followers of the Jaina *sāsanas* as Arhat, the Mimāmsakas as Karma—that god Kēsava ever grant your desires." (*E.C.* V, Belur 3 dated in 1397 A.D.). The attributions which follow are even more striking. "The Kēsava of Vēlapuri," it is said, "gives sight to the blind, raises up the poor to royal dignity, causes the lame to be the swiftest of the swift, makes the dumb as eloquent as Brihaspati, the barren to be filled with offspring,—the granter of all desires alike to the dwellers in the land and to those from other countries." These noble sentiments, remarks Mr. Rice, "seem clearly to indicate a contact with Christian teaching." There is, however, no evidence for this suggested "contact." There breathes in this description of Vishnu not merely tolerance, but also the essential universality of Vaishnavism.

(*g*) Differences between right-hand and left-hand castes not due to religious but political causes.

The differences between the Idangai and Valangai (Left-hand and Right-hand castes) led sometimes to serious results. In the reign of Virūpāksha II, son of Harihara II, these two classes came into violent conflict and there was apparently some loss of life on both sides. A settlement was come to and the vanquished party promised to supply the sacred thread to the other party as a part of the settlement. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 47; App. C. No. 185 of 1921). What exactly led to these recurring fights is not known. That the kings of the time could not have encouraged them is inferable from the fact that they took no cognizance of the differences that were alleged to exist between them. A record of Vijaya-Bhūpati, son of Dēva-Raya I, dated in 1418 A.D., ordered, for instance, that both the classes at Tiruvannāmalai should enjoy the same privileges. (*M.E.R.* 1903; App. A. No. 564 of 1902; see also *M.E.R.* 1920, Para 47). A record dated in 1446 A.D., in the reign of Vijaya-Rāya II (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna) registers a settlement regarding the

the taxes to be paid by these classes; which numbered on either side 98 distinct castes. These taxes seem to have been obviously of an oppressive character, so much so that the people even forsook their homes. The king ordered the extortion to be stopped and the direction was made applicable "to the whole country." It is possible that this tax was a particularly heavy one, perhaps of set purpose. The ministers who were charged with the collection at the commencement of each reign seem to have made it an exemplary tax to keep these classes out of harm's way. (See *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 55; *M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 46). There is no doubt that these classes were not slow in finding out that neither the king nor the religious head could bring about reconciliation between them. They accordingly agreed, according to a record dated in 1430 A.D., without any reference to these authorities, that mutual agreement should regulate their social conduct. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 36; App. C. No. 253 of 1926). An interesting parallel to this kind of social reform is found referred to in a record which comes from Padavīdu, according to which several sections of the Brāhmans of the Padavīdu province comprising the Karnāta, Tamil, Telugu and the Lāta Brāhmans signed an agreement that marriages among their families shall be conducted only as Kanyādāna, or free gift of the bride, and that no money should be paid or received as bride-price. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 36; *S.I.I.* I, 82; *A.S.I.* 1907-1908). In an earlier record from Vriddhāchalam, in the South Arcot District, dated in 1429 A.D., of the reign of Dēva-Rāya II (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; App. C. No. 92 of 1918), we have another instance of the illegal exactions from the members of the Idangai and Valangai castes and their meeting together in the local temple and deciding that they should resist the demands on them, since the king's officers had joined the *Jivitas*, who had oppressed them. They went so far as to agree that none of these castes “should give them (the Kaniyālans and the Brāhmans who collected the taxes) shelter and that none born in the country should write accounts for them or agree to their proposals.” If any one proved a “traitor” to this settlement, “he should be stabbed.” Another record dated in the same reign, but coming from a village in the Tanjore District, confirms this resolutio to resist illegal exactions on the part of the tenant generally. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 66; App. C. No. 216 o 1917). This record makes it clear that the cause of th trouble was that the taxation was not commensurate with the yield of the crop but levied unjustly. The remedy in such cases was to desert the lands and “to run away.” In the present instance, this would have proved ineffectual, for the record shows the tenantry were not united. The record states that as the taxes were levied “unjustly, we were bound to run away. Then we realized (it is added) that because we of the whole country (*Mandalam*) were not united in a body we were unjustly (dealt with).” Then we have the declaration of their final resolve: “Hereafter we shall but pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully.” The record then sets out the rates of taxes to be paid on the wet and dry produce of lands; on the produce of trees such as jack, areca, palmyra, plantains, sugar-cane; on red-lotuses, *artemesia*, castor plants, sesamum, turmeric, ginger, etc.; and on the professions of fishermen, potters, weavers, barbers, washermen, oil-mongers, toddy-drawers, an painters. (See also in this connection *M.E.R.* 1918 68; App. C. No. 91 of 1918).

(iii) Rural life: Village Assemblies.

The Village Assemblies which functioned so actively the Chōla period began to show signs of decline under rule of Vijayanagar kings. The decay, however, was general. Thus, in the time of Harihara II, they appear o have been in working order in the Tanjore District. A record dated in 1405 A.D. states that the assembly at e place consisted of 4,000 members. (*M.E.R.* 1918, ara 66; App. B. No. 217 of 1917). This *membership* uld not have helped the smooth conduct of business. inscription dated in 1386 A.D. makes mention of a age assembly not only confiscating lands belonging to rivate party for some fault committed but also ordering heir grant to the local temple. (*M.E.R.* 1926, para 35; pp. B. No. 509).

Rural rates.

Among the several taxes and dues realized from the illage by the king during the period were :—*Arasapēru*, *talayārikkam* (dues payable to the village watchman), *purambu*, *dannāyakarmāgāni* (contribution to the military commander), *vettivari*, *inavari*, *tarippanam*, *tōttappurain* (tax on gardens), *ayam sekkukadamai* (tax on oil mills), *ēriyin-avasaram* (tank dues), *nirūpachchambadam* (pay of the Royal order carrier), *darsana-kānikkai*, *pattaya-kānikkai*, *tarana-kānikkai*, and *Kōttaimāgāni*. The exact significance and incidence of these dues are not known. But it seems that their collection may be made over to the temple by Royal edict. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 41; App. B. No. 510 of 1921 dated in 1389 A.D.).

(iv) Literary progress.

Though the period of rule covered by Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha (1446-1486) was a disturbed one, it was not lacking in literary activity. The period is again one noteworthy for the number of Vīrasaiva writers who flourished in it. Thus Bommarasa, who has been assigned to about 1450 A.D., was the author of *Saundara-Purāna*, which is a Kannada version of the life of the Tamil Saiva saint Sundarar, who probably flourished during the 8th century A.D. He has been reckoned among the sixty-three saints revered by Vīrasaivas. He is reckoned as one of the four great saints known to

Tamil hymnology. (See *South Arcot District Gazetteer* 97-98; 382). The writing of the work of this kind show the popularity that Vīrasaivism had attained at about this period. Next, mention may be made of Kallarasa, the author of *Janavasya*, which is said to be—by the poet—an amplification of the teachings of king Mallikārjuna to his queen in the matter of subduing men (in love affairs). This work is called alternatively as *Mallikārjuna-Vijaya*, the former of whose name indicates its character. There are references in it to Vatsyāyana and other authors dealing with *Kāma Sāstra*. The poet refers to his *guru* Kriyāsakti and praises him. This work affords a key to the nature of the causes which might have led to the downfall of Mallikārjuna. He apparently lost the kingdom owing to mad love adventures, which curiously enough, Nuniz has attributed to his son Virūpāksha. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 305). Next we have the famous Tōntadasiddhēsvara, the author of *Shatsthala-gnāna-sārāmruta*. He was the disciple of Gōsala-Channabasavēsvara of Hardanhalli in the Mysore District and as he resided in a garden on the banks of the Nagini near Keggeri, he came to be popularly known as *Thōntada* (garden) Siddhēsvara. He was sainted at Yedeyur, near Kunigal, where there is a temple dedicated (in his honour) to Siddhalingēsvara. He is one of the more famous Kannada Vīrasaiva poets. Many poems have been written sketching out the story of his life, which indicates the great popularity he enjoys among the Vīrasaivas even to this day. In some of these later works, he has been even spoken of as the incarnation of *Niranjana-Ganēsa*. In the *Chennabasava-Purāna* of Virūpāksha Pandita, it is stated that he (Tōntada Siddhēsvara) lived in the reign of king Virūpāksha III, the usurper. This is confirmed by a record, assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1480 A.D. and by Mr. Narasimhachar to 1470 A.D., found in the Yedeyur Siddhalingēsvara

Kallumatha, in which he is described as "a primeval *hakta*," "a primeval *Jangama*" and "a sun to the darkness *dvaita* and *advaita*." (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 49). He was held in such high esteem even in his own days and subsequently that a *Purāna* of the name of *Virakta-Tōntadāryana-Siddhēsvara Purāna*, Sāntisa's *Tōntada-Siddhēsvara-Purāna* (1561 A.D.) and other works have come into existence. (R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka Kavicharite*, II. 97-100). Many of his disciples were great Vīrasaiva writers, among them being Gubbiya Mallanna, the well-known author of *Ganabhāshya-Ratnamāle* and *Vātulatantratike*; the two brothers Siddhalingēsvara and Doddalingēsvara, the former of whom appears to have written the *Jangama Ragale*, *Svatantra-siddhalingēsvara-vachana* and *Muktyānganēya Kanthamāla*; Gummalapurada Siddhalingēsvara, the author of *Shatsthala-Lingānga-Sambandha Nirvachana*, who calls himself the disciple of Bole-Basava, who was himself the direct disciple of Tōntada Siddhalinga; Mallikārjuna Kavi, who was the disciple of Gubbiya Mallanna and the author of *Svēthana Sāngthya*; Sānanda Sivayōgi. the commentator of *Vīramahēsvarāchāra Sārōddhara*. Nīlakantachārya, the author of *Ārādhya-charita*, wrote under the patronage of Vīra-Nanjēndra-Vodeyar, a son of king Mallikārjuna, who is mentioned in a number of inscriptions as a Mahāmandalēsvara (*E.C.* III, Gundlupet 9 dated in 1489 A.D.; Nanjangud 102 dated in 1491; and Tirumakūdlu-Narasipur 67 dated in 1494 A.D. See *ante*). He apparently governed over the Ummattūr country, now part of Mysore District. Kavilinga, the author of *Kavi-lingana pada*, was the court poet of Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya. In writing of his patron, Kavilinga exclaims: "Is there any king who would raise is head at king Narasinga and live (after doing so)?" Though there were other poets, some Jain and some Brāhman, during this period, they were hardly so powerful as the Vīrasaivās. Perhaps the most note-worthy among the Jain poets of the time was Terakanāmb Bommarasa, who states that his grandfather Nēmichandr won fame as a disputant at the court of Dēva-Rāya II. Bommarasa was the author of *Sanatkumāra-Charita* and *Jivandhara-Sāngatya*, the latter being a work of considerable interest. Among Brāhman poets, the only name is that of Nārāyana-Kavi, who probably lived about 1450 A.D. He was the author of *Bhāgavati-Samhitārtha.*

Pedigree of the Sangama Dynasty.

A pedigree of the First or Sangama Dynasty, based on the materials gathered up to the end of 1927, is given below.

The Second (or Sāluva) Dynasty (1486-1499 A.D.).

The second (or Sāluva) Dynasty, 1486-1499 A.D. Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja or Sāluva Narasimha I, 1486-1497 A.D.

Sāluva Narasinga-Rāja-Odeya, the usurper,, thus came into full sovereign power about the year 1486 A.D. He may be styled Sāluva Narasimha I. He ruled up to 1497 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Immadi-Narasimha entitled Dharmarāya. He may be designated Sāluva Narasimha II. He lost the kingdom to the Tuluva general, Narasa, who founded the Third or Tuluva dynasty about 1499 A.D. The Sāluva dynasty accordingly proved a shortlived one, having lasted only for about twelve years. The name *Sāluva* by which this dynasty is distinguished is, as pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, of Dravidian origin and means, according to Kannada and Telugu dictionaries, "a hawk used in hunting." Sāluva Mangu is said in the *Jaimini-Bhārata* to have spread far and wide the renown of the titl *Parapakshi-Sāluva*, or "a hawk to foreign birds" o "death to foreign kings." (See below.) The Devul palli plates seem to justify the application of the epithe (*Sāluva*) to Narasinga, the usurper, by saying that h acquired the title by "smiting the crowd of (his) enemies as a (hawk) (a flight of) birds." The editor of that record (*E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 3) has pointed out that according to tradition Narasinga's ancestors were known to have served as fowlers to the kings of Karnāta. This, however, seems a later invention for the intermarriage between the Sangama or Karnāta dynasty shows that they were not so low in social status as this ascription of service would seem to indicate. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has added the useful note that the *Sālvas* are mentioned as one of the traditional 56 tribes known to the *Purānas* and to Pānini, the Grammarian, who locates them in the south. The Tamils, however, considered them as "intruders" in Southern India and as the enemies of Vishnu. But though it is possible that the earlier members of this dynasty were Saivas—even Narasinga-Rāya, the usurper, was a devout observer of the *Sivarātri Vrata*—the later members, if not actually Vaishnavas, showed strong Vaishnavite leanings and were amongst the greatest donors of the time to Vishnu temples. (See below).

Early history of the Sāluvas.

The Sāluvas, or Sālvas, appear to have been an ancient family of local chiefs ruling over parts of what is now the South Kanara District. They claim to be of the Lunar race.

Sāluva Tikkama, 1276 A.D.

The names of several members of this family are found mentioned in connection with important historical events. A Sāluva Tikkama was, as we have seen, the general of the Sēvuna kings Mahādēva and Rāmachandra. (See *ante* under *Hoysalas* and *Sēvunas*). He claims to have invaded the Hoysala kingdom in 1276 A.D. and 1280 A.D., and to have plundered Dōrasamudra. (*Ibid*). He is said to have made additions to the Harihārēsvara temple at Harihara and to have remitted all the taxes of the *agrahāra* attached to it. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 59, dated in 1280 A D.). Whether he was connected with the Sāluvas of Sangītapattana referred to below or with the Sāluvas of the family to which Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya belonged, there is at present no means of knowing. As the record which gives his name (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 59) uses also the variant *Sāleya*, Mr. Krishna Sāstri doubts if the family to which Tikkama belonged was Sāluva or Sāleya, which latter name occurs also in another fragmentary Kannada record. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 166, *f.n.* 6; *M.E.R.* 1907-1908, page 92). Then, we hear of Sāluva-Mangi or Mangu, who was a general of Kampa II, in his conquest of Sāmbavarāya, Srīrangam and Madura between 1363 and 1374 A.D. (See *ante*, under Bukka I). He will be further referred to below. Some ten years later, in 1384 A.D., another Sāluva general, a Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, seems to have been governor of Talkād. He was, as we have seen, killed in battle against the Muhammadans of Kottakonda. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 15; see *ante* under Harihara II). Whether he belonged to the section of the Sāluvas to which Sāluva-Manga belonged or to the Sāluvas of Sangītapattana, Sanskrit for Hāduvalli, situated in Tuluvadēsa (or South Kanara), it is not yet determined. According to certain inscriptions, the latter section appears to have been in power from about 1491 A.D. (if not from an earlier date) to about 1560 A D., in a part of the present South Kanara District and to have professed the Jain faith. Though they thus seem to make their first appearance in history contemporaneously with Sāluva Narasimha I, the usurper of the Vijayanagar kingdom, it seems inferable despite the fact that they both traced their descent from the same common ancestor—both claim the Moon as their eponymous hero—they were independent of each other at the time we are writing of, *i.e.*, at about the middle of the 14th century and after. The Sangītapattana family professed the Jain faith and belonged to the Kāsyapa-*gōtra*, while Sāluva Manga, Narasinga-Rāja and their ancestors followed the Brāhmanic faith and claimed to be of the Ātrēya-*gōtra*. Narasinga-Rāja, though probably a Saiva, was a great supporter of the Vaishnava faith. (See *ante* and *E.I.* IX, 330). These being the known facts, the family to which Sāluva-Manga and Narasinga-Rāja belonged should be treated as a different one from the Sangītapattana branch. This is the more probable one as Sāluva Narasimha and those who followed him in his branch affix to their names not only the sobriquet of *Sāluva* but also *Gunda*, who has to be identified with Gunda I of this branch. The latter name was apparently used to distinguish the members of this branch from the members of the Sangītapattana branch, who also called themselves Sāluvas. (See below).

Sāluva-Mangu, great-grand-father of Narasinga-Rāya, the usurper.

The earliest member of the Sāluva-Gunda family known to inscriptions is Sāluva-Mangi or Sāluva-Mangu. He was, both according to inscriptions and literary tradition, the grandson of Vankidēva, apparently the progenitor of the family, who is praised in the *Varāha-purānam* as having won fame which spread far and wide, and the son of Gunda I, who, it is said, ruled from Kalyāna and captured Rāmadurga, the citadel of a Sapara chief. (See *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 32-34). Gunda-Rāja is said in the *Varāhapurānam* to have conquered many chiefs and set up pillars of victory at many places. He had six sons. (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). Of these, only Sāluva-Mangu attained to military distinction. He appears to have left six sons of whom Gauta II was one. According to the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, he became a Vānaprasta and retired to the forests. He left four sons, of whom Gunda III (Gunda IV according to some authorities) and Tippa or Tipparāja, were two. Of these, Tippa became the son-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II, having married Harima, his daughter. His son was Gopa or Goppa, who with his father was in charge of the Tekal province. (See *ante*). On the other hand, Gunda III had two sons Timma and Narasinga, the latter being the usurper. It will thus be seen that Sāluva Narasinga, the usurper, was the cousin of Gopa, the grandson of Dēva-Rāya, in the female line, whereas Mallikārjuna, who was the last king in the regular line, was his son, and Virūpāksha III, who displaced him, was his nephew. It does not appear that Sāluva Narasinga was in any other way related to the Sangama dynasty of kings. Though not closely related to the former line, his family was undoubtedly connected with it by a marital alliance. The setting up of such a connection by the Sangamas with the Sāluvas might be taken to indicate that the latter were considered of fairly equal status with themselves. The problem of Narasinga's relationship to the old royal line which until recently was in doubt (see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 108) may now be taken to be "satisfactorily solved." Sāluva-Mangu, to whom both Narasinga and Gopa were related as great-grandsons, played, as we have seen, a leading part in the subjugation of Sāmbavarāya. (See *ante* under *Kampana II*).

His early heroic deeds.

The Dēvulapalli plates of Immadi-Narasimha state that Sāluva-Mangu became most famous and was "a Mahēndra on earth, who vanquished a hero foremost in battle and seized the dagger (*kathārika*) from his hand." As suggested by Mr. Rāmayya Pantalu, this incident probably accounts for the title of *Kathāri* assumed by Mangu and his descendants. (*E.I.* VII, 83, *f.n.* 12). The Chākēnahalli plates (*M.A.R.* 1924, page 101) give a glowing account of him (Sāluva-Mangu). The following extract from it is too valuable historically to be omitted :—

> "Among these the most famous was Sāluva Mangidēva possessed of a character pleasing to the wise like the spring season to flowers.
>
> He it was who in a hand-to-hand fight snatched away a sword (kathāri) from a warrior. He was therefore called Kathāri Sāluva, just as Siva is called Mahēsvara in consequence of his having destroyed Manmatha.
>
> He it was who throwing his trumpet inside a fort of an enemy fetched it back after capturing the fort.
>
> He it was whose fame for valour exhibited in uprooting a Sultān (a Muhammadan king) restored the south of India to life again.
>
> He it was who was called the restorer of Srīranga in consequence of his having recovered it from Muhammadans and who made Srīranga his own abode.
>
> He it was who acted, as he asserted, by slaying that Sultān of the South who took away thousands of Saligrāmās (fertile villages and stones of the name used in worship) from the learned and who caused his enemies to cry a kind of eighth gamut consisting of the ascending notes "Rama, Rama" in terror in battle."

The Gorantala lithic record which is wrong in almost every other name it mentions, is quite correct when it refers to Kathāri-Sāluva-Mangi, whom it calls Mangidēva (III). The genealogy of the Sāluvas given in this inscription is, as has been well stigmatised by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, "a confused attempt at inserting a plausible genealogy of the Sāluvas" in it. (See *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 53). Narasinga-Rāja, the son of Mangi III, whom it mentions, may be, it has been suggested, an unknown son of Sāluva-Mangi. (*Ibid*).

His later history.

Sāluva Mangu was evidently one of the more prominent generals in command under prince Kampana II in his conquest of Tundīra-mandala, Srīrangam and Madura. According to the Telugu work *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* dedicated to Sāluva Narasinga, the usurper, his full name was Sāluva-Mangayya (Canto I, verse 33), or

Sāluva-Manga-Nripa (Canto I, verse 31). He was, according to it, one of the six sons of the chief Gunda, who attained to great fame by the heroic deeds he wrought. He was, we are told, a repository of good qualities as the ocean is of the different kinds of precious gems. (*Ibid* verse 31). Describing his conquests—which, as is usually done by poets, it does not mention in the chronological order, but just as it suits poetic needs—we are told that he opposed in battle the Sultān of the South, *i.e.*, the Muhammadan Sultān at Madura, which place is also mentioned, by killing whom he spread wide, it is said, the fame of the title *para-pakshi-Sāluva, i.e.*, "a hawk (*Sāluva*) to foreign birds," *i.e.*, "death to foreign foes;" and that he restored to Samparāya his kingdom and obtained celebrity as "the establisher of Samparāya" (*Samparāya-sthāpanāchārya*). In the verse which furnishes us this information (*Ibid* verse 32), we get an idea of his determined spirit as a warrior. He also re-installed, it would seem, the image of god Srīranga in the temple at Srīrangam and presented to it 6,000 *mādas* of gold. The *Varāhapurānamu*, which calls him by the name of Sāluva-Rāju, whose identity is, however, quite clear, states that he routed in fierce battle the Muhammadan cavalry forces (*Pursika-turaga-dattamula*, *i.e.*, large Persian cavalry forces). Apparently, the reference is to his conquest of the Sultān of Madura, in which evidently the Sultān's cavalry forces were in action. (See *Sources*, original text, page 88). It is necessary to remark here that Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, who refers to this work (*Jaimini-Bhāratamu*) in his account of the second Vijayanagar dynasty, its viceroys and generals (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 166-7), has so interpreted verse 32 as to make the re-establishment of Samparāya to come after, in fact as the result of the conquest of the Sultān of Madura and that the Sultān of Madura was made a feudatory of Samparāya. These statements, however, do not appear to be covered by the text. The conquests are not, as already mentioned, set down in chronological order, and we know from other sources that the conquest of Madura and the driving out of the Muhammadan Sultān from it took place *after* and not *before*, the conquest of Sāmbavarāya, the chief of Maratakanagara. So, the restoration of the latter could not have anything to do with the conquest of Madura and its Sultān. Turning to inscriptions, we learn from a record dated in 1363 A.D., which comes from Dalavānūr in the North Arcot District, that Sāluva-Mangumahārāja was a general of Kampana II. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 44; App. No. 52 of 1905). As we have seen already, Samparāya who was defeated by Kampana II and his generals was Venrumān Sāmbavarāya. Gangā-Dēvi, the queen of Kampana II, and the author of *Vīra-Kampa-Rāya-Charitam*, makes the defeated Sāmbavarāya die in the single combat he engaged in with Kampana II. It has been suggested that this is a poetic exaggeration she has indulged in and that as the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* states that Samparāya was restored by Sāluva-Manga, she must be taken to have magnified the victory obtained by her husband a greater one than it actually was. Inscriptions, however, enable us to harmonise the versions of Gangā-Dēvi and the author of *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*. The particular Samparāya who fell in the single combat was Venrumān (see *ante*); his son or other close relation of his—another Samparāya—was the person to whom the lost kingdom was evidently restored. A certain Mallināthan Sāmbuvarāyar is mentioned in a record of Kampana II from Kāvēripākkam in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, App. No. 390 of 1905). As suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, he was perhaps the Sāmbavarāya who was restored by Sāluva-Mangu; if he was not, then it may have been another member of the family. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 166, *f.n.* 9). The re-establishment of the Sāmbavarāya by Sāluva-Mangu would then be to a member of his family—son or other relation; much like the establishment of Yākūbkhān in the place of Shere Alī on the Afghan throne, when the latter fled on the approach of the British Army to Kabul during the administration of Lord Lytton. This is the only basis on which the narratives contained in *Vīra-Kampa-Rāya-Charitam* and the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* can at all be reconciled. As regards the restoration of worship at Srīrangam, after the expulsion of the Muhammadans at that place, Mangu probably took an active part in it with Goppanārya and Kampana II himself (*E.I.* VI, 322 and *ante*) not only by aiding in the conquest of the place but also in the re-consecration of the image of the god in the temple and providing for the worship by a liberal money grant. The *māda* referred to must have been the Chōla coin *Mādai*. (See *ante* under *Chōla Coinage and Currency*). The Sanskrit poems, *Sāluvābhyudaya* and *Rāmābhyudaya*, the former by Rājanātha Dindima and the latter attributed to Sāluva Narasimha, the usurper, also describe these conquests of Sāluva Mangu and add that at Srīrangam, on the re-consecration of the image, he made not only a money grant but also a gift of eight villages representing, it is said, the syllables of the *Ashtākshara* and a thousand *Sālagrāmas* for use in the temple. The *Rāmābhyudaya* also mentions that after the conquest of Madura, Sāluva-Mangu proceeded as far as the banks of the Tāmraparni, where, it is said, he planted a pillar of victory. The *Prapannāmritam* (Adhyāyas 120-122) gives us an account of the part played by Goppanārya, another general, in connection with the re-capture of Srīrangam and the transference of the image of the god from the different places to which it had been taken for purposes of safety on the approach of the Muhammadans by Pillai Lōkāchārya and Vēdanta Dēsika, two well-known Srīvaishnava leaders. The image had been, it would seem, successively removed to the Alagar temple, near Madura, thence through the Kērala country to Mēlkōte near Mysore, and from there to Tirupati, where it was for some considerable time. Goppanārya, a Brāhman, who was apparently in charge of Nārāyanapuram, took hold of the image from Tirupati, took it at the head of an army to Singavaram near Gingee, and from there brought it down to Srīrangam, on the recapture of the place from the Muhammadans. It is said it was he who expelled the Muhammadans from Samayavaram, another name for Kannanūr, the Hoysala capital, which had become the Muhammadan head-quarters on the conquest of Srīrangam by them. On the re-consecration of the temple, Vēdanta-Dēsika returned to Srīrangam and composed a verse in praise of Goppanna and his victory and had it inscribed on the walls of the temple. (*E.I.* VI, 322). In a Telugu work called *Āchārya-Sūktimuktāvali*, which recounts the sack of Srīrangam and the vicissitudes of its people and its god, it is stated that the death of the Muhammadan chief in charge of the place was caused by a courtesan of the place, who contrived to throw him down from the top of the eastern tower of the temple and killed herself subsequently by letting herself down from the western one. The descendants of this courtesan are said to be allowed certain privileges (the mention of her name on certain festive occasions, the grant of fire and rice from the temple store on the death of any one belonging to her family, etc.) even to this day in the temple for this act of devotion on her part. This work also duly mentions the subsequent part played by Goppanna and his colleague Singappiran and the transference of the image from Singavaram to Srīrangam. It gives the date of the consecration as *Saka* (? 1285) *Paridhavi* year, *Vrishabha* month, 17 tithi. (See on this whole subject *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 29-45).

His descendants.

Sāluva-Mangu left, as we have seen, six sons, one of whom Gauta II (or Gautama II) had two sons, Gunda IV and Tippa or Tipparāja, of whom the latter was the brother-in-law of Dēva-Rāya II. Gunda IV or Gundāya-Bhūpati is highly praised in *Rāmābhyudaya*, a work attributed to Sāluva-Narasimha. (See below). Tipparāja and his son Gōpa ruled, as before mentioned, over the Tekal country and part of the present North Arcot District. Tipparāja had apparently another son, Sāluva Tippadēva, who is mentioned in a record dated in Saka 1364 or A.D. 1442-43. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 388 from Sattravāda). Tippa, as the grandson of Sāluva-Mangu, claimed the title of "the establisher of Sāmbavarāya," etc. (See *ante*). His son Gōpa or Goppa is also known from inscriptional records. (*Ibid*). The latter's son Tippa has probably to be identified with Gōpa-Tippa-Bhūpāla, who was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and the author of a commentary on the *Kavyālankāra sūtra* of Vāmana and *Kāmadhēnu* and *Tāla-Dīpika*, the latter a work on music. He states in the colophon to the former work that he was also the author of a work on dancing. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 62-63).

Other Sāluva subordinates probably connected with Sāluva-Mangu.

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has collected together in his paper already quoted a number of references relating to other Sāluva chiefs who bore subordinate rule in Southern India. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 167 and authorities therein quoted). Of these, Sāluva-Sangamadēva-Mahārāja was probably a contemporary of Narasinga, the usurper, and a subordinate of Praudha-dēva-Mahārāja, son of Virūpāksha IV. (See *Pedigree* of Sangama Dynasty, *ante*). He is mentioned in a couple of records from Anbil, in the Trichinopoly District, as "the establisher of Sāmbavarāya," "a hawk to birds (*i.e.*, enemy) kings," "the conqueror of the Sultān of the South." (*M.E.R.* 1902, Nos. 593 and 594). Then we have mention of one

Sāluva Parvatarāja, son of Sāluvarāja, who, in 1465 A.D., built a *mantapa* in the hill temple at Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 251). Next comes Sāluva Sirumallaiyadēva-Mahārāja, son of Malagangayadēva-Mahārāja, who in 1450 A.D., made a gift of 1200 *panams* to the same temple. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 252). Then, again, we have Sāluva Erra-Kampayadēva-Mahārāja, who in 1446 A.D., made a similar gift. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 254). Then again, we have Sāluva Gōpa-Timmanripati or Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja mentioned in a record dated in 1463 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 59; 1903, No. 67). Mr. Krishna Sāstri seeks to identify him with Timma, a brother of Narasinga, the usurper. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, *Pedigree*, p. 168; see also *A.S.I.* 1907-8, p. 253, *f.n.* 11). He is said to have made rich gifts of jewels and villages to the temples at Srīrangam and Jambukēsvaram, near Trichinopoly. A still another was Sāluva Gōpa-Timma *alias* Tripurāntaka who, according to an inscription dated in 1468 A.D., set up a flag-staff at Rāmēsvaram, gilt with gold. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 89; 1897, No. 56). He is probably the chief whom Mr. Krishna Sāstri seeks to identify with Gōpa-Tippa, the Sanskrit scholar and author. (*A.S.I.* 1907-8, page 253 and *f.n.* 11; and 1908-9, page 168). Finally, we have Timmarāja or Siru-Tirumalairāja, who made a grant to the temple on Tirumala in 1481 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1889, No. 57; 1904, No. 257). Mr. Krishna Sāstri suggests he was a son of Sāluva Sirumallaiyadēva. A Telunga-Rāya, described as a son of Samburāya of Kannadadēsa, is referred to in a record from Bapatla. (R. Sewell, *History of Antiquities*, I. 84). He is identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with the person of the same name mentioned in a record from Simhāchalam (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 167; see also *M.E.R.* 1899, No. 293) and with the Samparāyani-Telunga mentioned by the Telugu poet Srīnātha. (*Ibid*, *f.n.* 9).

Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya the usurper; also known as Sāluva Narasimha-Raya I.

Turning now to Gunda IV, the grandson of Sāluva Mangi, we have his two sons Timma, identified with Sāluva Gōpa-Timmanripati or Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja of the record dated in 1463 A.D. (see above) and his brother Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya, the usurper. The latter is also known to history as Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya I. He should be distinguished *from his own son* Immadi-Narasimha-Rāja or Narasimha-Rāya II; *from his general* Narasa-Nāyaka, or Narasana Nāyaka, sometimes also known as Narasimha whom it is better to style simply as Narasa; and the *son of the last named*, Vīra-Narasimha. The last two were the first two kings of the third (or Tuluva) dynasty. (See below).

His birth and early history.

According to the *Rāmābhyudaya*, a work attributed to Sāluva Narasimha (Narasinga) himself and the *Sāluvābhyudaya* written by his court poet Rājanātha Dindima, he was born as the gift-son of his parents Gunda IV and Mallāmbika. (See *Pedigree*). It would appear that the couple had no issue for many years and that they practised many austerities and prayed to god Narasimha at Ahōbilam, which may be identified with either the celebrated place of pilgrimage in the Kurnool District (*E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 1) or with Penna-hōbalam between Uravakonda and Anantapur which is famous for its Narasimha temple. (*Anantapur District Gazetteer*, 164). Pleased with their devotion, that god appeared to Gunda IV in a dream and foretold the birth of a son possessed of all virtues and destined to be a great king. After a while, a son was born to them whom they named Narasimha after the god at Ahōbilam. He was the Narasimha-Rāja I of history. The Chākēnahalli plates state specifically that he was born to his father when he was "in his old age." This may well be true, seeing that Gunda had no children for a long time, according to the story narrated above. (See *M.A.R.* 1924, Pages 97 and 101). Gunda is said to have retired to the forests after installing his son in his own chieftainship. (*Sāluvābhyudaya* in *Sources*, Canto II, 92). Such is the story of Narasimha's birth as told by himself. It has to be remarked, however, that *Rāmābhyudaya*, to which we owe this story, though attributed to Narasimha I, appears to have been actually the work of Sōnādrinātha, son of Abhirāma and Rājanātha, the latter of whom was also known as Dindima Sārvabhauma. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pages 4, 83, 85). Even if the work was the latter's own, the story told of the birth of Narasimha may be presumed to have been derived by him from well authenticated sources.

The several stages in the early career of Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya (Narasinga, the usurper) are still obscure. Certain inscriptions show that he was in charge of parts of the present North Arcot and Kolar Districts. (See *ante*; also *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 253). He soon grew in power, owing to the weakness of the central government and became master of all the country between the Carnātic and Telingāna extending along the coast as far as Masulipatam. (See *ante*).

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
1	A. D. 1459	*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59.	Visit of Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmanna Dannāyaka to Penukonda apparently then ruled over by Narasimha-Rāya I. Mr. Narasimhachar states in regard to these inscriptions, Narasimha-Rāya "sends away Mallikārjuna to Penugonda." This statement is not covered by these inscriptions. (See *ante*).
2	A. D. 1462	*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 24.	Mentions Mallikārjuna as reigning with Tirumalayanna dalapa (identified with Narasimha-Rāja's elder brother Timma) as administering the kingdom. (*Pālani* is the word used). Mr. Narasimhachar draws from this inscription the inference that Narasimha-Rāya "put" his brother Tirumalaiya

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
			"on the throne of Mallikārjuna." (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 64). This statement is not covered by the language of the text of the inscription. As Bowringpete 18, dated 1465, refers to a grant made under the orders of Narasimha-Rāya in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna, Mr. Narasimhachar's inference seems unsupported. (See also *Table A*, *ante*, which shows a number of inscriptions of Mallikārjuna between 1463-1466 in which he is spoken of as still ruling).
3	A. D. 1466	*E.C.* V, Belur 135.	A grant by Virūpāksha III, suggesting the supercession of Mallikārjuna by him in the sovereignty.
4	A. D. 1467	*E.C.* X, Kolar 33.	A grant by Kathāri Sāluva-Narasinga Rāya Mahārasa *without* mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign.
5	A. D. 1468	*E.C.* Mulbagal 20.	A grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that *dharma* might accrue to Narasinga-Rāja Vodeyar, *i.e.*, Narasinga Raya I.
6	A. D. 1472	*E.C.* Bowringpete 19.	A grant made in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēswara Gundakathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
7	A. D. 1472	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79.	A private grant mentioning Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Rāya's name without mentioning the ruling sovereign.
8	A. D. 1476	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 89.	Grant by Narasinga-Dēva without mentioning the ruling king's name.
9	A. D. 1478	*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 158.	A grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that *dharma* may be to the Mahāmandalēsvara Kathāri Sāluva Narasinga-Rāya Odeyar.
10	A. D. 1478	*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74.	A private grant without mentioning the ruling king's name in order that Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāja might have a secure reign for a thousand years.
11	A. D. 1481	*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8.	A grant by Mahāmandalika Kathāri SāluvaNarasinga-Rāya-Odeyar without mentioning the ruling king's name.
12	A. D. 1484	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59.	A private grant by the domestic minister of Narasinga-Rāya without mentioning the ruling king's name.

No.	Date	Authority	Contents of Record
13	A. D. 1484	*E.C.* IX, Magadi 52.	A grant made when Mabāmandalēsvara Kathāri Saluva Narasinga-Rāya was ruling the kingdon of the world.
14	A. D. 1485	*E.C.* Mulbagal 104.	A grant in the reign of Virūpāksha III in the administration (*pālane*) of Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
15	A. D. 1486	*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54.	The grant of a headship of a village made by order of Rāja-Paramēsvara Praudha-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Rāya seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth.
16	A. D. 1487	*M.E.R.* 1925-26, App. B. No. 424 of 1925.	A royal charter issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya. (The latest inscription of Mallikārjuna so far known, in which no regal titles are given to him).
17	A. D. 1493	*E.C.* XII, Kunigal II.	The inscription apparently records something as having occurred when (? Narasinga-Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the earth.

According to the *Rāmābhyudaya*, he is said to have ruled over Katak (*i.e.*, Cuttack or the Orissa country) besides Kānchi, Kuntala (*i.e.*, the old Hoysala country), Chōla and Pundraka. According to the *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, he is said to have conquered the Tamil country, probably the Tundira country, of which Kānchi was the capital, to have deprived the Orissa king of his strength, *i.e.*, weakened his strength by taking back countries in his possession; to have captured the fort of Baladurgam, identified with Udayagiri, and to have gone to Penukonda, destroyed the Pikkillu and others. (See *Sources*, 85-86). The reference to the enemies at Penukonda suggests the reason why Mallikārjuna visited that place in 1459 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59; also *ante*). The same work *Jaimini Bhāratamu* states that Narasimha-Rāya conquered many forts, chief among them being Bonagiri, more probably Bhuvanagiri, 4 miles north-west of Chidambaram in the South Arcot District, where there was once a fort and not the place of the same name in the Haidarabad State as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (*E.I.* VII, 77, *f.n.* 9) and Ginjee, also in the present South Arcot District; Kongudhārāpuram, identified with Dhārāpuram in the Coimbatore District; and Penukonda in the Anantapur District. (*Ibid*, page 86). It was apparently the conquest of Penukonda which necessitated, as already stated, the visit of Mallikārjuna to that place in 1459 A.D. This work makes clear the point that the visit of Mallikārjuna was occasioned by the revolt of Narasimha-Rāya I and probably to prevent him from adding it to his usurped territories. (See *ante*). These and other conquests of Narasimha-Rāya I are referred to in the *Varāha-Purānamu*, a Telugu poem dedicated to Narasa-Nāyaka, one of his generals. Narasa's father, Īsvara-Nāyaka, was also a general of Narasimha-Rāya I. According to this poem, Īsvara was in high favour with Narasimha-Rāya I and was the chief commander of his forces. It is said that he was responsible for the conquest of a great many places, including Udayagiri; Huttari, probably Puttar in North Arcot District; Gandikōta (in the Cudappah District); Penukonda, Bagur, Beggaluru (Bangalore), Kōvela (Chidambaram), Nellūru (Nellore), Kundāni (Salem District); Naragonda (probably Naragallu in the Chittoor Taluk); Āmūr (North Arcot District); Goduguchinta and Srīrangapattana, *i.e.*, Seringapatam. It is also stated that Īsvara, at the command of Narasimha, marched with a large army against the Yāvanavas, *i.e.*, Muhammadans of Bedandakōta, *i.e.*, Bīdar, who had apparently advanced as far as Kandakūr (in the Nellore District) and completely routed their cavalry at that place. (*Ibid* 87-88). Bīdar, as we know, became the capital of the Barid Shāhs after the break up of the Bāhmani kingdom in 1489 A.D. Apparently an attack of theirs on Udayagiri was repulsed by Īsvara. The fight at Kandakur is described to have been a fierce one (*Bhīmasangara*) and the defeat inflicted on the invaders near the place was, it is said, a crushing one (*chakkaganarike*, which means *well cut to pieces*). Īsvara is given in this work the title of the *champion warrior against the Bedandakōta forces*. (*Ibid*, *Varāhapurānamu* in *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 90). This fight at Kandakūr is referred to in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* where it is stated that Īsvara is said to have given "rise to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horse of the Yāvanavas of Bedandakōta." In the *Sāluvābhyudayam* also, the campaign against Udayagiri is mentioned. Narasimha's expedition on this occasion is said to have extended as far as Kalinga. As the result of a battle fought (probably at Kandakūr), the Kalinga ruler was put to flight. He reached his capital, which was next laid siege to. A breach was successfully effected and the Kalinga-Rāja surrendered. The mention of Kalinga suggests that the reference should be to the Orissa king, Kapilēsvara. In this poem, Narasimha-Rāya is also said to have defeated the Chōla king but, it may be taken as a conventional reference and no more as there was no such king at the time, unless it be the petty Chōla chief who did govern a petty principality in the South. There is, besides, a reference to his invasion, at the instance of a local chief called Kutavachalēndratatavāsin, of Nāgamandala, which, it has been suggested, may be Nāgarakhanda in the Shimoga District. But there is no inscriptional or other evidence to support such an invasion. The next conquest referred to is that of Penukonda, where it is said he was attacked by a Muhammadan army, the first mention of such an army at this place. There is no confirmation of this statement either available from any other source. Not only was the Muhammadan army defeated but the victory was such that Narasimha justified by it the assumption of the titles of, it is said, *Dharini Varāha* and *Saluvēndra*.

The extent of his kingdom.

His inscriptions are found scattered over the central and eastern parts of the Vijayanagar kingdom. As they are not found on the West Coast, it has been suggested that the Kalasa chiefs found their opportunity during the reigns of Mallikārjuna and asserted their independence for a time and extended their influence over the whole of that region. (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 254, *f.n.* 7). In the south, the existence of inscriptions mentioning the Sāluva Chief Gōpa-Timma, grandson of Tippa and son of Gōpa-Rāja, dated in 1453 and 1466 A.D., at Srīrangam, Jumbukēsvaram, Kudumiyāmalai, Terukāttupalli and Tanjore, without reference to Mallikārjuna, the reigning sovereign (see *ante*; *M.E.R.* 1892 No. 59; 1903 No. 67; 1906 No. 378; 1897 No. 55; and *S.I.I.* II, No. 23) shows that that part of the country was in the occupation of the cousins of Narasinga, the usurper. From what has been narrated above (see reign of Mallikārjuna), Kapilēsvara, the king of Orissa, led an expedition against the Tundīra province in 1462-1463 A.D., apparently after occupying the Udayagiri province. That he was in effective occupation of the country as far as Kondapalli, in the present Guntur District, there can be no doubt as a grant made by him of a village near this place testifies to. It may be that he was even in possession as far as Bezwada, as the record mentioning this gift has been found at the latter place. (See *ante* under Mallikārjuna). Kondapalli was, however, soon lost to the Bāhmani Sultān. In 1475 A.D., following a famine that occurred in that year, the people of Kondapalli revolted against the Muhammadan governor and killed him and sent for aid from the king of Orissa. Kondapalli was retaken, as we have seen, by the Muhammadans, who, under Sultān Muhammad, about 1481 A.D., resolved on the conquest of Narasimha-Rāja, who had evidently made attempts to wrest back the lost territories. (See *ante*). From what Ferishta says, it is clear Narasimha-Rāya I had occupied the country between the Carnātic and Telingāna, and along the sea coast as far as Masulipatām and had set up garrisons in most of the forts in this region. (See *ante* and Scott, *Ferishta* I, 167). Mahmud's advance had been forestalled by Narasimha-Rāya I at Rajahmandry, which, however, he lost to the enemy. Mahmud next took Kondavīdu and flushed with his successes, is said to have marched on Kānchi and sacked it. (See *ante*). On his march back, he attacked Narasimha-Rāya I again and expelled him from Masulipatām. It is possible, however, that Narasimha completely drove out from the empire proper the Muhammadans who—if we are to believe the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, a poem dealing with Narasimha's achievements by his court poet—had advanced so far as to occupy even Penukonda, at least temporarily. Following up his success in the empire proper, he might have made attempts, now successful and now unsuccessful, to extend his domain of influence even beyond the traditional limits of Udayagiri. The conflict at Masulipatām referred to by Ferishta and the invasion of Kalinga mentioned by the *Sāluvābhyudayam* seem to support this suggestion to some extent. In that case, the reference to his conquest of Penukonda which is so elaborately referred to in the poem referred to above, should have occurred in the period of the usurpations of Virūpāksha III of which we have no other evidence so far available. That shows the parlous position to which the Empire had been reduced during the reign of Virūpāksha III and if that be so, the encomiums poured on Narasimha-Rāya I by the author of the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, a contemporary writer, show the impression that even the limited success attained by him against the combined attacks of the Bāhmani Sultān and the Orissan king made on the people of the time. It does not seem, however, that Narasimha-Rāya ever wrested back the East Coast territories from the Muhammadans even after he successfully accomplished the revolution and became king. Nor was he any more successful in his reconquest of Goa, which had been taken by Mahmud Gawān in 1469 A.D., and from whom he appears to have tried to retake it in 1482 A.D. (See *ante*). These deductions are entirely in accordance with what Nuniz gathered for his *Chronicle* about Narasimha-Rāya, whom he throughout calls "Narsymgua" (*i.e.*, Narasinga) the name by which he was best known even according to his inscriptions. (See *ante*, Table of Inscriptions). "After he was raised to be king," Nuniz says, "and was obeyed, he came to Bisnagar, where he did many acts of justice, and he took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king." "He regained," he adds, "all the lands which the kings his predecessors had lost," and then remarks thus :—

> "At the death of that King (*i.e.*, Narasimha-Rāya I), there remained three fortresses which had revolted from his rule, and which he was never able to take, which were these—Rachol (*i.e.*, Raichur) and Odegary (*i.e.*, Udayagiri) and Conadolgi (probably Kondavid, *dolgi* or Drug, standing for fortress, according to Mr. Sewell), which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom."

His Military Tour of India and Coronation at Benares.

According to the *Sāluvābhyadayam*, Narasimha-Rāya seems to have made the traditional conquering grand tour of India, which the conception of a hero of a *Kāvya* is required to accomplish. As we have no reason to believe that the whole story related in the poem in this connection is a fiction, it is possible, judging from the circumstantial manner in which it is narrated, that there is some truth in it. Whether it took place after the usurpation or before it, it is not clear. It would, however, seem certain that a few at least of the conquests did take place prior to the usurpation while the rest may have been undertaken after it was an accomplished fact. They are all apparently combined and woven into one single military march through the country to satisfy poetic needs. Leaving out of account the conventional conquests of the Chōlas, Pāndyas and even the Simhalas, the last of whom are said to have been anxious for his friendship, he is said to have visited, after his "conquest" of Kalinga, the south and incidentally probably Chidambaram, Tiruvannāmalai (the old Hoysala capital), Madhyārjuna (Tiruvidaimarudūr), Kumbakōnam and then Srīrangam and Jambukēsvaram. As we have seen, there were some of his cousins established in this part of the country and the fact that no wars are mentioned in this area, shows that they held the land more or less effectively and as his adherents. Then, he passed on to Madura and Rāmēsvaram. Thence he visited Anantasayanam (*i.e.*, Trivandrum), on the frontier of which country there is mention of fighting. The two Sabara chiefs, the dependents of a Bhindurāya, may have been among those who resisted him in his conquering tour. Then we have his conquest of Nāgamandala and Penukonda (already referred to) of which the latter appears to be historical. Next he is said to have invaded the territory of king Dasarna and taken it. This, however, is a pure poetic invention. He continued his march and reached the Himālayas, on which he set his (*Varāha* or Bear) seal. After further conquests in this region, he visited Benares, where in the temple of Visvēsvara he was anointed *Chakravarti* by the many kings present on the occasion. The gods approvingly showered flowers on him and joyously played music on the occasion. His visit to Benares may have been a fact and his coronation there, whether real or symbolic, might have been intended to obtain for him the religious sanction for, if not confirmation of, his usurpation, in order that the succession of his sons to the throne may not be disputed by the heirs of the subverted dynasty, of whom some at least may be presumed to have been alive and even active. He is said to have returned south by way of the Narmada and visited Venkatādri (*i.e.*, Tirupati), where he presented to the god valuable ornaments. There are also in the poem descriptions of his hunting excursions in the Vindhyās, presumably imaginary, and of his court, which may be accepted as partially at least taken from real life. There are, besides, references to the personal life led of Narasimha, to his residence at Chandragiri, where evidently he kept his reserve army (*mūlabala*) and from where he appears to have paid frequent visits to the god on the Tirupati hill.

His encouragement of trade in horses.

Narasimha-Rāya I seems apparently to have kept up a brisk trade in horses, encouraging the merchants as no predecessor of his seems to have done. What Nuniz says of him in this regard is worth quoting as it shows him in a peculiarly satisfactory light, both as a sovereign and as a military general careful of the equipment of his army :—

> "He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz (*i.e.*, Ormuz) and Adeem (*i.e.*, Aden, in the Persian Gulf) into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only and he paid for it just as if it had been alive."

The competition for horses as between himself and his Muhammadan rivals should have been far too keen to have induced him to pay for them dead or alive.

As a literary patron.

Narasimha-Rāya was evidently a great Sanskrit scholar. The poem *Rāmābhyudayam* which has been attributed to him may or may not be his work; the very fact that it was capable of being attributed to him would seem to indicate that there could be nothing inherently inconsistent in the real author ascribing it to him. Whether he was only its putative father need not trouble us, for we know that he was undoubtedly a great patron of letters. Rājanātha Dindima, the author of *Sāluvābhyudayam*, was his court poet. His work, which has been referred to above, contains much valuable historical matter and is conceived in the *Kāvya* style. It is an elaborate work specially designed to describe the achievements of Narasimha. Apart from its literary worth, which is by no means low, its merit as a work yielding important details about Narasimha and his forbears is great. Dindima Sārvabhauma, the son of Rājanātha, who was probably the real author of *Rāmābhyudayam*, was another poet of his reign. He calls the poem which he attributes to Narasimha by the name of *Mahānātakasyāgrajātakāvya.* It is said that it was composed by Narasimha in answer to a request from his court poets and scholars, who one day had demanded of him to display his scholarship by composing a poem on the life of Rāma. The poem is in the *Kāvya* style and is by no means a mere artificial production. It has many beautiful word pictures, though imaginary conquests are mixed up with the historical ones in a bewildering manner. Pillalamarri-Pinavīrabhadra, a well-known Telugu poet, dedicated his *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* to Narasimha-Rāya I. It is a literary work of acknowledged merit and the historical details furnished by it have been fully confirmed from independent contemporary sources. Pina-Vīrabhadra was also perhaps the author of two other pieces of stray verses entitled *Navaratnamulu* and *Saptānga-paddati.* The first of these consists, as its name indicates, of nine verses (called gems) of advice by the poet, in which the elements that go to make up kingship are described in simple, inimitable fashion. In the *Saptānga-paddati* are set out the seven constituents of kingship, which is dealt with under the heads of *Rājya-paddati*, in which the essential requisites in a minister are described, *Kōsa-paddati*, *Rāshtra-paddati*, *Durga-paddati*, *Bāla-paddati*, etc. These two poems give us an idea of the political notions of the time. (See Vētūry Prabhākara Sāstry, *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 34-41). Each verse, in both the pieces, ends with the *Makuta* line "*Gunda-bhūpāla-Narasimha-Mandalēndra.*" There is internal evidence in them to support the inference that they were the work of a contemporary poet who was personally well acquainted with Narasimha-Rāya I and the circumstances under which he came to the throne. (In the 3rd verse of the *Navaratnamulu* as printed, the title *Rāyamalavaraganda* should be read as *Rāya-mūvaraganda*, which occurs in the Dēvulapalli and Bankankatte plates as *Mūrurāyaraganda*). Narasimha appears to have been liberal in his gifts to these, and probably other poets, who seem to have frequented his court. The *Sāluvābhyudayam*, in describing his residence in a fort on the Suvarnamukhi, states that he performed the great gift of *Suvarnamēru* during the *Sivarātri*. On this occasion, he heaped together all the tribute he received from his feudatories and distributed it among the scholars and poets present to receive it. (See Canto XI). From another part of the work (see Canto XIII), we learn that his patronage of the poets was a matter for praise even in contemporary times.

As a donor of gifts.

Narasimha-Rāya I, as became his position, proved himself a great donor of gifts to temples, poets and others. From the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*, we learn, making due allowance for the hyperbolic language used by the poet, that he decorated the temples of Kānchi, Tirupati and Kālahasti with precious stones from the tribute received by him from his feudatories. It may be inferred from this statement that these three places were included in his dominions, as, indeed, we know they were from other sources. From one of the verses (verse 5) included in the *Navaratnamulu*, addressed to him, he is styled *Sahajadāna-Sibīndra*, which would indicate that in the easy, natural manner in which he gave away gifts he was like king Sibi of *Purānic* fame. His profuse gifts to poets, of whom apparently there were many attached to his court, has been dealt with above. An oblique reference to it is to be found in one of the verses (verse 7) included in the *Navaratnamulu*.

His titles.

Among the more important of the titles of Narasimha-Rāya were :—Mēdini-mīsara-ganda ; Kathāri ; Sāluva or Sāluvēndra; Dharanivarāha; Sārvabhauma; Dharāvarāha (boar of the earth) ; Barbarabāha ; Panchaghantānināda; Aivaraganda ; Mūrurāyaraganda ; Urvarāditya ; Chauhattamalla ; Chālukya-Nārāyana and Mēhana-Murāri. The Dēvulapalli grant of Immadi-Narasimha, his son, which enumerates all these titles, explains some of them. Thus, when it refers to him as *Sārvabhauma*, it states that aided only by his sword, he defeated all his enemies and became an emperor. This probably refers to his usurpation of the kingdom after defeating Virūpāksha and may be taken to confirm the statement of Nuniz that he had won the kingdom "at the point of the sword." He became *Dharani-Varāha* (or the boar of the earth) by saving (*i.e.*, uplifting) the earth from the ocean of wicked kings ; *Sāluva* by smiting the crowd of his enemies as the hawk does a flight of birds ; *Barbarabāha* (the rough armed) by killing his many enemies and by giving away innumerable gifts to the needy (there being a play on the word) ; *panchaghantānināda*, by ringing the bell five times daily in celebration of his five-fold victory against the five wish-bearing trees (*Kalpavrikshas*) ; *Aivaraganda*, by excelling the famous Pāndava brothers in truthfulness, strength, archery, personal beauty and intelligence; *Mūrurāyaraganda* (a title borrowed from the kings of the first Dynasty) which signifies victories over the Chēras, Chōlas and the Pāndyas; *Urvarāditya*, by dispelling the thick darkness (his enemies), by the sunshine of (his) valour and thereby illuminating the earth; and *Chanhattamalla*, a hero possessed of four hands. It is of interest to note that of these titles the following are mentioned in the Telugu verses entitled *Navaratnamulu*:—*Kathāri-Sāluva*; *Rāyamūvaraganda* (in the printed text this is set down wrongly as *Rāyamalavaraganda*); *Rāyachanhattamalla*; and *Dharāvarāha*. He seems to have been known also as *Gajapatigalaminda* and *Gāvigōvala*. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69). The former was probably assumed by him on account of his success in battle against the Gajapati king Kapilēsvara, whose attack on Vijayanagar he beat off in the earlier part of the reign of Mallikārjuna. (See *ante*). In one inscription of his son, Immadi-Narasimha (II), Narasimha-Rāya I is called *Sāluva-Narasinga-Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya*. Apparently the titles of *Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya* were applied to him because he had made good his position by the strength of his arms. (See *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 412, dated in 1504 A.D.).

Domestic life.

Narasimha-Rāya appears to have had only one queen "the virtuous Srīrangamāmba" who was, it is said, "even as Ramā of Hari." (Dēvulapalli plates, *E.I.* VII, 84). She seems to have left two sons, though only one is known from inscriptions. This was Immadi-Narasimha or Immadi-Narasimhēndra (Dēvulapalli plates and Bankankatte plates, both dated in 1504 A.D.) or simply Kathāri-Sāluva-Immadi-Rāya-Mahārāya. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 42 and 45 dated in 1493 A.D.). The name of the other son is not known. He is mentioned by Nuniz, the Portuguese Chronicler, who too does not give his name. According to Nuniz, this son, who appears to have been the elder of the two, was murdered before he could ascend the throne. (See below).

Personal appearance.

Certain expressions used in the Dēvulapalli plates suggest that Narasimha-Rāya I should have been a man of handsome personal appearance. His title *Mōhana-Murāri*, which appears in these plates and in the Bankankatte plates (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, para 65), also suggests the same inference.

Generals and Ministers.

Among the generals and administrators who served under Narasimha-Rāya may be mentioned one Nāgama-Nāyaka, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1484 A.D. as "the foremost of the servants of Narasinga-Rāya." (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 318), Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this Nāgama-Nāyaka may have been the father of Visvanātha-Nāyaka, who founded the Nāyak dynasty of Madura. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 165). Chitti-Ganganna, whose great-grand-nephew served Krishna-Rāya, was another. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 165, quoting K. Vīrēsalingam's *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, 210). In the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Āravīti-Bukka is described as *Sāluva-Narasimha-rājyapratishthāpanāchārya*, *i.e.*, the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Ibid*; and *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, page 102). Īsvara, the Tuluva general, was another. Of his part in the bloody battle of Kandakūr, where he distinguished himself greatly in driving off the Muhammadan invaders, we have referred to above. His son Narasa (or Narasana-Nāyaka) was also a trusted general of Narasimha-Rāya I. (See *ante*). He became the founder of the Third or Tuluva dynasty of kings. (See below).

Period of his rule, 1453-1497 A.D.

Nuniz says that Narasimha-Rāya I ruled for "forty-four years." Seeing that the latest records of Narasimha-Rāya I are dated in 1496 and 1497 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mysore 33 and *M.E R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917), his reign should have begun in 1453 A.D., which is not far removed from the earliest record of his reign, which so far as at present known is dated in 1456 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, No. 253, dated in *Saka* 1378, *Dhātri* year). Calculating from that year, his forty-four years would end in 1500 A.D., which would be about the year of the usurpation of the kingdom by Narasa, the Tuluva chief who was his general and chief minister. This would mean, as pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that Nuniz "did not count the rule in the interval of Immadi-Narasimha, which is proved by the Dēvulapalli plates and other lithic records." (*A.S.I.* 1907-1908, page 254, *f.n.* 13). This suggestion, however, does not explain the whole position, for Immadi-Narasimha's last year of rule runs into February 1505 A.D. The hiatus of time to be thus covered over is five years, *i.e.*, from 1500 to 1505 A.D. Seeing that the earliest known inscriptional record, so far discovered, is dated in 1456 A.D., in which though Narasinga is styled "Narasinga-Dēva-Mahārāya" is referred to only as the "son of Gundaya-Dēva-Mahārāja," it is possible that he had not yet risen to the high eminence that he subsequently reached. The absence of his inscriptions dated before 1456 A.D. may be due to this cause. But it stands to reason to suppose that he was in 1456 A.D. fairly well established as to make a grant of the kind that he did make in it, whereas in 1453 A.D., Virūpāksha III was still on the throne. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 167). It is possible too that further discoveries may be made of his records dated in or about 1453 A.D., the year from which apparently Nuniz counts his reign. His actual rule over the empire, since the date of his usurpation, *i.e.*, 1486 A.D., was, however, only eleven years and these were of the utmost consequence to it. As the earliest record of Immadi-Narasimha (II), his son, is dated in

1492-1493 A.D., he was apparently co-regent with him from about that year. (See below.)

The course of Sāluva-Narasimha's Revolution.

The following table of inscriptions shows succinctly the successive stages by which he rose from the position of a provincial governor to that of an Emperor. The date of his actual usurpation may be fixed in 1486 A.D. for the reasons already mentioned. (See *ante*). It will be seen from the inscriptions set out below that in 1456 A.D. he is first mentioned simply as Narasinga-dēva-Mahārāja, son of Gundaya-dēva-Mahārāja; then in a record dated in 1457 A.D., he is spoken of as Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva-Mahārasu; the title "Mahārasu" was apparently added as much because of his position as a member of a family of ruling chiefs (his father was a *Mahārāja*) as of his own personal status at the time as a *Mahāmandalika* or *Mahāmandalēsvara*, probably over the tract of country round about Chandragiri which included Tirupati. Next in 1459 A.D., we see him at Penukonda, where he seems to have given cause for offence necessitating, as we have seen, the visit of Mallikārjuna, the ruling king, and his chief minister. In 1466 A.D., however, Mallikārjuna was himself superseded by Virūpāksha III, who occupied Vijayanagar turning him out from it. Then begin a series of inscriptions dated from 1467 A.D. to 1485 (as many as nine are given in the table below) which show that grants were made in his name or by himself *without mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign.* During this period, he is spoken of as *Mahārasu*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāmandalēsvara*, *Mahāmandalika*, *Odeyar*, *Nāyaka*, etc. In 1484 A.D., he is described as "ruling the kingdom of the world" (*prithuvi rājyavum geyuttiralu*). In 1485 A.D., we have a grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III, the ruling sovereign, in which it is stated that the grant was made not only in the reign of Virūpāksha III but also in the rule or administration (*pālane*) of Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar. In 1486 A.D., we see not only the full regal titles of *Rājaparamēsvara-Praudhapratāpa* applied to him but also he is described actually as "seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth." Apparently the usurpation was complete in this year and Virūpāksha had been actually driven out from the throne and from the capital. In 1487 A.D., the next year, Mallikārjuna, the old fugitive king, disappears from the scene; possibly he died in that year, though we have no definite information as to this point. That, however, is the date of his last known record, so far discovered. Between 1486 and 1497 A.D., Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya probably ruled as king from Vijayanagar itself. During this period, however, in or about 1492 A.D., *i.e.*, within about seven years of his usurpation, he appears to have made his son Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya (II) as co-regent. In a record dated in that year, the latter is described as Dhammarāya-Mahārāya. (See below under *Immadi Narasimha* or *Narasimha Rāya II*). Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya appears to have died in or about 1497 A.D., in which year we have the last recorded grant of his reign.

The chief agents in the revolution and their methods.

His chief agents in effecting the Revolution appear to have been his chief minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) Annamarasayya, his general Īsvara, the latter's two sons, Narasana-Nāyaka and Vīra-Narasimha, and Āravīti-Bukka. The last of these, is not mentioned, so far as at present known, in any contemporary inscriptional records of Sāluva-Narasimha I. But he is frequently referred to in copper-plate grants and literary works of the time of the Āravīdu dynasty (of Vijayanagar kings) as the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha I. He is spoken of as *Sāluva-Narasimha-rājyapratisthāpanāchārya* in the *Rāmarājyamu*, and in the *Bālabhāgavatamu* he is described as the firm adherent of Sāluva-

Narasimha. (*Naranāthamani-sālva-narasingarāya-vara-sakhundai-Bukka-vāsu-dhēsadalarē*). In the Arivilimangalam plates of Srīrangarāya II, dated 1577 A.D., he is mentioned as the establisher of the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Bukka-dharanīpati Smrutaha-ēna-Sāluva-Nrisimharājya--mapyēdhamāna-mehasā--sthirīkrutham*). What exactly were the services he rendered are not mentioned or even hinted at in any of these different sources of information, though it is possible, from the language used in these authorities, that he was an active and firm adherent of Sāluva-Narasimha and took a prominent part in putting him on the throne. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 102 and 205, and *E.I.* XII, 340, 342, 350 and 356.) This Bukka is said to have been present at the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which may be set down to 1508-1509 A.D. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 129). This is quite possible as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's coronation took place within 24 years of the revolution which put Sāluva-Narasimha I on the throne. Next, as to Mahāpradhāni Annamarasayya, numerous inscriptions (included in *Table* C above) mention him as one of the prime agents of Narasimha. He appears to have been active in the service of Narasimha I from 1466 A.D. onwards. A record dated in that year calls him *avasaram* (or *avagaram* in Tamil), a term which seems to imply a special agent for carrying out expeditiously royal orders. Annamarasa had, in his turn, under him, a number of agents, some of whom are referred to in the records of the period, (see *Table* C above) and between them, the special agent and sub-agents, they appear to have travelled over different parts of the Empire removing illegal exactions, reducing taxes, restoring ruined villages, repairing temples that had gone to decay and providing for their offerings and festivals and making gifts in the name of their master. Thus, they seem to have reconciled the people to the new regime, a policy that appears to have been continued by Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka, when they came into high favour with the new king. Thus we have a record of 1478 A.D., in which an agent of Īsvara, who is described as the *dalvai* (commander-in-chief of the army) of Narasimha I, constructed a car for the Tiruvadi temple and made grants of land to it. In another record, dated in 1482 A.D., we have one Aram-Valatta Nāyanār, an agent of Narasana-Nāyaka, reducing the heavy taxes imposed on the shepherds in charge of the cattle of the temple at Tiruvennainallūr, who had in consequence emigrated from the place, and inducing them to return to their village. In a record dated in 1496 A.D., Narasana-Nāyaka is described as *Mahāpradhāna* (*E.C.* III, Mysore 33) and makes a grant at the confluence of the Cauvery and the Kapila, according to the order (*nirūpa*) of king Sāluva-Narasimha I. In 1497 A.D., we have the last record, so far known, of Narasimha's reign registering (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 719) the grant of a village in commemoration of their visit to Rāmēsvaram by Narasana-Nāyaka, his general and minister, and one Kāchapa-Nāyaka, apparently a subordinate of Narasana-Nāyaka.

TABLE OF INSCRIPTIONS INDICATING THE STAGES IN THE REVOLUTION.

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
1	1456 A.D.	*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 253.	Mentions a gift by Narasinga-dēva Mahārāja, son of Gundaya-dēva-Mahārāja.
2	1457 A.D.	*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 253.	Mentions Narasinga-dēva-Mahārasu's orders regarding certain arrangements for feeding at Tirupati.
3	1459 A.D.	*E.C.* III, Mandya 12 and 59.	Visit of Mallikārjuna with his minister Timmanna Dannāyaka to Penukonda, apparently then governed by Narasinga-Rāya I. Mr. Narasimhachar regards these inscriptions as mentioning Narasinga-Rāya's "sending

Table of Inscriptions indicating the stages in the Revolution—*contd.*

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
			away Mallikārjuna to Penukonda." This view is not covered by the language of the text of these inscriptions. (See *ante*).
4	1462 A.D.	*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 24.	Mentions Mallikārjuna as reigning with Tirumalaiyanna-Dalapa (identified with Narasinga-Rāya's elder brother Timma) as *administering* the kingdom (*pālanai* is the word used). Mr. Narasimhachar draws from this inscription the inference that Narasinga-Rāya "put" his brother Tirumalaiya "on the throne of Mallikārjuna" (*M.A.R.* 1907-8, Para 64). This statement is not covered by the language of the text of the inscription. As Bowringpete 18, dated in 1465 A.D., refers to a grant made under the orders of Narasimha-Rāya in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna, Mr. Narasimhachar's inference seems unsupported. (See also *Table* A *ante*, which shows a number of inscriptions of Mallikārjuna between 1413-1486 A.D., in which he is spoken of as still ruler).
5	1466 A.D.	*E.C.* V, Belur 135.	A grant by Virūpāksha III suggesting the supersession of Mallikārjuna by him in the sovereignty.
6	1467 A.D.	*E.C.* X, Kolar 33.	A grant by Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga Rāya-Mahārasu without mentioning the name of the ruling sovereign.
7	1468 A.D.	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 20.	A grant dated in the reign of Virūpāksha III in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara Gunda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
8	1472 A.D.	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 79.	A private grant mentioning Mahāmandalēsvara Narasinga-Rāya's name without mentioning the ruling sovereign.
9	1476 A.D.	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 89.	Grant by Narasinga-Dēva without mentioning the ruling king's name.
10	1478 A.D.	*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 158.	A grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that *dharma* may be to the Mahāmandalēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar.
11	1478 A.D.	*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74.	A private grant without mentioning the ruling king's name, in order that "Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years."

Table of Inscriptions indicating the stages in the Revolution—*concld.*

No.	Date	Authority	Contents
12	1481 A.D.	*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 8.	A grant by Mahāmandalika Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāja-Odeyar without mentioning the ruling king's name.
13	1484 A.D.	*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 59.	A private grant by the domestic minister of Narasinga-Rāya without mentioning the ruling king's name.
14	1484 A.D.	*E.C.* IX, Magadi 52.	A grant made when Mahāmandalēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
15	1485 A.D.	*E.C.* Mulbagal 194.	A grant in the reign of Virūpāksha III and in the administration (*pālane*) of Narasimha-Rāja-Odeyar.
16	1486 A.D.	*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 54.	The grant of a headship of a village made by order of Rāja-Paramēsvara-Praudha-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Rāya seated on the diamond throne in Vijayanagar ruling the earth.
17	1487 A.D.	*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Appendix B. No. 422 of 1925.	A royal charter issued by Mallikārjuna, son of Dēva-Rāya-Mahārāja. (The latest inscription of Mallikārjuna, so far known.)
18	1493 A.D.	*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 11.	Inscription apparently records something as having occurred when (? Narasinga-Rāja) Mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the earth.
19	1496 A.D. (*Saka* 1418.)	*E.C.* III, Mysore 33. Lithic Inscription at Hanchi, Varakod Hobli, Mysore District.	Narasana-Nāyaka, the Mahāpradhāna of Mēdini-mīsara-ganda-Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya, made a grant of Hanchi belonging to Melapura, for the god of Tirumakūdal at the junction of the Cauvery and the Kapila rivers. It adds that minister (Pradhāni) Narasana-Nāyaka, on the order (*nirūpam*) of Narasinga-Rāya, also granted to Chikanna, the Hebbāruva, who was the son of the *Sthanika* of the Agastēsvara temple, 70 honnu, as *uvachāra* ((*upachāra*).
20	1497 A.D. (*Saka* 1420.)	*M.E R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 719 of 1917, Lithic Inscription at Agali, Madaksira Taluk, Anantapur District.	Records a grant to the temple at Rāmēsvara by Kāchappa-Nāyaka II, who had gone to that place with Narasana-Nāyaka. Kāchapa-Nāyaka held the Rāyadurga *chāvadi*, which included all the surrounding country, as a fief from Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya and Narasana-Nāyaka.

Part played by Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya himself.

With the imperfect knowledge we possess of Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya's rule, especially after his usurpation, for which we have, comparatively speaking, only a few inscriptions, it is not possible to get a correct idea of the exact rôle that Sāluva-Narasimha himself played in the revolution. A careful examination of the records of the period, however, shows that the central authority at the capital gave way for reasons which are not quite clear. Apparently, Mallikārjuna, and after him, Virūpāksha proved themselves unworthy of the position they came to occupy. Muhammadan inroads as far as the capital began; parts of the Empire's territory came to be occupied by the Muhammadans or by the Orissan king; and the people should have experienced all the consequences of the frequent warfare of the period of forty years (1446-1486 A.D.). The administration especially in the provinces, during the period preceding the usurpation, appears to have grown lax to an unprecedented extent. Indeed, taxes seem to have been illegally levied and harshly collected, even the temples not being spared. Royal levies of an unjustifiable kind, such as *Vibhūti-Kānikkē*, etc., seem to have been made in them and these apparently caused such discontent as to require their express remission and wide publication of such remission to all concerned. People unable to bear these taxes and levies appear to have migrated to avoid the consequent trouble. Villages accordingly went to decay and with them the temples in them ceased to function and social retrogression began. There are not wanting records to testify to the fact that Sāluva-Narasimha took note of the existing weakness at the capital and the laxity in administration in the provinces and, in the areas he acquired control over, he appears to have gained the good will of the people by vigorously putting an end to the evils existing in them. (See *Table* C above). At the capital, Mallikārjuna, if we are to judge him from the teachings attributed to him in the *Madana-Tilaka* or *Mallikārjuna-Vijaya*, a literary work attributed to the Kannada poet Kallarasa, who states that his work is based on Mallikārjuna's teachings to his queen, it is not impossible that he lived the life of a voluptuary and eventually lost the throne by reason of his mad love adventures. (See *ante* under *Literary Progress*). Virūpāksha III, who succeeded him, apparently proved no better. If there is any truth at all in Nuniz's account of his reign, once he gained the throne, he seems to have lost all vigour. Inscriptions afford us no direct clue in the matter but it is clear from the records of Sāluva-Narasimha I ranging from 1456 to 1486 A.D. that Mallikārjuna had practically yielded his throne into the possession of Narasimha. That a provincial governor like Narasimha should have been capable of issuing grants for years entirely ignoring the ruling sovereign argues a weakness in the central authority that is possible of only one interpretation and that is that it had practically ceased to function. The power was slowly gliding away from Virūpāksha III to Narasimha I and the end that overtook Virūpāksha III—his virtual expulsion from the throne at the point of the sword—was the consequence of his lapse from the high standard of life that he ought to have set to himself as the ruler of a great and populous empire. As one who had himself come to the throne by the aid of a revolution, it was the more incumbent on him to have been vigilant and vigorous as a ruler, but he appears to have given himself up to sloth and luxury which unmanned him to a degree that is all but incredible. Sāluva-Narasimha I, on the other hand, appears the very contradiction of Virūpāksha III, both in regard to the vigour with which he administered the territory under him and the determined manner in which he conducted the warfare against the invading hosts of the Muhammadans and the Orissan king Kapilēsvara. The part he took in beating off the attempt on the capital in the early part of the reign of Mallikārjuna is an indication of what he was capable of. His subsequent career fully made good his early promise. He cleared, as we have seen, the country between Kānchi and Rājahmundry which had been invaded by the Bāhmani king. The fight he put up at Rājahmundry against Muhammad Shāh in 1480 A.D., "with 7,00,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron," as the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* puts it, apparently confronted the invader with a situation for which he was not prepared. Though it is stated by this authority that Narasimha "fled like a craven on the approach of the army of Islam," it is not improbable—to put it at the least—that that description wholly ill-suits Sāluva-Narasimha I. Ferishta is not helpful to us in this connection, for he wrongly describes the forces that held Rājahmundry as *Muhammadan*, which even Mr. Sewell is compelled to admit is an error for *Hindu*. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 192). The more probable inference seems to be that Sāluva-Narasimha opposed the Muhammadan forces with vigour but that eventually he had to yield. The ill-success that attended him on this occasion, he appears to have more than made up in the crushing defeat he inflicted on the Bijāpur forces at Kandakūr, apparently a little later, though the exact date of this warfare cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty. The Bijāpur forces evidently advanced from Bīdar, the capital of the Bijāpur kingdom since 1423 A.D. (according to the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* and 1426 A.D., according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 588.) Both Ferishta and the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* do not refer to this defeat, though the *Varāhapurānamu* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu* mention it, though they locate the battle at two different places, the former at Gandikōta and the latter at Kandakūru. Both, however, agree in stating that Īsvara, the general of Sāluva-Narasimha, greatly distinguished himself in this war, by putting to the sword the Muhammadan forces almost to a man. He "gave rise," it is said in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, "to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horses of the Yāvanas of Bedandakōta" (*i.e.*, Bedadakōta or "the fort of Bedada," which name is a corruption of Bīdar"). This reverse may be set down to 1481 A.D., about the time that Muhammad Shāh made his advance on Masulipatām. (See *ante*). Narasimha, as we have seen, also tried to re-take Goa from the Muhammadans. Indeed, about the year 1480 A.D., he had grown so powerful in the empire as to embolden the people of Kondavīdu to revolt against the Muhammadans and call in his aid. As the *Burhan-i-Maāsir* says, they by "throwing themselves on the protection of Narasimharāya, had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islām." The object of Muhammad's invasion of the south was to subdue him. "The destruction of the infidels," says the same authority, "was an object much to be desired as the infidel Narasimha who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all rulers of Telingāna and Vijayanagar, had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *nal-baha*" which were gifts of money to foreign troops to make them desist from plunder and devastation. (*Burhan-i-Maāsir*, see *I.A.* XXVIII, 288-289.). Narasimha, it would also appear, "had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanara and Telingāna, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar." (*Ibid*). The growth in the power of Sāluva-Narasimha had apparently reached the ears of Muhammad Shāh and influenced him in deciding upon a campaign against him. We may not be far wrong in summing up the result of this campaign as on the whole an unsuccessful one to Muhammad Shāh, for it does not appear it led to any permanent addition to his territory, while Narasimha was left undisputed sovereign in his own territories. Muhammad Shāh died in 1482 A.D., and his death proved the death-knell of the Bāhmani kingdom. The Bāhmani kingdom broke up, as we have seen, into five independent principalities in 1489 A.D. During the intervening period (1482-1489 A.D.), undisturbed by external troubles and well supported by his generals and ministers internally, Sāluva-Narasimha turned out Virūpāksha III from the throne and assumed the sovereignty. Thus was accomplished by him the revolution of 1485-6 A.D., which brought his own dynasty into power.

His rule between 1485-1497 A.D.

Sāluva-Narasimha I seems to have had, what seems, a peaceful reign of twelve years after his usurpation. Most of his wars appear to have been over before he came to the throne, though during the last few years of his reign, there were the usual frontier wars in the neighbourhood of the Raichūr Doab. Despite the fact that Mallikārjuna was alive for a couple of years after the *coup d'etat* was accomplished by Narasimha I, we do not hear of any attempts on his part to regain the kingdom. If he had made any attempts, we should have had references to it in his own inscriptions or in the inscriptions of Narasimha I, more especially as the person displaced by Narasimha I was Mallikārjuna's own supplanter Virūpāksha III. His own personal popularity and the willing support he seems to have ungrudgingly received from his ministers and generals seem to have warded off at least for some years all such attempts against Narasimha I. Narasimha's records dated in the period subsequent to his ascending the throne are rather few (see *Table* C above) and their very paucity seems to indicate that there was hardly any opposition to his rule. The literary records of the period also seem to point to the same conclusion. They suggest his interest in poets and literary composition; in gifts to Brāhmans and in the decorating of the more famous temples and places of pilgrimage, such as Kānchi, Tirupati and Kālāhasti. (*E.I.* VII, 77, *f.n.* 10, quoting *Jaimini Bhāratamu*). In or about 1492-93 A.D., he seems to have appointed his son Immadi-Narasimha, as his co-regent. This fact is proved by numerous inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha, which begin from 1492 A.D., while his father was still king. (See below under *Narasimha* II). One of these dated in 1492 A.D. actually states that he ascended the throne surrounded by the angels and the learned and records a gift while seated on the throne. The circumstances under which he was raised to the throne are not clear, but it is possible that Narasimha I desired to make sure of his son's succession to the throne, while he himself was yet alive. Both Nuniz and Ferishta agree in stating that Narasimha I left two sons surviving him. According to the former, the elder of these fell in battle in 1493 A.D., while according to Nuniz, he was, after the death of Narasimha I, put to death by one "Tymarsaa" (Timmarasa), a captain in the army, in order that Narasa (Narasana-Nāyaka) the general of Narasimha, may be charged with it and put to death. Nuniz also states that the younger son of Narasimha I was known as "Tamarao," and that he was raised to the throne by "Narsenaque" (Narasana-Nāyaka) on the murder of the elder son, whose name, however, he fails to mention. There can be little doubt that "Tamarao," the second son referred to above, has to be identified with Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya (or Narasimha II), who, according to the inscriptions of the period, was also known by the title of *Tammarāya* or *Dharmarāya*. (See below under *Sāluva-Narasimha* II). According to the inscriptions, however, we know of only one son of Narasimha I and he was Immadi-Narasimha II. As this subject is further discussed below, it ought to suffice here if it is stated that Narasimha I appears to have raised his son

Immadi-Narasimha (II) to the throne while he was yet king and that he ruled jointly with his son for about four or five years.

Occupation of Mudkal and Raichur, 1489 A.D.

Narasimha's position in his own dominions was so strong that Kāsīm Bārīd, the King of Bīdar, sought his aid against Yūsuf Adil Shāh, the first king of Bijāpur. In mentioning this request of Kāsīm Bārīd, Ferishta states that it was preferred not to Narasimha I, but to the minister of his son, suggesting plainly that Narasimha I was not alive at the time. "The Roy being a child," he says, "his minister, Heemraaje, sent an army" and seized the country as far as Mudkal and Raichur. (Scott, *Ferishta* I, 190, 210; Briggs, II. 537 and III. 10. See also *A Forgotten Empire*, 111, *f.n.* 1 and 2). This suggestion of Ferishta seems wholly untenable as Narasimha I was still alive in 1489 A.D., and is accordingly set aside without comment by Mr. Sewell. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 111 and 113). The suggestion is, however, capable of explanation. The elder brother of Immadi-Narasimha, the son of Narasimha I, who was probably an young man at the time, had been perhaps just nominated co-regent and affairs conducted in his name as well. Probably Ferishta's mention of the young Roy is an echo of his accession to the throne as co-regent of his father. If this explanation proves acceptable, it will have to be conceded that his nomination to the co-regency should be set down to 1482 A.D., and that after his death in 1493 in the battle, as mentioned below, his younger brother Immadi-Narasimha was made co-regent. This would be in keeping with the result arrived at from a study of Immadi-Narasimha's inscriptions which indicate definitely that his co-regency began in 1492-3 A.D., the year of the death of his unnamed elder brother. Mr. Sewell has correctly identified the "Heemraaje" mentioned by Ferishta with Narasa (or Narasanna-Nāyaka), known also as

Narasimha, which to foreigners would become *Simharaj*, and hence *Heemraaje.* (*Ibid*, 111). As Narasimha-Nāyaka was the chief commander of Narasimha's forces, he would naturally have undertaken the expedition.

Bijāpur invasion, 1493 A.D.

The occupation of this territory proved, as usual, a short lived affair. In 1493 A.D., Ferishta states that Yūsuf Adil Shāh, hearing of dissensions at Vijayanagar, marched against Raichur, when Heemraaje, having settled these dissensions, advanced "with the young Roy" to that city. A battle followed in which, if Ferishta is to be believed, Heemraaje (*i.e.*, Narasimha-Rāya or Narasana-Nāyaka) was defeated; and the "young Roy" being mortally wounded in the action, died before he reached home. Heemraaje saw his opportunity and seized the Government of the country. The following two passages from Ferishta (Briggs, III. 13; Scott, 1, 228) relating to this war may be set down here:—

"Heemraaje was the first usurper. He had poisoned the young Rāja of Beejanuggur, son of Sheoroy (Simha-Rāja-Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya I) and made his infant brother a tool to his designs, by degrees overthrowing the ancient nobility, and at length establishing his own absolute authority over the kingdom." (Scott, *Ferishta*, I. 228).

The other states:—

"The Government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family, in uninterrupted succession, for seven hundred years, when Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I) dying, was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not live long after him, and left the throne to a younger brother. He also had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconstancy, burned up the earth of his existence with the blasting wind of annihilation. Being succeeded by an infant only three months old, Heemraaje (Narasimha-Rāya, the Tuluva general Narasa), one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for great wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by all the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years; though, on the arrival of the young king at manhood, he had poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for keeping the regency in his hands. Heemraaje at his death was succeeded in office by his son, Rāmraaje (? Simharāj-Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya), who having married a daughter of the son of Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha I), by that alliance greatly added to his influence and power." (Scott, *Ferishta* I. 262).

"In this interval, Heemraaje, having settled his dissensions, advanced with the young Roy at the head of a great army to Roijore, which struck terror into the army of Adil Shaw, for whose recovery earnest prayers were offered up by his subjects"..............(The prayers were answered and the Sultān recovered).

"Intelligence arriving that Heemraaje had crossed the Tummedra and was advancing by hasty marches, Eusuff Adil Shaw ordered a general review of his army................. (and advanced, entrenching his camp a short distance from the Hindus). Several days passed inactively, till on Saturday in Regib 898, both armies drew out, and in the beginning of the action near five hundred of Adil Shaw's troops being slain the rest were disordered and fell back, but were rallied again by the Sultān. One of the Officers who had been taken prisoner and made his escape, observed that the enemy were busily employed in plunder, and might be attacked with advantage. The Sultān relished this advice and proceeded; when Heemraaje, not having time to collect his whole army, drew out with seven thousand horse and a considerable number of foot, also three hundred elephants. Adil Shaw charged his centre with such fury, that Heemraaje was unable to stand the shock. Victory waved the royal standard, and the infidels fled, leaving two hundred elephants, a thousand horses, and sixty lakhs of *oons*, with many jewels and effects, to the conquerors. Heemraaje and the young Roy fled to Beejanuggur, but the latter died on the road of a wound he had received by an arrow in the action. Heemraaje seized the government of the country but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out, which gave Adil Shaw relief from war for some time from that quarter." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 13; Scott, *Ferishta*, I. 252-262).

It might be presumed that as the result of the war, Mudkal and Raichur were re-occupied by Adil Shāh.

Story of disturbances at the capital, 1493 A.D.

The statement of Ferishta that "Heemraaje" (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyaka) seized the government of the country, but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out which gave Adil Shāh some relief from war from the Vijayanagar side is, however, difficult to understand as Narasimha I was still alive in 1493 A.D., and there is nothing to suggest that Narasana-Nāyaka had tried to overthrow him. Ferishta apparently has mixed up events of a later date with this war and suggested the lack of interest on the part of Narasimha in frontier warfare, after the recovery by Adil Shāh of Mudkal and Raichūr in 1493, to an attempt on the part of Narasana-Nāyaka and the consequent disturbances that arose at the capital immediately as a consequence of this war. If the death of the unnamed elder son of Narasimha I in this war is true, the installation of his younger brother Tammaya of Nuniz and the inscriptions should have followed immediately at the close of the war. That this might have actually so followed seems to be suggested by inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha which are dated in the year 1492-3 A.D. These do not, as the later records do, refer to Narasana-Nāyaka but mention only Immadi-Narasimha and state that he was ruling a secure kingdom from Vijayanagar. (See below).

An estimate of the rule of Sāluva-Narasimha I.

In judging of the rule of Sāluva-Narasimha I, it has to be admitted that he was, like some other usurpers the world has known, an able, artful and adventurous personage. From the comparatively small position of a governor, he rose to be the Emperor of a large Empire at a critical moment of its history. The campaigns of the Bāhmani Sultān and Kapilēsvara, the Orissan king, would, but for his vigorous opposition, have proved disastrous to it. Though the Bāhmani Sultān was beaten back and his own kingdom fell a prey to internal dissensions, the Orissan king who joined him and advanced against the Hindu kingdom of the South was not forgotten. Krishna-Rāya, the son of Narasa, dealt, as will be shown below, the greatest blow that ever befell him or his kingdom. Narasimha I not only put back the invaders, but also carried out many reforms in the internal administration of the country. By his wise moves, he got the people on his side. He early discerned what indifferent rulers fail to note, that a people is the heart of a country. He set right the provincial administrators over whom apparently he exercised strict control. During his period, reduction of taxation, abolition of illegal levies and restoration of ruined villages and temples, evidently became the order of the day. The country should have enjoyed the benefits of a settled government for some years, especially during the post-usurpation period (1485 to 1497 A.D.). Narasimha I, though an usurper, appears to have used his opportunity well enough. He seems to have endeavoured to allay discontent in rural areas and promote actively the well-being of the people as a whole. Generous in his gifts to Brāhmans and temples, he was punctilious that his orders (as to feeding, for instance, at Tirupati) should be carried out according to the regulations laid down by him. If not a poet—he is, as we have seen above, credited with the writing of a poem—he was a patron of poets and learning. He travelled the country and knew it well and his grand tour of India, which is depicted to us in the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, is not a wholly fictitious picture drawn for us by the poet. He is described to us in this poem in the light of a hero. But the inscriptions present us with a more prosaic figure. As Rousseau has it, " the mask falls, the man remains and the hero disappears." His usurpation may be said to have served its purpose. Its justification lay primarily in restoring order and good Government in the Empire and securing it against foreign foes who were bent on breaking it up. In both these respects, Sāluva-Narasimha should be declared to have succeeded. Talikota was, in one word, put off for another eighty years. The great point about him was that he did not evade the Revolution but forestalled it in the larger interests of the country.

A picture of his policy : Pina-Vīrabhadra's political maxims.

In the stray verses attributed to Pina-Vīrabhadra, we get a picture of Narasimha which seems not overdrawn. Though the form of polity portrayed for us in the pieces called *Navaratnamulu* and *Saptāngapaddhati* may be taken to be of general application to rulers of the time to which Sāluva-Narasimha belonged, the fact that each and every verse forming them is specifically addressed to Sāluva-Narasimha himself lends support to the view that it is of special application to his own case. In the *Navaratnamulu*, we have a picture of what a king should be to his subjects. We are told that the first essential quality of a true king is that, realizing that in the good wrought for others is his own good, he should not claim the good that is done by others as his own! Learning, modesty, the desire to be adventurous, to display a due sense of proportion in judging human affairs, love for fellow creatures, the doing of great deeds, the achieving of deserving fame, manliness, and a prosperous kingdom—these, then, we are told, are the marks (rather the ornaments) of a true king! Not only these; he should possess a versatile minister; if he possessed one such, he would find uses for his sword and for his deeds; if he found such uses for them, he would know how to strengthen his army; if he strengthened his forces, he would not long leave his enemies unchecked; and he who is victorious over his enemies is bound to rule undisputed over his kingdom! It follows from this,

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remarks the poet, that the greatest protection for a successful king is a minister endued with the genius of right thinking! To appreciate music, to take delight in literature, to distinguish between man and man and object and object, to couple meekness with riches; to punish the wicked, to reward the good; to be devoted to Brāhmans, to be interested in others; and to know the bard (who praises), the Brāhman (who prays) and the student (who struggles at his books) when donating—these, then, are the qualities that are requisite in a true king who desires to be reckoned wise, wealthy, powerful, able and generous! Not merely that; if good breeding is suffused with good qualities like gold that is brightened by gilding; if exalted position is coupled to unequalled riches like *Kashiri* shining in its (own) colour; if the charitably disposed person is also blessed with the sweet tongue like the sugar-cane which has come to ripe; and if the great man (*i.e.*, king) attains to fame like the Sandal tree which has begun to flower—he will have distinguished himself among his compeers as one deserving of true praise! Nay more; in assemblies of people, in places where fiery horses are under examination, where serpents are exhibited, where food has to be partaken of, where medicines are administered to him, where he has to seek rest in sleep, where he goes a hunting, where he is invited to festivities, where music and dancing are on foot, where physicians are at work, where crowds are collected in street-corners, where people gather in large numbers to offer prayers in temples, where foreigners are admitted to audience, the king who is not unmindful of self-protection is the true king! Not only this; is God to be sought for by those good men who are truly devoted to their parents? Is penance necessary for those great men who out of good feeling show kindness to all sentient creatures? Is ambrosia needed by those blessed mortals who delight in the writings of good poets? Are sacrifices required in the case of those men of good deeds who have never for a moment deserted the path of rectitude and truth? Is Indra's abode of bliss wanted for those who desert not their consorts and whom they consider equal to their own lives? Then, again; it is not meet to render rich one's own brothers; to make the wicked occupy a high station; to put one's own cousins in charge of fortresses; to set the evil-minded to guard the treasury; to entrust the provinces to the cruel-hearted: to the obstinate should not be given the headship; to the cheat the duty of usher at the gate; to trust the man who has created distrust; and it is just to apply such remedies as may be needed where trust has been betrayed. And a word more; anger not with the sorcerer, the cunning man and the man who means well with the sovereign; declare not thy will to the man who is blind with rage, the determined aspirant, and to the wicked; mix not with the accuser, with one who delights in abusing others, and the person addicted to evil deeds; and have naught to do with the king's enemy, with the deceiver and with the cunning. To think of it, if any one foolishly and obstinately became inimical to the king who conducts himself agreeably to these principles, destruction surely awaits him!

Pina-Vīrabhadra the Machiavelli.

Such are the qualities of a Prince as conceived by Pina-Vīrabhadra in his Address to his sovereign Sāluva-Narasimha I. Nick Machiavel had never a trick that Pina-Vīrabhadra did not apparently know. At least, Bacon's famous criticism cannot be applied to him; "We are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that wrote what men do and not what they ought to do." The "what they ought to do" looms large here, though it is fortunate that the one "ought" which Machiavel actually mentions is not unduly insisted on here. "War," he said, "ought to be the only study of a prince," where prince, as Edmund Burke has pointed out, means "every sort of state, however constituted." Pina-Vīrabhadra was evidently well acquainted with the political philosophy of the time he lived in and his verses, ringing and flowing, leave the impression that he knew the king, to whom he addressed them, almost to a fault. Narasimha I should have not so much profited by them as found himself portrayed in them—at least in certain of them. The need for self-protection, for instance, on certain occasions and in certain places which Pina-Vīrabhadra stresses cannot be treated as engendering imaginary fears in a king—especially in the case of one who had himself gained the throne by a Revolution.

In his *Saptānga Paddhati*, Pina-Vīrabhadra enlarges on certain other topics of a kindred nature. Ms. copies of the verses forming this piece have scarcely ever been found complete. Hence we are at a disadvantage in writing of it. In one verse, descriptive of the minister, we have his qualifications mentioned to us. He should, we are told, be of good birth; attached to his duties; possessed of a mellifluous tongue; banishing sorrow, is fired with a zeal for adding to the exchequer; realizing the troubles of the people, is anxious to protect the people and keep them contented with the aid of his army; ever desirous of doing good deeds, brave in action, careful in making the king avoid the sins to which he is peculiarly susceptible, and always on the alert to neutralize the enemy's secrets; himself deep seated and anxious to advance the welfare of the people; who knows the occasion and the time for everything and who is ever inquiring about the country and protecting it against evil-doers—the person possessing such a minister as this is the king! Under acquisition of riches, we have the following:—

> He who acquires riches by the strength of his own arms and expends it with care on objects worthy of attention, while day by day he keeps adding to his exchequer, such a (worthy) person is the king.

Next, we have the duties of kingship delineated to us:—

> He who maintains without fail the order of *varnas* and *āsramas*, who makes the names of thieves and adulterers unknown: who protects places of worship and the property of Brāhmans; who gives attention even to a poor man's petition; who does not permit the strong to oppress the weak; who administers justice without remiss; who puts down insurrections and raiyats in fortresses; who sets down marks at the bounds of his realm and and of the places (included) in it; who strives to know every part of his kingdom as he does his own residence and proclaims his well-conceived commands throughout its limit—such a person who without vanity rules the country is a true king.

Then, as regards forts and fortifications, we have the following:—

> Who fills in due season and in plenty water and firewood; who sees that the governors (of forts) keep in due repair the bastions, the curtains, the ditches and the implements of warfare; who stores paddy and other provisions without stint; who nominates honest persons to be in charge of the forts; who secures the guarding of the (fortified) city by men who instil the fear that it is impossible of attack by any one (however strong)—such a person who is sovereign over such well cared for forts is a true king.

Then we are given an idea of what is requisite in regard to the forces that should be maintained:—Who never postpones payment of salaries but meets them regularly on their due dates; who inquires whether the salaries paid have been disbursed to the parties concerned ....; who provides then and there for the treatment of the fallen on the battle-field and for their due protection afterwards; who pays particular attention to men with service and experience to their credit, men who aspire for (higher steps in the) service and who keeps his eyes on his main forces and on the farthest forts in his realm—such a person who rules over a country as he rules over his own residence is a true king.

Value of the Poems for judging the nature of Narasimha's rule.

Whether Pina-Vīrabhadra intended it or not, there can hardly be any doubt that his seven essentials of a true kingship indicate the conception underlying Mediæval sovereignty in South India, a benevolent autocracy limited by practical wisdom and immemorial custom. Nor is there any suggestion that Sāluva-Narasimha I to whom these verses are addressed was to any extent wanting in any of the essentials enumerated. The main interest of the piece consists in providing us a picture of the rule of Narasimha I by a contemporary of his who did not idealise but described what he saw with fair accuracy. All that we know of Mediæval kingship from other sources confirms what Pina-Vīrabhadra has laid down in the political maxims he presented his sovereign with.

His death, 1498 A.D.

Two records, one of which comes from the Salem and the other from the Anantapur District, fix the probable date of the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I within certain narrow limits. (*M.E.R.* 1918, App. B. No. 719 and *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 143 of 1915). The record from the Anantapur District is dated in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha I and in Saka 1420, Pingala, Chaitra *Su-di* 15, Saturday (=A.D. 1497, March 18, Saturday), while that from the Salem District is dated in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II and in Saka 1420, Kālayukta, Mēsha, *Su-di*, 15, Hasta, Sunday (=A.D. 1498, April 16, Friday). Sāluva-Narasimha I should, therefore, have died between these two dates, March 18, 1497 and April 16, 1498. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69, where the equivalent date for No. 143 of 1915 is given as April 6, Friday, 1498 A.D.) On this point, see *M.E.R.* 1916, App. G, page 103, where the point is discussed by Mr. L. D. Swāmikannu Pillai whether the day mentioned in Kālayukta is current or expired. According to him, if it fell in the latter, the equivalent date would be 1497 A.D., Sunday, April 16. (Also *M.E.R.* 1918, App. E, page 123, where the A.D. equivalent for record No. 719 of 1917 is given). Another record (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74) dated in Saka 1400, Cyclic year Pingala, Vaisākha *Su.* 5, points in the same direction. In this particular instance, however, the Saka and Cyclic years do not agree. If the Cyclic year may, as is generally the case, be taken as the intended year, then the Saka year 1400 has been wrongly given (possibly by the engraver) for 1419, which would refer the record to 1497 A.D., which is well within the limits, as we now know, of the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha I. This record is, as will be seen, dated in Vaishāka Suddha 5, which would fall between the middle of April and the middle of May, 1497 A.D. It is of interest to note that the grant registered in this record was made by the famous Tipparasayya, the household Minister of Sāluva-Narasimha I, in order that he (Narasimha I) might have a secure reign for a thousand years. (*Narasingarāyamahārāyarige sāvirakāla sthira-rājyav āgabēk endu kottev*). It is possible that at the time of this grant, Narasimha I was seriously unwell and that his Minister of the Household made this grant praying to God Almighty that his sovereign lord might be allowed to recover and rule eternally. It is possible he recovered and lived at least a year longer, and then died, *i.e.*, about the date mentioned in the Salem record of his son. (See above). Tentatively, we may set down the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I to somewhere about the beginning of the year 1498 A.D.

Immadi Narasimha or Sāluva Narasimha II, A.D. 1493-1506.

Sāluva-Narasimha I was succeeded by his son spoken of in his own records as Immadi-Narasimha or Narasimha II. His other names as appearing in his records are Vīra-Dhammarāya, Bhujabala-Rāya-Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya and Tammaya. He appears to have been co-regent of his father from 1492-3 A.D. Inscriptional records dated from 1492 to 1497 A.D. show that he ruled in his own name during these six years. But on the death of his father in 1497 A.D., when he began his independent rule, he was overshadowed by Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka, the Tuluva general. Narasa, as we have seen, was the Commander-in-Chief in his father's reign. Inscriptions dated from 1497 A.D. prominently mention Narasana-Nāyaka and show him in the light of Regent. (See *Table of Inscriptions* below.) For the greater part of his reign, Immadi-Narasimha does not appear to have been more than the titular sovereign of the Empire, all affairs being conducted by Narasana-Nāyaka who is actually described as *Kārya-Karta* or Agent. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 52 dated in 1499 A.D.; *E.C.* X, Malur 5 dated in 1499 A.D.). Narasana is even said in certain records to have been actually *ruling* the Empire (*prithvirājyam-pannum*) in the place of and as the agent of the king. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 143 of 1915). Other records mention the fact that Immadi-Narasimha was ruling under the protection of Narasana-Nāyaka. (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 97; Inscriptions at Bellur dated in 1498 A.D.). However put, it seems clear from the records of the period that Immadi-Narasimha was supported in his rule by Narasana-Nāyaka who conducted affairs in the name of the king. His rule might be correctly described as that of a Regent, for the inscriptions make it plain that his powers were coeval with those of the reigning king. On Narasana-Nāyaka's death about 1503 A.D., the grants again run only in the name of Immadi-Narasimha (see *Table* below) and there is nothing to indicate that Vīra-Narasimha came to occupy his father's position of Regent. But Immadi-Narasimha did not long survive Narasana-Nayaka and so the way was clear for Vīra-Narasimha to occupy the throne, the two sons of Immadi-Narasimha not disputing the succession. They appear to have been quite content with minor positions in the outlying parts of the Empire.

Table of inscriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II.

The following is a table of inscriptions relating to the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II :—

Date	Authority	Contents
1. 1492 A.D., Saka 1434, Parīdhāvi, Kārtika *Su. di* 1. The Saka and Cyclic years do not agree. Taking the Cyclic year as the year intended, it would be Saka 1414 =A.D. 1492.	*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 70; App. B, 787.	Record mentions Vīra-Dhammarāya-Mahārāya.
2. 1492 A.D., Saka 1414, Parīdhāvi, dark half of Phālguna, Sunday, 7th lunar day.	*M.A.R.* 1924, Chākēnahalli (Heggaddevankote Taluk, Mysore District.) Copper-plate grant (Similar to Bankankatte and Devulapalli grants, though it gives more information about Sāluva Mangi.)	Describes Immadi-Narasimha (II) as having ascended his throne surrounded by the *Sumanas* (the angels and the learned) and records the gift by him while seated on his throne at Vijayanagar an *agrahāra* (Chakēnahalli *alias* Dēmasamudra) in the Makaravēnthaya.
3. 1492 A.D., Saka 1414, Parīdhāvi.	*M.E.R.* 1910. App. B. No. 736 of 1909, Lithic record at Purthukōil in Coimbatore District.	An incomplete record of Bhujabalarāya identified with Bhujabala - Immadi-Narasingarāya (II).
4. 1493 A.D. (Saka 1414, Parīdhāvi, Māgha *Su.* 10) Sunday.	*E.C.* V, Mudgere 54, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records a private grant to the god Kalasanātha at Kalasa when Bhayirarasa-Vodeyar was governor of Kalasa province in the reign of Srīman Mahā-mandalēsvara Paschima-Samudrādhipati Kathāri-Sāluva Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya who was ruling a peaceful kingdom.
5. 1493 A.D. (Same date as Mudgere 54).	*E.C.* V, Mudgere 56, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records another private grant in which the same descriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II and his feudatory Bhayirarasa are given as in Mudgere 54.

Date	Authority	Contents
6. 1494 A.D. (Saka 1416, Pramādīcha Vayisākha *ba* 14).	*E.C.* V, Mudgere 50, Lithic inscription at Kalasa.	Records another private grant, in which the same descriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II and his feudatory Bhayirarasa are given as in Mudgere 54 and 56.
7. 1493 A.D. (Saka 1415, Pramādīcha).	*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 516 of 1906.	Registers the grant of certain taxes to the Chennakēsava temple at Muttukūru in the Cuddapah District by a servant of one Narasingarāyaningāru, a subordinate of Immadi-Narasingadēva-Mahārāya, son of Sāluva-Narasingadēva-Mahārāya, who is said to have been ruling at Vijayanagara.
8. 1494 A.D. (Saka 1416. Rākshasa, Bhādrapada *Su.* 10.)	*E.C.* IX, Hospet 23, Lithic inscription at Sivandpura.	Records that Jagapa, the agent of a Mahāpradhāna Gaude Dannāyaka made a grant (on the date specified) when Srīman Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini - mīsaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Sāluva-Immadi - Narasinga - Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
9. 1495 A.D. ...	*S.I.I.* I, No. 115, Page 131.	Records grant of Immadi-Narasimharāya.
10. 1495 A.D Rākshasa Māgha *Ba* 14, Sivarātri.	*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 33. Lithic inscription at Nāgēnahalli.	Records a private grant by the sons of *Mahānād prabhu* Timmanna Gauda, who describes himself as the servant (*banta*) of Narasana-Nāyaka, the general of Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini Mīsara-ganda, Kathāri-Sāluva Sāluva - Immadi - Narasinga-Raya.
11. 1495 A.D. (Saka 1417, Rākshasa Chaitra *Su.* 1).	*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 123, Lithic inscription at Gangadipura.	Records that when Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-Mīsaraganda Kathāri Sāluva, Sāluva-Immadi Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world Mahāmandalēsvara Gode-Rāya granted, in order that merit might accrue to Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya, the village of Gangadhihalli, renaming it Timmarājapura.
12. 1495 A.D. (Saka 1418, Rākshasa, Srāvana *Ba* 30), Eclipse of the Sun.	*E.C.* IX, Magadi 31, Lithic inscription at Kondahalli.	On the date specified, in order that merit might accrue to Mahāmandalēsvara Immadi-Narasinga Rāya, a grant was made for the offerings of the god Sankara of Mānugal.

Date	Authority	Contents
13. 1495 A.D. (Saka Ānanda, Māgha *Su.* 1.)	*E.C.* IX, Dēvanahalli 66. Lithic inscription at Handrahalli, Būdigere Hōbli.	On the date specified when Mahāmandalēsvara (Immadi-Sāluva) Narasinga-Rāya Mahārāja was ruling the kingdom of the world, a grant was made to Timmanna-bhatta and other Brāhmans
14. 1496 A.D.	*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 89, Inscription at Varadarāja temple at Vāgata, Hospet Taluk.	A grant by Krishnarāya-Odeyar, *aliya* (son-in-law) of Mahāmandalēsvara, Mēdinimīsaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva Immadi-Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya. (*Alia* here, perhaps, stands for *nephew* as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachār).
15. 1497 A.D. (No Saka date is given though the Cyclic year Pingala fell in 1419)	*M.E R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 743 of 1909. Lithic record at Furuthukōyil in Coimbatore District.	A much damaged inscription mentioning the king's name as Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya (II).
16. 1497 A.D. ...	*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 102, Inscription at Kēsava Sōmanāthpur, T.-Narsipur Taluk.	On a petition preferred to king Sāluva Narasimha II, he informed of it to Narasimha, son of Īsvara, who ordered the restoration of the *agrahāra* of Sōmanāthpur. The restoration was carried out by Nanja-rayā-Odeyar of the Ummattur family. Narasimha (*i. e.*, Narasana), son of Īsvara, is described as one whose feet had been bowed to by kings. Narasa is said to have granted certain villages to the temple and certain *vrittis* to the Brāhmans of the place. By the way he is referred, he should have been more powerful than the king himself.
16 (a). 1497 A.D. ...	*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 108, Inscription at Ranganātha temple at Pankajanhalli, Chiknayakanhalli Taluk.	Records a grant by one Kencha, described as "the, valiant arm of Narasa-Nāyak who was the son (*komāra*) of the *Mahā-mandalēsvarai Mēdinimīsaraganda* Kathār Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya." (The *Report* thus summarises the contents of the inscription. But there seems to be some mistake here for, Narasa-Nāyaka was *not* the *komāra* of Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya and it rightly states in the next sentence that he

Date	Authority	Contents
		was the father of Vīra-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya).
17. 1498 A.D. (Saka 1420, Kālayukta, Mēsha (Chaitra) Paurnami, Hasta, Sunday.)	*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 143 of 1915. Lithic inscription at Paruttipalli, Tiruchengōde Taluk, Salem District.	Mentions Dharmarāya-Mahārāya, son of Sāluva-Narasinga-Rāya, as the reigning king. Narasana-Nāyaka-Udaiyar is stated to be an agent of the king and said to be actually ruling for him. (*Prithvirājyam-pannum*). Records the gift of a village to the local temple for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka by Vittamavasar, his agent.
18. 1497 A.D. ...	*M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 91. Inscription at Uyyanhalli, Hoskote Taluk.	A grant in Maha-mēdini-mīseyaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Narasimha-Rāyavarma-Rāya's reign by his house minister Tipparasa to the Rāma temple at Kottur.
19. 1498 A.D. ...	*E.C.* IV, 4 Hoskote 74.	Grant by his house minister Tipparasa for the merit of Narasinga-Rāya II.
20. 1498 A.D. (Srāvana month.)	*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 97. Inscription at Kannēsvara temple, Bellur, Malur Taluk.	One Rāmeyappa-Rāhuta made a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, when Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Dharanivarāha Kathāri-Sāluva Sāluva-Īmmadi-Narasinga-Mahārāya was ruling the earth, for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka, for the God Sōmeya of Bellur *alias* Srī-Vishnuvardhana-Chaturvēdimangala,
21. 1498 A.D. (Mārgasira month.)	*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 97. Inscription at Kannēsvara temple, Bellur, Malur Taluk.	On the occasion of a lunar eclipse, when Mēdinimīsaraganda-Kathāri Sāluva Sāluva-Immadi Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya was ruling the earth under the protection of Narasinga-Nāyaka, an officer named Timmaya built a stone *mantapa* for god Sōmeya at Bellur and also had a car made for the use of the Sōmeya and Rāmachandra temples.
22. 1499 A.D. (7th year of reign).	*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. 421.	Provides for the annual grant of bull-calves and repairs of a temple at Āttūr, Salem District.
23. 1499 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Āshāda *Su.* 1).	*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 52. Lithic Inscription at Kōdamballi, Virūpākshapura Hobli.	On the date specified, when the Mahāmandalēsvara Mēdini-mīseyaraganda Kathari-Sāluva Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Maharāya's

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		agent (*Kāryakartarāda*) Narasana-Nāyaka-Vodeya was ruling the kingdom of the world, one Timmarasa granted a village for the God Mallēsvara of Kōdamballi belonging to Channapatna in the Pōysananād.
24. 1499 A D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Vaigāsi-māsam, 5 *ti*).	*E.C.* X, Malur 5, Lithic inscription in Vardarāja temple at Tekal.	On the date specified, when Narasa-Nāyakan, the agent (*Kāryattukku Kartan*) of Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Mēdinimīsara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, a piece of land for providing offerings to the God Arulāl-nādar was granted by one Rāma Rāhuta.
25. Undated, (? *Circa* 1499) (1499 A.D.)	*M.E.R.* 1908, Appendix C. No. 39 of 1908. Lithic inscription at Varichchiyūr, Madura District.	Records a gift in the reign of Immadi-Narasinga-Mahārāya for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka by the governor of Madurai-mandalam to the temple of Vīrabhadra at Varichchiyūr.
26. 1499-1500 A.D. ...	*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 166 of 1901.	Mahāmandalēsvara-Mēdinimīsaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva-Immadi-Narasimha-Rāya Mahārāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, his chief minister being Narasana-Nayaka.
27. 1499-1500 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti).	*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix B. No. 89 of 1908. Lithic inscription at Tirupattūr, Rāmnād District.	Records in the reign of Immadi-Narasimha-Mahārāya, son of Narasimha-Rāya surnamed Dharmarāya, that the residents of Tiruppattūr in the Madura District might enjoy their *brahmadāya* lands free of cesses.
28. 1499 A.D. (Saka 1421, Siddhārti, Mēsha, *Su di* Monday, Uttaram, Dvādasi.)	*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. No. 25. Lithic inscriptions at Siva temple, Mārkānam, South Arcot District	Mentions Tammayadēva-Mahārāya-Vīrapratāpa Sāluva-Narasingayadēva-Mahārāya and records the gift of a salt pan to the temple.
29. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1422, Raudri), Both records dated in the same year.	*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix A. Nos. 139 and 151 of 1903. Lithic inscriptions at Tirupattur, Rāmnād District.	Record gifts of land in the reign of Immadi-Narasimharāya for the merit of Tipparasa-Ayyan.
30. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1422, Durmati.)	*M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 464 of 1909.	Mentions the reigning king as Vīrapratāpa Bhujabalarāya Immadi-Tammayadēva-Mahārāya and refers to Haresa-Nāyaka and to the

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		founding of a village for the merit of Sonaya Vīramarasa.
31. 1500 A.D. (Saka 1444—which should be Saka 1422—for the Cyclic year Durmati, Simha, *Su di* 10, Monday, Hasta, is mentioned.	*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 445. Lithic inscription at Kāmēsvara temple at Aragal village, Āttūr Taluk, Salem District.	Records a private grant to a temple in the reign of Dharmarāya, son of Sāluva-Narasingarāya.
32. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1423, Durmati.)	*M.E.R.* 1908, Appendix B. No. 615 of 1907. (Lithic inscription at Nandalur.)	Registers a grant in the reign of Immadi Narasingarāya-Mahārāya for the merit of Narasa-Nāyaka-Odeyalu. The king is mentioned as the commander-in-chief and as being at Vijayanagar in chrage of the administration. (Narasa's usurpation was an accomplished fact at the date of this record).
33. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1424, Dundubhi, Uttarāyana Kumbha, *ba di* 4).	*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix C. No. 47. Inscription on a pillar at Tirukkalkaddi, Rāmnād District.	The inscription states that Narasa-Nāyaka was governing the country on behalf of Narasinga-Bhujabala-Darmarāya.
34. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Rudhirōdgari, which is wrong).	*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 450	Registers a grant in favour of three temple worshippers for the victory of Narasa-Nāyaka.
35. 1500 A.D. (Raudri, Saka 1422).	*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. No. 212. Lithic inscription at Pirānmalai, Rāmnād District.	Mention, Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya Dharmarāya and records the gift of a village to Brāhmans for the merit of Tipparasar-Ayyan.
36. ? 1500 A.D. ...	*E.C.* XII, Tiptur 91.	Records a grant when (Narasinga-Rāya-Dēva-Mahārāya, seated on the (Vijayanagar) throne, was ruling the empire of the world.)
37. 1501 A.D. (Saka 1424, Durmati, Simha *Su. di.* Dasami, Monday Srāvana).	*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix No. 173. Inscription on a stone pillar at Chunampet, Chingleput District.	Records a private gift of land for a *matha* by a Kannadiga.
38. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Dundubhi, Pushya *ba* 5).	*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 88. Lithic inscription at Ariyur in Hurada Hobli.	Records the grant of Aliyur (*i.e.*, Ariyur, where the inscription is found) to the god Tirumalanātha (the deity of the temple where the inscribed slab is found standing) by Uradu Nāyaka the chief agent of Tipparasayya, the son of Timmarasayya, the head minister (*Sira pradhāna*) of Mahāmandalēsvara-bhashegetappuvara-rāyara-ganda ari-rāya-Vibhada,

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		Kondanada-Kondukonda.... Kodadarāyarā-gānda Rājādhirāja Rāja-paramēsvara Kathāri-Sāluva-Narasana-Nāyakara, (*i.e.* Narasinga-Nāyakara).
39. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1424, Raudri).	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 122. Lithic Inscription at temple, Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Records gift of money and land to temple at Kugaiyur, South Arcot. for offerings by Annama-Nāyakar in order that Bhujabala-Tammarāyar might rule the earth.
40. 1502 A.D., Raudri (Saka year not given but should be 1424).	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 123 Lithic inscription at Vishnu temple, Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Gift of land for worship and festivals by Perungondai Tammaya-Nayakar who repaired the *mandapa*, set up the stone pillar and pinnacle, built the surrounding wall and dug the tank. (The king's name is not given).
41. Contains two dates: (1) Portion mentioning Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēsvara Srī-Vīrapratāpa Narasinga-Māha-rāya and his righteous rule in the presence of the god Vīrūpāksha is dated in Saka 1424, which corresponded to Cyclic year (lost, but probably Rudhirōdgāri) Asvaja *ba* 30, Saturday (=A.D. 1502) (2) Date of a grant made in 1511 A.D.	*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 73.	Refers to the king appointing Nāgarasanna and another to the governorship of Āraga province.
42. 1502 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rakthākshi, Bhādrapada *ba.* 1).	*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 85. Lithic inscription at Ibjala in Kalale Hobli.	A highly damaged inscription recording apparently a grant in the reign of (Immadi) Narasinga-Dēva-Rāya-Odeyaru.
43. A.D. 1502 (Saka 1424, Rudhirōdgāri, Simharavi).	*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. No. 195. Lithic inscription in Mangaināthēsvara temple at Pirānmalai, Rāmnād District.	Mentions Immadi-Mahārāya-Dharmarāya and records a gift of land by Eppuli Nāyakar for offering and worship during the Tipparasayyan-sandhi in the temple.
44. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhirōdgāri, Pushya *Su.* 13, Makara Sankrānti.)	*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 59. Lithic inscription at Handarahalu.	Records the grant of Handarahalu village to god Tirumala by Tamme-Nāyaka, son of Timme-Nāyaka, as *dharma* in the name of Mahāmandalēsvara Medini

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		mīsara-ganda, Kathāri- Sāluva, Sāluva-Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya.
45. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhirōdgāri, Chaitra *ba.* 1 *so*).	*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri. Lithic inscription at Hosakere.	Records the grants of land by one Arasurāhuta, agent of Narasana-Nāyaka-Vodeya, who was the agent of Srīmatu-Medini-mīsara-ganda Kathāri-Sāluva Immadi-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya.
46. 1503 A.D. (Saka 1425, Rudhirōdgāri, Arpisi 15).	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 368. Lithic inscription at Tiruvāndārkōil, near Pondicherry.	Mentions Narasinga-rājadeva-Mahārāya as the reigning king and records that Aramvalarta Nāyanar, an agent of Narasa-Nāyaka, bestowed certain privileges on the Kaikolans of three villages named in it.
47. (May) 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Raktākshi, Vaisākha).	*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 65. Bankankatte (Tarikere Taluk) copper-plates similar to Dēvulapalli plates.	Record the gift of the village of Bankankatte re-named Sāluva-Srī-Narasimha rāyābdhi after himself, by Immadi-Narasimha (II).
48. 25th August 1504 A.D. (Saka 1427, Raktākshi, Bhādrapada, full moon, Sunday, lunar eclipse).	*E.I.* VII, No. 8, 74 to 85; Dēvulapalli (Vayalpād Taluk, Cuddapah District) copper plate grant.	Records the grant of Dēvulapalli by Immadi-Narasimha (II) to a Brāhman on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Immadi-Narasimha (II), praised by learned men, ascended his (*i.e.*, his father's) throne, which rose on the Hēmakūta, the traditional name of the hill which adjoins the temple of Virūpāksha at Vijayanagar.
49. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Rakthākshi, Vrischika amāvāsya, Wednesday, Vaisākha).	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 118. Lithic inscription at Siva temple, Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Gift of tax-free land to the temple by Eramanchi-Tulukkana-Nāyakar. (King's name not mentioned).
50. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Rakthākshi, Vrischika amāvāsya, Wednesday, Vaisākha).	*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 98 of 1918. Lithic inscription at Kugaiyur, South Arcot District.	Gift of a village by Eramanchi-Tulukkana Nāyakar to the temple.
51. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Rakthākshi, Kārtika *Su.* 15, Guru. Eclipse of the moon).	*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 38. Lithic inscription on the wall of Sōmēsvara temple at Halkūru, Bommasandra Hobli.	On the date specified, one Linga-Vodeyar built the temple of Sōmēsvara and provided for its offerings and festivals. At his instance, one Nanja-Rāya, apparently a local official, obtained from Vīra Pratāpa-Narasinga-Rāya (II), the grant of Halkūru for the god Sōmēsvara.

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52. 1504 A.D. ...	*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 412.	Restores a *dēvadāna* village (in Āttūr Taluk, Salem District) to a temple which had lost it in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II. Calls him Dharmarāya, son of Sāluva-Narasinga-Bhujabala Dēva-Mahārāya.
53. 1504 A.D. (Saka 1426, Krōdhana year, Phālguna Su.)	*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67. Lithic Inscription at Honakanahalli.	While the Rājādhirāja incarnate for the protection of the whole world (the son of) Narasanna (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Narasimha I), his feet illuminated with the rays of the varied jewels in the crowns of prostrate kings, ...born for the bestowal of all the great gifts, exceeding in fame Sagara, Nala, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dundumāra, Mandhātri and other celebrated kings of old, seated on the jewelled throne of Vidyānagara, the Bhujabala-pratāpa-Narasimha Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the whole earth, in the course of bestowing the great gifts, among them, when bestowing the *Mahābhūtaghata* in the presence of God Srī-Ranganātha, in the middle of the two Cauverys, he honoured Ranganātha-Bhatta, versed in the six Darsanās, with the office of the *Āchārya* and as the gift on that occasion, he granted the village of Honnakanahalli, in the Kudugunad, within the Terakanāmbinad, in the kingdom of Vīra-Chikka-Rāya-Vodeyar, son of Dēpanna-Vodeyar and made it a rent-free *agrahāra*. The Chikka-Rāya mentioned was, as mentioned above, the Ummattur chief of the time. (1505 A.D.)
54. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, Maka, *Su. di* 3, Sunday, Mahā Sankrānti day).	*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 420.	Refers to setting of lamps in a temple in Āttūr Taluk, Salem District. Mentions Tamaiya--Immadi--Narasa-Nāyaka, identified with Sāluva-Narasimha II.

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55. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, other particulars of the date undecipherable).	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 242. Inscription on a rock of the Nirkunte, west of Chinnahalli.	Records apparently a grant by some person (the first part of whose name is Chinta) of Mulbagal in order that salvation may be obtained for (*vuttama........ agabek endu*) Srīmatu-Narasinga Mahārāya and Narasinga-Nāyaka (both of whom had been dead by the date of the grant).
56. 1505 A.D. (Saka 1427, Krōdhana, Kumbha, *Su.* Dvādasi, Thursday Punarpūsam).	*M.E R.* 1921-22, Appendix B. No. 330 of 1921.	Mentions Immadi—Narasa-Nāyaka, son of Narasimha-Mahārāya I. Registers the visit on the *dvādasi* day mentioned of the king to the temple at Tirukōyilūr and his making tax-free 3 villages bought by it from certain tenants who were unable to pay the taxes imposed on them. The king's Secretaries-Immadi-Narasayya-dēva and Vīramārasayya-Pallava-rāiyan, to whom the king issued his oral orders, are also named in it.
57. 1506 A.D. (Saka 1428 expired. No further details of the date are given. It would seem that the record was set up after the death of Narasinga-Rāya II).	*E.C.* III, Malvalli 95. Lithic inscription at Mutnahalli.	The inscription records that while Srīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-Paramēsvara-Bhujabala-pratāpa Narasimha-Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world from (his capital at) Vijayanagar, the Mahāmandalēsvara Chikka-Rāya *alias* Malla-Rāja, the son of Dēvanna-Odeya of Ummattūr, possessing the title of Chikka-Rāya, made grant of Monamattahalli, renaming it Chikka-rāja-sāgara, exempt from all taxes, as an *agrahāra* to Alikonda-Nāga-Bhātta, son of Tirumala-Bhatta.
58. 1506 A.D. (Kshaya. Other details not decipherable).	*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 121. Lithic inscription at Jyōtipura.	On the date specified, when (...........) Kathāri-Sāluva, Sāluva--Immadi--Narasinga (Rāya) Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world, a private gift of land was made to the temple of Sōmēsvara.

Revolution of Narasana-Nāyak, 1497 A.D.

It is clear from the above table of inscriptions that the usurpation of Narasana-Nāyak, the Tuluva general, should have occurred in or about 1497 A.D., the year in which Sāluva-Narasimha I died. Up to that year, his son Sāluva-Narasimha II was joint ruler with him and hence the name of Narasana-Nāyak does not appear in his records. Immediately Sāluva-Narasimha I died, Narasana-Nāyak, who distinguished himself in the great warfare of the last reign, asserted his power and practically usurped all the royal functions. Hence we find his name being mentioned uniformly with that of the reigning sovereign himself and grants were (see *Table* above) frequently made in his name and for his merit. This regal position he appears to have fully maintained until his death about 1503 A.D., when the records of Sāluva-Narasimha again begin to run, as mentioned above, in his own—single—name. How he came to occupy the supreme position or rather effectively usurp it, between 1497 and 1503 A.D., is not anywhere hinted at in the inscriptions of the period, which, however, leave no doubt that he did virtually exercise the full authority of a sovereign—being even described as wielding the emperor's powers over the realm. (*Prithvi-rājyam pannum*, etc.). The Portuguese traveller Nuniz and Ferishta throw some light on this rather obscure subject. The former, writing in 1535 A.D., *i.e.*, within about thirty-eight years of the incident (1497 A.D.), states that Narasimha I left two sons, who being too young to govern, he entrusted the kingdom to Narasana-Nāyak, his minister, asking him to raise to the throne whoever proved deserving of it. Both the princes were, however, murdered and Narasana-Nāyak himself seized the throne and held it, till his death. Here is Nuniz's story in full, too important to be omitted:—

"At his death, he left two sons, and the governor of the kingdom was Nasenaque, who was father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga; and this king (Narsymgua), before he died, sent to call Narasenaque his minister, and held converse with him, telling him that at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule; also he said that all the royal treasures were his alone, and he reminded him that he had won this kingdom of Narsymgua at the point of the sword; adding that now there remained only three fortresses to be taken, but that for him the time for their capture was passed; and the King begged him to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it. And after the king's death, this Narsenaque remained as governor, and soon he raised up the prince to be king, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.

"At that time, a captain, who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narsenaque had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted and he thought that for this act of treason Narsenaque would be put to death. And he soon so arranged it that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for that purpose, and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narasenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late King's to be king, not being able further to punish this captain, because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Tammarao. He (Narsenaque) went out one day from the city of Bisnaga towards Nagumdym, saying that he was going hunting, leaving all his household in the city. And after he had arrived at this city of Nagumdym, he betook himself to another called Penagumdim, which is four-and-twenty leagues from that place, where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the King Tammarao of the cause of his going; relating to him the treason that that captain by name Tymarsa had carried out slaying his brother the king, and by whose death he (the prince) had inherited the kingdom. He told him how that the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother, that as this man had killed his brother, so he would do to him in the same way, for he was a traitor; and he urged that for that reason it was necessary to punish him. But the king at that time was very fond of that captain, since by reason of him he had become King, and in place of punishing him he bestowed favour on him and took his part against the minister. And, seeing this, Narasenaque went against him with large forces, and besieged him, threatening him for four or five days, until the King, seeing his determination, commanded Tymarsa to be put to death; after which he (the king) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister, who greatly rejoiced. Narsenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.

"And after some days and years had passed, Narsenaque, seeing the age of the king how young he was, determined to keep him in the city of Penagumdy, with large guards to make safe his person, and to give him 20,000 cruzados of gold every year for his food and expenses, and himself to govern the kingdom—for it had been entrusted to him by the king his lord so to do. After this had been done, he told the King that he desired to go to Bisnaga to do certain things that would tend to the benefit of the kingdom, and the King, pleased at that, told him that so it should be; thinking that now he himself would be more his own master and not be so liable to be checked by him. And after he had departed and arrived at Bisnaga, Narsenaque sent the King 20,000 men for his guard, as he had arranged, and he sent as their captain Timapanaque, a man in whom he much confided; (commanding him) that he should not allow the King to leave the city, and that he should carefully guard his person against treachery.

"And after this was done, Narsenaque began to make war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted. At that time, it was proposed by some captains that they should kill the King, as he was not a man fitted to govern, but to this Narsenaque would answer nothing. After some days had passed, however, Narsenaque, pondering on the treason about which they had spoken to him, how it would increase his greatness and more easily make him lord of the kingdom of which he was (only) minister, called one day those same captains who had often proposed it to him, and asked them by what means the King could be slain without its being known that he had a hand in his death. Then one man (later on we learn that this man's name was *Codemerade*, evidently a corruption for *Kondama Naidu*) told him that a very good way would be that he (the minister) should appear to be annoyed with him and should send to command his presence, which mandate he would not obey, and on account of this act of disrespect he (the minister) should ordain that some punishment be inflicted, and at this aggravation he would leave the city and fly to Penagundy to stir up the King against the minister. He said that after he had gained the good-will of the King he would so plot against him that he would render him disobedient; and that to give the King greater encouragement he would forge letters as if from captains which should contain the same counsel—namely, that he should leave that city where he was more a prisoner than free—and would point out to him that he alone was king and lord, and yet that the land was under the power of Narasenaque his vassal, who had made himself very strong and powerful in the kingdom and held him (the King) prisoner, and had rebelled. He would urge the King to secretly quit the city and betake himself to a fortress belonging to the captain who had sent him that letter, and that there he should prepare himself getting together a large following. And he would tell him that when the lords and captains came to know of his wish and determination they would act according to it, and would help him, and would come with him to fall upon Narsenaque, and would bestow upon him (Narsenaque) the prison in which he (the King) was now kept. So he would be king. (The captain further said) that after he had persuaded the King to this he would cause him to (leave the city), and while going out he would kill him, and that in this way Narsenaque should become king.

"Narsenaque was well pleased to listen to this treason and to hear of the evil deed which this captain planned, and he showed him much favour. The captain disappeared after some days from where Narsenaque was, feigning to have fled; and he came to Penagumdy, where in a few days his arrival was known; and he set about and put in hand all those things that had been arranged. Every day he showed the King a letter, one day from a captain of one fortress, the next day another from another captain; and the King understanding the plots contained in the letters so shown, replied that the counsel and advice seemed good, and yet how could he resist the power of Narsenaque, who, besides being minister of the kingdom, had (possession of) all the horses and elephants and treasure, so that he could at once make war against him? "True it is, Sire, that which thou sayest," answered the traitor, "and yet he is much misliked by all the captains who raised thee to be king, and as soon as they shall see thee in Chaodagary" (Chandragiri, the capital of the kingdom in its decadent days) (which was a fortress which he had advised him to flee, being one which up to that time was independent), "all will flock to thine aid, since they esteem it a just cause." Said the King,—"Since this is so, how dost thou propose that I should leave this place, so that my going should not be known to the guards and to the 20,000 men who surround me in this city?" "Sire," he replied, "I will disclose to thee a very good plan; thou and I will go forth by this thy garden, and from thence by a postern gate which is in the city (wall), and which I know well; and the guards, seeing thee alone without any following, will not know that it is thou, the King, and thus we shall pass to the outside of the city, where I will have horses ready that will take us whithersoever it seemeth good to thee." All this pleased the King well, and he placed everything in his hands; and, seeing fulfilled all his desire, the captain spoke with those men who guarded that part of the garden by which he wished that the king should fly, and which was near the King's own houses (for into this garden the King often went to amuse himself with his wives, which garden was at that part guarded by a troop of 300 armed men) and to these men he spoke thus, saying to them:—"If he shall happen to see me pass by here on such a night and at such an hour, and if he shall see a man coming with me, slay him, for he well deserves it of me, and I will reward ye;" and they all said that that would be a very small service to do for him. When that day had passed, the traitor went to the King and said to him:—"Sire, do not put off till to-morrow that which thou hast to do to-day; for I have the horses ready for thy escape, and have planned so to escort thee forth that even thy ladies shall not be aware of thy departure, nor any other person. Come, Sire, to the garden, where I will await thee." The King replied that his words were good and so he would do, and as soon as night was come and the hour arrived, the King went carefully out, and still more careful was he who for some time had awaited him; and he gave signal to the armed men, and as soon as he was come to the garden, he passed between two of them who were the guards and they threw themselves on the King and slew him, and forthwith buried him at the foot of a tree in the same garden. And this being accomplished without their knowing whom they had slain, the traitor gave them his thanks, and returned to his inn to make ready to leave the city and also so as not to give cause for talk therein. And the next morning it was found that the King was missing; and though searched for throughout all the city, no news of him could be heard, all the people thinking that he had fled somewhere whence he would make war on Narsenaque. And to Narsenaque the news was straightway brought, and he, feigning much sorrow at it, yet made ready all his horses and elephants in case the kingdom should be plunged into some revolution by the death of the king; although as yet he knew not for certain how the matter stood, save that the King had disappeared. And afterwards the man came who had killed the King, and told him how it had been done and how secretly he had been slain so that even the very men who had killed him knew not who it was; and Narsenaque bestowed upon him rich reward. And since there was no news of the King, and he holding everything now under his hand, he was raised to be king over all the land of Narsymgua." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 308-314).

The story is so circumstantially told that it is difficult to summarily reject it but the table of inscriptions of Narasimha II—who, both according to Nuniz and the inscriptions, was known as Tammarāya and as to whose identity, therefore, there can be no manner of question —shows that he *survived* Narasana-Nāyak by at least two to three years. So the story of his assassination told by Nuniz seems entirely incredible ; it seems a later day embellishment of the *fact* of his usurpation of royal powers practically superseding Narasimha II in the administration of the country. It is certain that he did so from the date of the death of Narasimha I to the date of his own death; it is certain also that he was all-powerful in the State during this period (1497 to 1503 A.D.) and that Narasimha II should have been nothing more than a mere puppet sovereign. His administration too should have been a vigorous one, one which should have kept at bay any who might have desired to back up the claims of Narasimha II. On the other hand, there were apparently military and civil officers—of the type of the alleged assassin of Narasimha II mentioned by Nuniz—who should have been only too ready to carry out his behests. Thus helped, he should have been all but the actual sovereign of the empire. The story told by Nuniz may be accounted an accretion to the legends that should have in after years grown up about Narsanna's powerful regime and practical usurpation of sovereign powers eclipsing the actual sovereign. A fact worthy of note in this connection is that while we have a contemporary record actually referring to the accession to the throne of Narasimha II, we have none so far relating to Narasana-Nāyak's accession. The records of both Narasimha II and Narasana-Nāyak uniformly describe the former as king and the latter as the administrator. There are, besides, a few minor discrepancies in the account of Nuniz which may be noticed. In the earlier part of the narrative, for instance, he states that Narasimha I requested Narasana-Nāyak "to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule," thus suggesting that they were far too young to assume the sovereignty immediately. This impression he confirms lower down when he mentions that Narasimha I admonished Narasana-Nāyak "to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it." But, later, in the narrative, he states that Narasimha II was old enough to have been married and to have "amused himself with his wives" in the garden in which he was, according to Nuniz's story, done to death. The story of his having been a mere youth is thus wholly falsified, which is in accordance with what seems to have been the fact, if inscriptional records of Narasimha II may be believed. There may be elements of truth, however, in the story. Thus, he might, on the pretence of "carefully" guarding the person of the prince (Narasimha II) "against treachery," according to the death-bed injunction of Narasimha I, have transferred him to Penukonda and there kept him a close prisoner, thus literally "guarding" him with "care." He might have even tried to despatch him by the hand of an assassin. It is probable the attempt was actually made and the prince escaped and survived Narasana-Nāyak. Forty years later the story of the attempted assassination may have been told in a different way in the manner set out by Nuniz in his *Chronicle.*

Ferishta also refers to Narasa's usurpation. He states that Ādilshāh, hearing of dissensions at Vijayanagar—probably the dissensions which ended in the removal of Narasimha II to Penukonda there to be "carefully guarded" as Nuniz has it—advanced against Raichur and attacked it. The story of the fall of this place is separately told below, and it ought to suffice here to state that, according to Ferishta, *Hemraaje* (*i.e.*, Narasa or *Narasimharāja*, *i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyak, the Commander-in-Chief) marched against the invading forces "with the young Roy" to Raichur and there gave battle and that in that battle, the latter was mortally wounded and died before he could reach home, and that Hemraaje (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyak) seized the government and the country. The relevant passages are given below:—

> "Hemraaje was the first usurper. He had poisoned the young Raja of Beejanuggur, son of Sheoroy (Simha-Rāja-Sāluva Narasimha-Rāya I) and made his infant brother a tool to his

designs, by degrees overthrowing the ancient nobility, and at length established his own absolute authority over the kingdom." (Scott, *Ferishta*, I, 228).

The other states:—

> "The Government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family, in uninterrupted succession, for seven hundred years, when Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I) dying, was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not live long after him, and left the throne to a younger brother. He also had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconstancy, burned up the earth of his existence with the blasting wind of annihilation. Being succeeded by an infant only three months old, Heemraaje (Narasimha-Rāya, the Tuluva general Narasa), one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for great wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by all the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years; though, on the arrival of the young king at manhood, he had poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for keeping the regency in his hands. Heemraaje at his death was succeeded in office by his son, Ramraje, (? Simharāj-Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya), who having married a daughter of the son of Seoroy (Sāluva-Narasimha I), by that alliance greatly added to his influence and power." (Scott, *Ferishta*, I, 262).

These passages tell a different tale. According to the version contained in them, one of the princes was poisoned by Narasana-Nāyak and the other, "an infant," was put on the throne and used as a "tool" in order to serve as "a pretence for keeping the regency in his own hands." This version gives Narasana-Nāyak a Regency of "forty years," which is wholly wrong and is apparently an echo of the long ascendancy of Narasimha I. Ferishta's account, written in 1607 A.D., over a century after the events to which it relates actually occurred, is naturally farther away from the truth than even Nuniz's is. It seems, as suspected by Mr. Sewell, a jumble of other stories that were current in his time and in the time of Nuniz even. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 112, *f.n.* 2 and 3).

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that "Tymarsa" who, according to Nuniz, killed the elder son of Sāluva-Narasimha I may be the Timmarasa, son of Tribhuvanakathāri-Bommayadēva-Mahārāya, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1505-1506 A.D., cyclic year *Krōdhana*. (*M.E.R.* 1908-1909, Para 68, Appendix B. No. 362 of 1908). From the number of known inscriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II dated in this identical year (see *Table of inscriptions* above), this inscription may also be taken to fall in his reign. If so, this Timmarasa, the alleged murderer of the elder brother of Narasimha II, could have been alive in 1505-1506 A.D., and therefore cannot have been put to death, as alleged by Nuniz, by Narasana-Nāyak, the Tuluva General, who, we have reason to believe, died about 1503 A.D. The story told by Nuniz is accordingly shown to be rather exaggerated. The greatest obstacle to the acceptance of his story is that Immadi-Narasimha was undoubtedly one of the two sons of Sāluva-Narasimha I referred to by him and that he lived up to 1505-1506 A.D., and was making grants up to the last year of his reign. (See *Table* above). He could, therefore, have not been murdered by Narasimha Nāyak, who, according to inscriptions, actually predeceased him.

The revolution effected by Narasimha-Nāyak may be set down to about 1499 A.D. Though he was in supreme authority from 1497 A.D., he should, according to the inscriptions, have reached the heyday of his power a couple of years later.

Date of Narasa's Revolution; *Circa* 1499, A.D.

It is then that we hear of his being described as exercising almost supreme powers in the Empire. Though Narasimha-Rāya II survived him a couple of years or more, he had been no more than a puppet during tha greater part of his rule. Hence his supersession and the supersession of his Dynasty—for his sons did not succeed him—may be approximately reckoned in or about the year 1499 A.D.

Administration of Narasana-Nāyaka.

The idea that during the Sāluva usurpation there was misrule and anarchy in the country seems, from numerous records, a baseless one. On the other hand, it put down the tendency towards anarchy which manifested itself in the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III. The integrity of the Empire was maintained and renewed attempts were apparently made even to regain Goa and other lost territories. Narasana-Nāyak as regent of Immadi-Narasimha appears to have administered the Empire with ability and vigour. There is evidence to believe that he did not allow it to suffer in extent. Inscriptions of Immadi-Narasimha have been found in the Mysore State and in the Districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Trichinopoly and Madura in the Madras Presidency. Under him, Basakur was in the charge of Sādhāranadēva-Odēya. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 166). Nagarirājya, including Haiva and Konkana, was governed by Sāluva-Dēva-Rāya-Odeyar, who, in 1500 A.D., made a grant for his own merit and another in 1502 A.D. for the longevity, health, wealth, kingdom and victory of Narasana-Nāyaka. Muktinādu, which included a part of the modern Cuddapah District, was conferred as a *Jāhgir* on Bokkasami Timmanāyanikgāru (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 516) who has been identified with "Timapanarque" in whom, according to Nuniz, Narasimha Nāyaka "much confided." (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 169). Pottapi-Nāridu, of which the capital was Ghāndikōta in the present Cuddapah District, was administered by Dēvinēni, son of Sāruappa Nāyudu. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Appendix B. No. 615). Maduraimandalam was, according to a record found at Varichchiyur in the Madura District, under a man who appears to have been directly subordinate to Narasana-Nāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Appendix C. No. 39). This record is undated but there is no doubt that it belongs to about 1500 A.D., as it mentions Narasana Nāyaka. As a record dated in 1500 A.D. describes Ayyan Sōmaya Vīramarasar as the "Lord of the Southern Ocean" (*M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 664), probably he was in charge of the Madurai-mandalam. According to this record, this Governor founded a village in that year for the merit of Narasana-Nāyaka. The big title he enjoyed was probably not an empty one, for it seems likely that his jurisdiction extended beyond the seas into the northern province of Jaffna off Ceylon. This would indicate that the Sāluvas did not lose the hold of Vijayanagar on this overseas province during the period of their usurpation. Tipparasa-Ayyan, who is mentioned in many records (see *Table* above), was apparently in charge of a good part of Southern Mysore, quite apart from his position of Household Minister of Immadi-Narasimha. (See below).

Arrival of the Portuguese in India, 1498 A.D. ✓

During this reign the Portuguese first arrived in India. Vasco da Gama set sail on July 8, 1497 and arrived close to Calicut on August 26, 1498. Owing to misunderstandings with the Zamorin's subjects, he failed to establish friendly relations with the Hindus. He was followed by Cabral, who reached Calicut on 13th September 1500. He quarrelled with the Zamorin and failed to open trade relations with the local people. In 1502, Vasco da Gama proclaimed the king of Portugal the lord of the seas and wantonly destroyed with all hands a large vessel having several hundred people on board near the Indian coast. He bombarded Calicut and massacred in cold blood 800 fishermen in the port under circumstances of brutal atrocity. He left in 1503, after establishing a factory at Calicut. He was followed by Lopo Soares, who arrived in 1504 and without any reason blockaded the port of Cochin, whose ruler had been friendly to the Portuguese and had on account of them suffered a war with his brother of Calicut. In 1505 A D., the last year of Immadi-Narasimha's reign, Almeida was appointed Viceroy of the Indian Coast by the king of Portugal and he arrived in India with a large fleet and 1,500 soldiers. After a preliminary encounter at Honawar, he realized that peaceful commerce would prove more fruitful to the Portuguese than sanguinary wars. He soon came to hear of the existence of the great kingdom of Vijayanagar and the power of its king Narasimha. Almeida's son, Lourenco, received further information in 1506 about the state of the country inland from the Italian traveller Varthema and in consequence of this, Almeida asked king Narasimha to allow him to erect a fortress at Bhatkal, but received no reply from him. As we know that Narasimha II died about this time (see below), there is little surprise that Almeida had no ready response for his letter.

Attempt on Goa, 1505-06 A.D.

We learn from Varthema, the Italian traveller, that a fresh attempt was made during this reign to re-capture Goa from the Muhammadans. It was being administered by a person named by him as "Savain," corresponding apparently to the Portuguese term "Sabaye," which Barros, the Portuguese historian, explains as derived from Persian *Saba* or *Sava*, and says that the Sabaye's son was Ādil Shāh. This seems untenable, while Burton's suggestion that it is a corruption of *Sipahdar* or military governor seems nearer the mark. But it is more probable that the word is a corruption for *Soubadār*, or "head of *Soubah*" or Province. Goa, on its capture by the Muhammadans, was apparently converted into a province and a governor appointed to it. He would be commonly known as the *Soubadār*, which the Portuguese would have shortened into *Sabaye*. However this may be, Goa was not recovered by Narasimha's forces and it continued in Muhammadan hands for the time being. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 116-117).

Varthema's description of Vijayanagar, 1505 A.D.

We have an interesting description of the capital of the Empire as it was in the time of Narasimha II by Varthema, the Italian traveller already mentioned. He speaks of Vijayanagar as a great city, "very large and strongly walled." It was, he says, seven miles in circumference, well sheltered by "mountains" (*i.e.*, hills) and had "a triple circlet of walls." He describes it as a very wealthy and well equipped city, situated on a beautiful site, and enjoying an excellent climate. The king kept, he adds, "constantly 40,000 horsemen" and 400 elephants. Each elephant carried six men, and had long swords fastened to its trunks in battle, which description agrees, as Mr. Sewell points out, with what Nikitin, the Russian traveller, and Paes, the Portuguese traveller, state. The sparse clothing of the people, as may be expected, attracted his attention. "The common people," he writes, "go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle." Describing the king, he adds, "The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long. His horse is worth more than some of our cities on account of the ornaments which it wears." Apparently he must be referring here to the State horse, which was exhibited at the views held on the *Mahānavami* and other festival occasions. (See Paes' description in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 274 and 278). It may be inferred from the above that the Imperial capital was in a flourishing condition in the reign of Narasimha II and its magnificence had not been affected by the revolutions of Sāluva-Narasimha and Sāluva-Narasana-Nāyak.

Discontent among the peasantry.

The condition of the peasantry towards the close of the Sāluva usurpation seems to have been far from satisfactory.

An inscription dated in *Saka* 1423 (or 1501 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Immadi-Narasimha (II) shows that the Marava cultivators of the village in the present Ramnad District had to sell their lands to the local temple in order to pay the taxes due by them on their holdings. They had no other means of discharging their dues, for it is significantly added, "it was the period of occupation of Kannadigas, *i.e.*, Karnātakas," the Sāluvas being a line of Karnātaka chiefs. Evidently the taxation imposed proved heavy and the peasantry felt the pinch. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 63; Appendix C. No. 50 of 1916). The discontent appears to have been general in the empire. Thus a record which comes from the Nityēsvara temple at Srīmushnam, in the present South Arcot District (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix C. No. 247), dated in 1426 (Rudhirōdgāri) or A.D. 1504, which also falls in Immadi-Narasimha's reign, though his name is not mentioned in it, states a local chief named Trinētranātha Kachchirāyan, surnamed Rahuttamindan, revised the rates of taxes "which had become exorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kannadigas. The cultivators, owing to the oppression, had dispersed and the *Svarūpa* scattered." Kachchirāyan ordered an annual measurement of lands and lowered the assessments on dry and wet lands and fixed the *araisaperu* payable according to the class of the community on which it fell and the *idaittarai* according to the nature of the animal (cow, buffalo or sheep) it was levied upon. (*Ibid*). The Sāluvas appear to have inherited the system of over-taxation from their predecessors. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69 and instances dated in 1414, 1447 and 1464 A.D., quoted therein). At any rate, a record dated in 1482 A.D., in the reign of Virūpāksha III (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69; No. 103 of 1918), when the power probably centred in the hands of Sāluva-Narasimha I—Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka—to be identified with Parvatayya, son of Mallikārjuna and therefore a cousin of Virūpāksha III—refers to the abrogation of different kinds of hard conditions imposed on the people of the Southern Pennār country. The effect of these injudicious and vexatious conditions was that the people were forced to leave the country. Some of these—determining the price of sheep by the price of ghee per measure, sugar-cane raised in a village to be pressed in it and not elsewhere, etc.,—show a laxity in provincial rule which undoubtedly should have caused considerable irritation in the rural areas. Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka removed the disabilities and allowed the people to go back to the old regulations in these matters. Evidently Chikka-Parvata-Nāyaka sympathised with the people in their difficulties and made life possible for them by reverting to the ancient constitution. (See on this subject, *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 69, for further information). He was probably the same as Parvatarāja-Nāyaka, who, according to stone inscriptions dated in 1465, built a *mantapa* in the temple on the hill at Tirupati. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 167.)

Inroads of Nanjarāja Udaiyar, the Ummattūr Chief, *Circa* 1499 A.D.

The unsettled nature of the times afforded an opportunity to Vīra-Nanjarāja-Udaiyar, of the Ummattūr family, to enlarge his dominions. Though an inscription dated in 1497 A.D. (see *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 102) shows that he was loyal to Sāluva-Narasimha II up to that year, a record of his dated in 1499-1500 A.D., on the eve of the usurpation of the Vijayanagar kingdom by Narasa, the Tuluva general, styles him *Mahāmandalēsvara* and states that he had established his kingdom on a firm basis (*sthirarājya*). Apparently he had rebelled, covertly or overtly, and made himself independent and added to his territories. His principality should have comprised a large part of modern Coimbatore and Mysore Districts, in the former of which his records have been found as at Avanāsi. (See *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 55; Appendix B. No. 200 of 1909, dated in Saka 1421 or A.D. 1499). His ancestors were the descendants of the chiefs of Dannāyakankōttai, who had ruled over the Terkanāmbi country and were the conquerors of the Nīlgiris (*Nīlagiri-sādāraka*). (*Ibid*). His minister was a certain Onnakkan Settiyar, a native of Emmarkal, in the Terakanāmbi-nādu. Though his successor Chikka-Rāya appears to have resumed loyal relations (see *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67, dated in 1505 A.D.), Nanjarāja's inroads brought on, as will be seen below, retribution in its wake. Either he himself or his successor was reduced by the great Krishna-Dēva-Rāya sometime before 1513 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 68; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 55; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 130; see also below).

Ministers and Generals.

Chief among his ministers was undoubtedly Narasa, who practically was both Regent and Ruler, as we have seen above. One of his house ministers was Tipparasa, who made a grant in 1497 of a village to the temple of Rāma at Kittur. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 91). In the following year, he made another grant for the merit of his sovereign. (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 74). A dependent of his made a grant to the Ranganātha temple at Haradūrpura in 1500 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 1913). He was apparently a highly influential personage of the times who made grants in the Ramnad District. In one record dated in the *Raudri* year (=A.D. 1500), we have reference to a gift tax-free land in Tipparasapura in Pirānmalai-sīmai by one Eppil-Nāyakar, for the merit of Ayyan-Tipparasa-Ayyan, to three Brāhmans for the recitation of the *Vēdas* in the Mangaināthēsvara temple at Pirānmalai, Tirupattūr Taluk, Rāmnād District. Another record in the same temple, dated in the same year, registers the gift of the village of Vēngikulam *alias* Tipparayapuram in equal shares to five Brāhmans by the same Eppuli-Nāyakar for the merit of Ayyan-Tipparasa-Ayyan. The latter was evidently a Brāhman and the village was in all probability renamed after him by Eppuli-Nāyakar. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. Nos. 207 and 212). A *sandhi* called *Tipparasan-sandhi* was also instituted in the same temple in this minister's name and a piece of tax-free *sarvamānya* land was gifted for maintaining it for ever. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix C. No. 1951). One Mangarasaiyan, described as a Palace accountant, also figures in certain records of the period. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 78; Appendix C. No, 84, undated). Apparently he was an officer of the king deputed on royal duty now and again. Annama or Annamarasa-Nāyakar was another well-known minister of the period. He was apparently attached to the king, for we find him making a grant that he "might rule the earth." (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 122, dated in 1502 A.D.). He is referred to in certain records of Sāluva-Narasimha I as his *avasaram* or agent. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. Nos. 4 and 53 dated in 1466 and 1471 A.D.). Eramanchi-Tulukkana-Nāyakar appears in several grants, all of them dated in *Saka* 1426 (or A.D. 1504), in which he omits the king's name. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 118, No. 98). These two records speak of him as the chief who inspired fear in the Chēra, Chōla, Pāndya and Vallāla kings, who established the Yādavarāya, who was the enemy of Sāmbuvarāya and who protected in advance the prestige of the Sultān of Madura. The titles *Nāyakarāchārya*, *Naralōkaganda* and *Vanginārāyana* are given to him. According to another record of the same year (1504 A.D.), he restored the village of Pakkambādi to the temple at Aragalur of which it was a *dēvadāna*, but which had been subjected to the *Rājāgram-Kānikkai*. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. Nos. 412 and 420). As his father Timmappa-Nāyaka also receives the titles above mentioned, it is possible he had earned them by taking part in the fight against *Vēngi* (Kalinga) king in the earlier part of the reign of Mallikārjuna. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has identified him with the Eramanchi-Timmappa-Nāyaka mentioned in the *Kōyilōlugu* as the person from whom one Uttamanambi obtained for the Srīrangam temple the grant of twenty villages. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 28, quoting *I.A.* XL. 142). Apparently he was a popular chief as we find his immediate subordinates making a grant for his health. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 28; Appendix B. No. 420.)

Kalasa was under Bhayirarasa Vodeyar, who, in a number of records, acknowledges the suzerainty of Sāluva-Narasimha II. (*E.C.* V, Mudgere 50, 54 and 56 dated in 1492 and 1493 A.D.).

As a donor of gifts.

Apparently Sāluva-Narasimha II was a great friend of the learned Brāhmans. His gifts to them were many and frequent. It is mentioned in some of his records that he was daily making the sixteen great gifts. (See Chākēnahalli plates quoted above). The Dēvulapalli grants ask "what is there that could not be made a gift of by the donor of a full *Visvachakra* and *Brahmānda*, which are two of the sixteen great gifts (*mahādāna*)?" (See *E.I.* VII, 84, *f.n.* 12). Gundlupet 67, dated in 1504-5 A.D., bestows high praise on him as a donor of gifts. He is there described as having been "born for the bestowal of all the great gifts, exceeding in fame Sagara, Nala, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dundumara, Māndhatri and other celebrated kings of old," and he is said to have made, among other gifts, the *Mahābhūtaghata* gift in the presence of the god Ranganātha at the confluence of the two Cauverys (see *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67) to a learned Brāhman well versed in the six *Darsanas*, whom he honoured with office of *Āchārya*. His Chākēnahalli grant shows that he donated with discrimination. It states that, "as desired" by him, forty Brāhmans well versed in *Mīmāmsa*, *Nyāya*, the *Rigvēda*, the *Yāgas*, the *Sāma*, the *Purānas*, the *Smritis*, the *Tantras* and the *Mantras*, observers of rituals and other religious customs and ceremonies, were brought to his presence (at Vijayanagar) and the person who brought them, one Nāganāyaka, who was, it is said, "the essence of music, the life of literary taste, a mass of good conduct," etc., certifies that they "deserved" the king's proffered gift of an *agrahāra*. Nāganāyaka was evidently a generous and public spirited man of the times, "ever ready to serve gods and Brāhmans and to restore ruined tanks" and "a lion in valour" and "an Arjuna in winning victories." The tank at the place donated was, it is said, built by Nāganāyaka to the "order" of the king from the money "provided" by him. Narasimha was evidently brought up in the school of his father, who was noted for his public charities. The title or surname of *Dharmarāya* by which he was widely known, both according to Nuniz who gives the name as *Tamarao*, which appears to be a corrupted form of the title, and the inscriptions of the period, means literally "Lord of Donors," which might have been given to him because of his generosity. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 68; Appendix B. No. 89; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 54). Immadi-Narasimha apparently was no believer in "the evident insanity to live in penury in order that you may die rich."

Personal appearance.

Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya II was, according to his Dēvulapalli grant, both literally and in fact, the double of his father. He probably bore a striking personal resemblance to his father as did Dēva-Rāya I to his father Harihara II. The Dēvulapalli plates, indeed, declare that he so far excelled even his father, who was himself so noble in generosity, valour and other innumerable good qualities, that his name Immadi-Narasimha (Narasimha II) was literally true.

Domestic life.

Narasimha-Rāya II appears to have left at least two sons Narasimha-Rāja and Dēvappa. Narasimha-Rāja is mentioned in a record found on a rock at Elamburgi in the Bowringpet *hobli*, dated in Saka 1478, Cyclic year *Vijaya*, which do not agree. Taking the Cyclic year as the year intended, the date mentioned would fall in 1533 A.D. This would take us into the reign of Achyuta-Rāya, the successor of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which is not an impossible date for him. The Narasimha mentioned in this record is described to be the grandson (*pautra*) of Sāluva-Narasimharāja (I) which name appears in the corrupt form *Sālasajivamahārāja*. Narasimha-Rāja probably bore rule over a petty tract of country in the Mulbāgal province, which, as we know, was one with which Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I was closely connected for many years. (*M.A.R.* 1923, Page 9, Inscription No. 9). Dēvappa, the other son of Narasimha-Rāya II, is mentioned in a couple of inscriptions dated in 1493 A.D. found at Gaudragollipura in Honnavara *hobli*, Dodballapur Taluk. He is described as ruling over the Tippur-Sīme "as a secure kingdom." (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 42 and 45). He made a grant to god Vīrabhadra of the Channapatna market in 1494 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 26, in which he is described as a Mahāmandalēsvara). A much defaced inscription found at Kālāpura, Kallamballi *hobli*, Sira Taluk, Tumkur District, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1495 A.D. (its date being not clearly visible), seems to refer to a third son of Immadi-Narasimha (II). He is referred to as Srīman-Mahāmandalēsvara Srī Vīra-Chikka-Vodeyar. He was apparently in charge of a part of the Sira country and is said to have built a tank and made a grant of land for its maintenance. (See *E.C.* XII, Sira 103). An inscription dated in *Saka* 1428, Kshaya (Srāvana *su.* 5) corresponding to August 1506 A.D., gives him the full imperial titles of "Srīmad-rājādhirāja-rājaparamēsvara-gajabēntekara . . . .

Mahāmandalēsvara Srī-Vīrapratāpa Srī-Vīra-Chikka-Rāya Odeyaru and states that Magani-sīme was attached to this treasury. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 39). The Revolution of Narasa-Nāyaka and his undoubted influence should have put an end to any ambitions on the part of these sons of Narasimha-Rāya II.

His death, 1506 A.D.

It may be now taken as settled that Sāluva-Narasimha II died in or about the beginning of 1506 A.D. Not only no inscriptions of his dated beyond that year have been found but also there is a record dated in that year which registers a grant for himself and Narasinga (*i.e.*, Narasana-Nāyaka), doubtless his chief minister, who were both dead at the time, for his spiritual merit or rather salvation (*uttamāgabēkondu*). (*E.C.* X, Mulbāgal 242). The date of this record is, so far as it could be made out, *Saka* 1427, Krōdhana year, dated in which very year we have two other records of Sāluva-Narasimha II. (See *Table of Inscriptions* of Sāluva-Narasimha II *ante*). The latest of these is dated in the month of *Kumbha*, bright fortnight, dvādasi, Thursday, Paurnima. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. B. No. 330 of 1921). On this day, Narasimha II visited the Tirukōilyūr temple and made a grant to it. The equivalent of this date is A.D. 1506, February 5. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. E. Page 88, No. 330 of 1921). It would seem to follow from this that the Mulbāgal record (No. 242) may be later in date than this one and that Narasimha II might have died sometime later than 5th February 1506 A.D. This is confirmed by the record registered as *E.C.* III, Malvalli 95, which is dated in 1506 A.D., (*Saka* 1428, Cyclic year Kshaya (expired), which is the year following Krōdhana.) The astronomical details fixing the date of the grant are lacking and the wording seems to indicate that Immadi-Narasimha (II) should have been recently dead at the time of the actual recording of this grant. Very similar in terms is another record which is registered by Mr. Rice as (*E.C.* VIII) Nagar 73, which mentions two dates. It states that "at the time when Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Vīra-Pratāpa-Narasinga-Mahārāya" was ruling the country in the presence of god Virūpāksha (*i.e.*, at Vijayanagar) and was protecting the kingdom in righteousness, he favoured Nāgarasanna-Nāyaka and another (probably Sōmanna) Nāyaka, with the governorship of the province of Āraga. This appointment was apparently made in *Saka* 1424 corresponding to Rudhirōdgāri. From what follows, it would seem that the king (Narasimha II) had evidently ordered these two provincial officers to make a grant of Malavur (present Malur in Nagar Taluk) to certain Brāhmans as an *agrahāra*. These two officers appear to have made the actual gift in the year Prajōtpatti (the *Saka* year is not mentioned though it should have been 1431, corresponding to 1510 A.D.). The record is in parts not decipherable but from the mention made in its latter portion, it would seem as though these two dignitaries mention the fact that the grant was made in accordance with the orders of both "Narasinga-Rāyaru (*i.e.*, Immadi-Narasimha II, the then ruling sovereign) and Narasana-Nāyakaru (*i.e.*, his chief minister)," both of whom however should have been long dead at the time the grant was made. This is the reason, perhaps, why the record starts with recalling the time when Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara-Vīrapratāpa-Narasinga-Mahārāya was ruling in the kingdom, etc., and then mentioning the gift made. In this view of the matter, the second of the two dates given in the inscription is not in conflict with the specific suggestion made in Mulbāgal 242 that Sāluva-Narasimha II had died in or about the commencement of 1506 A.D. This is entirely in accordance with the records of Sāluva-Narasimha II so far found, which do not go beyond the year 1505 A.D. (*Saka* 1427, Cyclic year Krōdhana).

Mr. Rice's interpretation of this record (Nagar 73) suggesting that the grant mentioned in it was made by the Āraga governors "with the approval of Narasinga-Rāya and Narasana-Nāyaka-Rāya" is not only not covered by its text, but also would suggest their existence at the time mentioned in it (*i.e.*, 1510 A.D.) which carries us into the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Confirmation comes from another source that Sāluva-Narasimha II could not have lived very much beyond the year 1505 A.D. The Rāmachandrapūr copper-plate grant, dated in *Saka* 1428 (Cyclic year Kshaya, Pushya *ma*, Monday), which records a grant by Vīra-Narasimha, son of Narasa-Nāyak, the general of Immadi-Narasimha II, is perhaps the earliest of his grants known. Vīra-Narasimha is referred to in it, as seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagar and ruling the kingdom. The date of this grant would correspond to a day in January-February 1506 A.D. This was evidently his first grant after he ascended the throne, made almost immediately after his assumption of royal powers; which should have occurred about the middle of February 1506 A.D. This inference is supported by another lithic record dated in the same Kshaya year (Srāvana *Su.* 5 which would fall in August 1506) when Chikka-Rāya, one of the sons of Immadi-Narasimha II, is said to have been ruling a part of the Kankanhalli country in the present Bangalore District. (See under *Domestic Life*).

The death of Immadi-Narasimha in 1506 A.D. ended the rule of the Sāluva Dynasty. Though it lasted but a nominal period of twenty years (1486 to 1506 A.D.), it was, under Sāluva Narasimha I, assisted by his able Generals Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka, helpful in keeping up the Empire in the face of the Muhammadan invaders from the north. Narasimha II continued the traditions of his father, at first under Narasimha-Nāyaka, who was virtually Regent of the State, and after his death apparently by himself, though probably with the aid of Vīra-Narasimha, the elder son of Narasimha-Nāyaka. This brings us to the achievements of the Tuluva Dynasty, of which Narasana-Nāyaka was the founder, and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the greatest representative.

Later Sāluvas

Mr. Rice has remarked that despite their late usurpation the Sāluvas appear to have been in favour with the Vijayanagar Kings of the Tuluva Dynasty. He states that Sāluva-Timmarasa was a distinguished minister under Krishṅa-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 195)and that in 1513 A.D., his younger brother Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja was appointed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the Terakanāmbi country, taken from the Ummattūr chiefs. Sāluva-Timmarasa is no doubt mentioned in records dated in 1519, 1521 and 1523, as the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* III, T-Narsipur 73, 42 and *E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 99). (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 153). But he and his brothers were Brāhmans and were called Sāluva by courtesy, as they were connected with Sāluva-Narasimha I and probably his son also. (See under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya* below). From 1520 to 1527, we have Kathāri-Sāluva Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka as the chief minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. He is described in other records as the right hand of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 48 and Heggaddevankote 78 and 90); and in another record of about 1530 A.D., he is called as king Sāluva-Krishna-Dēva-nripati, and described as the sister's son of Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46).

Sāluvas of Sangītapura.

Contemporaneously with the Sāluva Kings of Vijayanagar, there ruled at Sangītapura (Sanskrit for Hadarvalli), situated in the Tuluva-Dēsa (South Canara), a line of chiefs who styled themselves as Sāluvas. Their exact relationship to the Sāluvas of Vijayanagar is not yet known. The Sangītapura chiefs were Jains by faith and belonged to the Kāsyapa-Gōtra, while Narasimha I and his ancestors were Saivas though Narasimha showed strong Vaishnavite leanings, (see *ante*), so much so that they are described as disciples of the Vaishnava teacher Tātāchārya. (*E.C.* IX, 330, *f.n.* 8). Certain inscriptions which have been found in the Sagar and Nagar Taluks of the Shimoga District furnish the names of kings who ruled over the country round Sangītapura. We have first Indra, then his son Sangi-Rāja, and then the latter's sons Sāluvēndra and Indigarasa, or Immadi-Sāluvēndra. They appear to have ruled between 1488 to 1498 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 163 and 164). Then we have Sāluva-Malli-Rāya, Dēva-Rāya, and Krishna-Dēva, down to about 1530 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46). In the reign of Malli-Rāya there lived a great Jain disputant and scholar named Vidyānanda, who, among other successes, achieved the one destroying the agent (*kārya*) of the Frankish (or European) faith at Srīranganagar (identified by Mr. Rice with Seringapatam). The reference may be to the representative of the Catholic mission stationed at the place. He is also said to have been honoured by the Vijayanagar King Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, at whose Court he is said to have wiped out the professors of other creeds. He is said to have been the author of *Būdhēsabhavāna-vyākhyāna* (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46, assigned to about 1530 A.D.). In about 1560 A.D., the residence of this line of Kings seems to have been at Ksheinapura or Gerasoppe, after which the famous falls take their name. In a record, of about 1560 A.D., mention is made of King Bhairava, whose younger brothers were Bhairava, Amba and Sālva-Malla, who, though the last, was the greatest. His sister's son (they appear to have followed the *Aliya santāna* law of the West Coast) was Dēva-Rāya, whose sister's sons, Sālva-Malla and Bhairava, were his Yuvarājas. Dēva-Rāya is described as ruling over the Tulu Konkana, Haiva and other countries. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 55). The Sālva-Malla mentioned in the Mudabidare inscriptions (see *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 166, *f.n.* 7) has probably to be identified with Sālva-Malla, the brother of Bhairava above named, and his (Sālva-Malla's) nephew Sālva-Dēva therein mentioned with the Dēva-Rāya also mentioned above. Channa-Dēvi of Bhatkal, who was a feudatory of Sadāsiva, the Vijayanagar King, was perhaps, as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, a later member of the same family. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, p. 166, *f.n.* 7).

THE THIRD (OR TULUVA) DYNASTY.

The Third (or Tuluva) Dynasty, 1499-1570 A.D.

Distinguished from the Sāluva Dynasty.

The Third (or Tuluva) Dynasty of Kings has been for long confounded with the second (or Sāluva) dynasty of Kings. Neither Mr. Rice nor Mr. Sewell distinguishes between these two different dynasties. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Chapter V, 106 *et seq*, and Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 117-118). Mr. Sewell, indeed, does not recognize Immadi-Narasimha as having ruled at all, though, as we have seen above, he did, as testified to by numerous inscriptions of his reign. Even later writers, like Mr. Krishna Sāstri (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 164 *et seq*), treat the Sāluva and Tuluva as one branch and call it the "Second Vijayanagar Dynasty," which seems wholly unnecessary both from the point of view of accuracy and convenience. But recent research has made it possible to differentiate between the Kings of these two Dynasties, with the result that much of the history of the periods to which they respectively belonged has been classified to a large extent. While the second dynasty was connected by marriage with the first, the third does not appear to have been *directly* related to the second in any manner. Neither literary records nor inscriptions show that they were related to each other. On the other hand, their genealogies set out in their respective records show they were descended from different progenitors and belonged to different families, though both of them claimed to be Yādavas. The fact that Īsvara and his son Narasana-Nāyaka closely identified themselves with the kings of the Sāluva line and often adopted the very same family titles has created the belief that they belonged to one and the same family. Thus in a record dated in 1502 A.D., which comes from the North Kanara District, Narasana-Nāyaka is described as *Mēdini-Mīsara Gandakattāri Trinētra Sāluva.* (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 195 dated 1513 A.D. and *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A No. 32). This has given rise to the supposition that Timma of the Tuluva Dynasty (see *Pedigree* at the end of this section) is identical with Timma the elder brother of Sāluva-Narasimha I. But as has been apparently remarked by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, there is no evidence to show that Timma was "adopted by a chief of the Tuluva line." (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 166 *f.n.* 1). The confusion has been worse confounded by the first two kings of the Tuluva line (Narasa, Narasana or Narasimha and his son Vīra-Narasimha) bearing the same name as the two kings that formed the Sāluva Dynasty (Sāluva-Narasimha I and Immadi-Narasimha). It is, however, clear from contemporary records and literature that these two sets of rulers belonged to different families and that they were entirely distinct from each other. As already suggested, these four kings may be thus distinguished :—Sāluva-Narasimha I, Immadi-Narasimha (or Sāluva-Narasimha II), Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka and Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya.

Narasana-Nāyaka, Narasa, or Narasimha, or Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya I, 1497-1503 A.D.

Narasana-Nāyaka, as we have seen above, made himself all powerful in the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II, and eventually usurped the kingdom. He is also known, in inscriptional records and in literature, as Narasimha or Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya. He may be called

Vīra-Narasimha I. As he is mentioned as Timma-bhūpati in the Unamanjēri plates of Achyuta-Rāya, he may have been a local chief of some importance. (*E.I.* III. 151). To his ancestry we have many references. Timma, his grand-father, was evidently the progenitor of the family. (See *Pedigree* at the end of this section). He is spoken of as the most famous of the chiefs of Tuluva. His son by Dēvaki was Īsvara, who was the general of Sāluva-Narasimha I. He is mentioned as his *dalavāyi* (Commander-in-chief) in a record of the latter king dated in 1478 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 49; App. B. No. 408; see also *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 32). His services to Narasimha I have been mentioned above. He was, as we have seen, the conqueror of many places including Udayagiri and drove the Muhammadans off Kandukur. (See above). His fame for liberality was, it would seem, "known from the Sētu (Rāmēsvaram) to Himāchala (Himālayas), from the eastern to the western ocean." His exploits are detailed at length in the *Varāhapurānamu* and *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, the former dedicated to his son Narasa and the latter to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his grandson. (See above). They are also set out at length in the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* by the poetess Tirumalāmba, who wrote in Krishna-Rāya's reign. His son by Bukkamāmba was Narasa or Narasana-Nāyaka. When exactly Īsvara died and when his son Narasa came to his place as Commander-in-chief is not known. An inscription dated in 1478 (Cyclic year *Vilambi*) refers to him. (See above). Another record dated in 1482 A.D. (Cyclic year *Plava*) mentions Narasa-Nāyaka, his son. Probably Īsvara died making room for his son to succeed him sometime between 1478 and 1479 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 49; App. B. Nos. 408 and 450). Narasa's regency and practical usurpation of the kingdom have been narrated above. (See under Sāluva-Narasimha II). Numerous records mentioning him or his gifts will be found collected together in the table of inscriptions included in the account of the reign of Sāluva-Narasimha II. Some of these refer to his military exploits and conquests. He is spoken of in some of these as having quickly bridged the Cauvery though it was in full flood, crossed over it, and straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy. Then taking possession of Seringapatam, he is said to have made it his own abode. He is also said to have brought Tanjore under his power and set up a pillar of fame, his heroic deeds being praised in the three worlds which are described as "the palace of his glory." It is, besides, narrated of him that he conquered the Chēra, Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the lord of Madura, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati and other kings. He is further said to have imposed his commands upon all kings from the banks of the Ganges to Lanka, and from the eastern to the western mountains. He is also said to have bestowed "the sixteen great gifts" from time to time in Rāmēsvara and other holy places. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, Shimoga copper-plates of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya dated in 1513 A.D., whose description agrees with that contained in the Hampe inscription noticed by Dr. Hultzsch in *E.I.* I, 367; similar descriptions occur in the two Kudli Kallu-matha copper-plate grants, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 84 and 85 both dated in 1527 A.D.). The order of his conquests seems to be indicated in the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam.* This poem states that Narasa went to Vidyāpuri (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar) and from there spread his fame in all directions. First he marched to the east (*i.e.*, the campaign against the Bijāpur Sultān and the Orissan king Kapilēsvara); then marched south and marched with his army along the sea-coast. He crossed the Tundira country and approached the territory of the Chōla chief, who had proved recalcitrant. He was evidently in charge of the country round about Tanjore, the old Chōla capital. Crossing the Cauvery, Narasa awaited the advance of the enemy. The Chōla chief refusing a friendly settlement, gave battle. A severe fight ensued, in which the chief was taken prisoner by Narasa. The enemy's capital was entered. This should be Tanjore (Tianchyam), which is one of the cities stated to have been captured by Narasa in the copper-plate grants above referred to. The Chōla chief apparently escaped and fled to the sea-coast leaving all his wealth and people behind him. It might be added that in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, it is stated that the Chōla chief was killed by Narasa, which probably is the correct version, as we do not hear any more of him. Narasa then entered Madura, where he was presented by its sovereign with valuable presents. This, however, is not the version given in the copper-plate grants of his successors and in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*. As we have seen, according to the latter, he captured Madur after killing in battle its Marava ruler. The copper-plat records state that he captured the Pāndyan kin Mānabhūsha. (See above). The *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* also states that he defeated a Kōnētirāja, wh opposed him with his elephant hordes. He has be identified, with some degree of probability, with th Mahāmandalēsvara Kōnēri-dēva-Mahārāja, lord Kānchipura, mentioned in a record dated in A.D. 1490 which comes from the Nāgēsvara temple at Kumbakōna (*M.E.R.* 1911, No. 259). He was apparently a Ch feudatory, who probably put up a fight in favour of chief during the war. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 2 see also *Sources*, 171 *f.n.*). From Madura, Narasa said to have proceeded to Rāmēsvaram across the s While here, he made the many gifts already mentione From there, he marched to Seringapatam on th Cauvery. The chief surrendered and was, we are tol restored to his position by Narasa. (See above). Thenc Narasa advanced on Tumakur, probably Tumkur, ar

Tarasangi. He next visited the sacred shrine of Gōkarna on the West Coast and performed the *tulāpurusha* and other gifts. He then turned his attention to the north, where the Suratrāna (Sultān), perhaps Ādil Shāh, had garrisoned the fort Mānavadunga (Manuva or Manve) in Haiderabad (Deccan). Narasa is said to have defeated the Sultān and to have generously restored the city back to its ruler as soon as he submitted. After this, Narasa returned to the capital. (See *Sources*, 170-1). Dr. Hultzsch has expressed the doubt whether these exploits are rightly attributed to Narasa. (*E.I.* I, 362). It will be remembered that the exploit of crossing the Cauvery while high in flood has been set down to Sangama, the progenitor of the First Vijayanagar dynasty. Though this might be held to be a repetition from what has been called an "office copy" as it is doubtful if Sangama actually ruled (see above under *Sangama*), there can be no doubt that the exploit was actually Narasa's. It should have occurred early in his career, when he was still serving as one of the generals of Sāluva-Narasimha I. The many inscriptions of Narasa found in the Mysore District show that he was closely connected with it. Who the enemy at Seringapatam was whom he, under such extraordinary circumstances, at the time of high flood, had to fight and take captive, is not mentioned. Another peculiarity is that this exploit is mentioned in the records of his son Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and not in his own, though, as we have seen above, there are a great many of his found in the Mysore State itself. All the same, there is no reason why we should doubt the correctness of the statement, which is confirmed by the Telugu work *Pārijātapaharanamu* and the *Varadāmbika-parinayam*. The former work states that he exhibited his skill) in swordsmanship to the Heuna (the original as Heyanēndra) ruler of Seringapatam. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 106-107). Among Narasa's other exploits mentioned in the records quoted above, the fight against the brave Turushka, the Gajapati and other kings, is, perhaps, a reference to the part he took in the campaigns of his father Īsvara against Muhammadans at Kandakur and with Sāluva-Narasimha I at Rajahmundry and against the Orissan king Kapilēsvara. The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* states that he invaded the town of Vidyāpura (identified with Bijāpur) and captured it and the fortresses of Mānavadurga (Maṅvi). The latter conquest is also mentioned by the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam.* (I. 29). In the battle that ensued at Mānavadurga, he is credited with the killing of the Muhammadan ruler of the place. (See *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, *Sources*, 107). Probably, he was its military governor and was in charge of its defence. Among those who helped Narasa in his contests against the Muhammadans was Srīrangarāja, father of Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, who became the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and a member of the Fourth (or Āravīdu) Dynasty of kings. (See below). His success against Mānabhūsha, the proud lord of Madura, as he is called in the copper-plate grants quoted above, is probably a reference to his fight against some Pāndyan king. Mānabhūsha has been identified with Mānakavacha, otherwise known as Arikēsari Parākrama-Pāndya, who ruled from 1422 to 1464 A.D. (*E.I.* IX, 330). Mr. Krishna Sāstri has, however, suggested his identity with Mānābharana, who was an earlier member of the family to which Mānakavacha belonged. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, p. 270, *f.n.* 4). The Pāndyan country was, as we have seen above, actually a province of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the time of Immadi-Narasimha (II). The latter's inscriptions show that he and his regent were actually supreme over every part of the Chōla country. The statement about Ceylon may also be correct, as the northern portion of the island was included in the lordship of the Southern Ocean. (See *ante*).

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Nuniz also testifies to the fact that Narasa "made war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 310). His bestowing of the sixteen great gifts at Rāmēsvaram is confirmed by the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* also. (See *Sources*, 107). There can be hardly any doubt that as a general, he should have greatly distinguished himself and as a donor of gifts, he should have been as great as his father and his sovereigns Sāluva-Narasimha and his son Immadi-Narasimha.

His usurpation of the kingdom *Circa* 1499 A.D.

Whether the story of his usurpation of the kingdom as told by Nuniz is true or not, there is reason to believe that he was virtually its ruler during the greater part of Immadi-Narasimha's rule. As we have seen, he was his *Kārya-karta* or Regent. There is no indication in the inscriptional records of his time that he ever ascended the throne, though the Nagaragere copper-plates, dated in 1505 A.D., in the period of his son, say that he ruled from Vijayanagar "seated on the jewel throne." (The actual words used are "*Vidyāranya-kritē pūrvam-Srīvidyānagarī-varē ratna-simhāsanāsine rājyam samyag apālayat*"). (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77). Similarly, the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* states in so many words that he did ascend the throne. (The actual words used by it are *Vādu .... Vijayanagara bhadrasimhāsanasnudu*). It also styles him *Narasabhūmīsvara, i.e.*, king Narasa. (See *Sources*, 107). Probably these phrases ought, in the light of the evidence afforded by contemporary inscriptions, to be treated as the conventional descriptions of his *de facto* position as Regent of the Empire during the period of Immadi-Narasimha's rule. It is also as well to remember that the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* was written in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, some thirty years after Narasa's death, during the height of Krishna-Rāya's exceptionally prosperous rule.

Character of his rule.

Narasa was evidently a vigorous, energetic and ambitious general. Fond of the battle, he was probably fonder still of the kingdom over which he was practically sovereign. By his strong and unbending rule, feudatories had been kept in awe and foreign enemies at bay. We hear of no attempt at foreign aggression during the period he was in charge of the kingdom as Mahāpradhāni of Immadi-Narasimha. His reputation stood so high with them indeed, according to the *Varāhapurānamu*, that his greatness was praised by the Bidar and Bijāpur kings. (*Sources*, 89-90). He was evidently an enlightened man of action.

As a patron of letters.

He was apparently a great donor and a patron of learning and literary men. Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya, two Telugu poets, dedicated their work *Varāhapurānamu* to him. They state in this poem that two other poems (*Varalakshmīpurānamu* and *Narasimhapurānamu*) were also dedicated to him. Wilson, however, is wrong in making him the king to whom Bhattu Mūrti, the Telugu poet, dedicated his *Narasa-Bhūpālīyamu*, a work on rhetoric and prosody. (*Mackenzie Collection*, 301). The Narasa to whom this work was dedicated was quite a different person. He belonged to the Pochirāja family and was the son of Ōba-rāja, who married Lakkamāmba of the Āravīdu dynasty. (See *Sources*, 224-225).

Domestic life.

Narasa had at least three wives by each of whom he had issues. The first of these was Tippāmba or Tippāji, by whom he had a son named Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya; by his second wife Nāgalā-Dēvi, he had a son named Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who became afterwards the greatest of his dynasty; and by his third wife Obambika, daughter of the Rāchirāja (see *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* in *Sources*, 172), he had two sons Achyuta-Rāya and Ranga, of whom the former succeeded Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and Ranga's son was Sadāsiva-Rāya, during whose rule the kingdom began to decline. These four sons are known from inscriptions of the period. The story of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya being an illegitimate son of Narasa, by Nāgalā-Dēvi, who was an attendant or friend of the queen, is referred to below. Nuniz, however, mentions the names of five of his sons (*A Forgotten Empire*, 314) of whom *Basbabrao* or *Bhujabalarāya*, has been (correctly) identified with Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya, who bore the title of *Bhujabalarāya*, borrowed apparently from the Sāluva line of kings, (see above), another *Krismarão*, which seems evidently a corruption of the name Krishna-Rāya; and then come *Tētarao*, *Ramygupa* and *Ouamysyuaya*. Of these three names, *Tētarao* seems the Portuguese form of *Achyuta-Rāya* and *Ramygupa* for *Ranga*, his brother. The name *Achyuta-Rāya* would be pronounced *Chyuta-rāy* and thus might have been transferred into *Tētarao*, where the first syllable *Te* seems a copyists' error for *Chyat*. As regards *Ramygupa*, it is plainly *Rangappa* written phonetically in Telugu as *Ramgappa*, which would become disguised *Ram(y)gupa*. Finally, as to the name *Ouamysyuaya*, there seems little doubt that its last part *syuya*, is the Portuguese form of Siva; if so, the whole name (*Asiva* is the nearest English form for the Portuguese) should be held to be a highly corrupt transformation of *Sadāsiva*, the son of Ranga and the grandson of Narasa, who should have been reckoned a son as he was the grandson by a son, who himself appears to have died early.

Plot to murder Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the second son: the story of Kumāra Dūrjati.

An extraordinary story is told by Venkatārya *alias* Kumāra-Dūrjati, a Telugu poet, who lived at the Court of Chinna-Venkata of the Āravīdu dynasty about a hundred years after Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time, of an attempt made by Narasa, at the instance of his first queen Tippāji, to despatch Krishna-Dēva-Rāya while still a boy. The tale is set out in some detail in Dūrjati's well-known poem *Krishna-Rāya-Vijaya*, sometimes called also as *Krishna-Rāya-Charita*, a name by which it is referred by Wilson (in his *Mackenzie Collection*, 262-268). According to this poet, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the son of Narasa (or Narasimha) by Nāgamāmba, a friend or attendant of the principal queen Tippāmba. The latter, as became a step-mother, grew jealous of Krishna-Dēva's superiority as a boy over her son Vīra-Narasimha, and prevailed on her husband to order Krishna-Dēva to be put to death. The officer to whom this duty was entrusted being reluctant to fulfil it, applied to the Chief Minister, who undertook to secrete the prince till he could be produced with safety, and the king was told that his commands had been obeyed. In his last illness, the king was much afflicted for the death of his son—described in the poem as actually an incarnation of Krishna, the epic hero—on which the minister produced the prince, and Krishna-Dēva was declared his heir and successor. The minister delayed proclaiming him till he had secured the concurrence of the local chiefs and feudatories, which was duly obtained. Vīra-Narasimha, it is added, died of vexation on his brother being acknowledged as king.

The story as told by Nuniz the Portuguese, Chronicler.

This story of Dūrjati is apparently an echo of an attempt that appears to have been made on Krishna-Dēva's life by Vīra-Narasimha about the close of his rule. Nuniz, who wrote within twenty-five years of the alleged attempt, describes after local enquiries made at Vijayanagar, and narrates the following story :—

> Before he died, he sent for Salvatimaya, (Sāluva-Timma) his minister and commanded to be brought to him his (the King's) son, eight years old, and said to Sallvatina that as soon as he was dead he must raise up this son to be king (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom

ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisnarao (Krishna Rāya) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no differences in the kingdom. Salvatina said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Crisnarao, and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade him put out his eyes and made his son king. When he heard this, Crisnarao said that he did not seek to be king, nor to be anything in the kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a *jogi* (ascetic, recluse), and that he should not put his eyes out, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatina, hearing this, and seeing that Crisnarao was a man of over twenty years and therefore more fit to be king, as you will see further on, than the son of Busbalrao, who was only eight years old, commanded to bring a she-goat, and he put out its eyes, and took them to show the King, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as soon as the King was dead, his brother Crisnarao was raised to be the king, whose eyes the late King had ordered to be torn out.

There can be hardly any doubt that both Dūrjati and Nuniz refer to one and the same attempt, with this difference that Dūrjati attributes it to Narasa, the father of Krishna-Dēva, and Nuniz, to Vīra-Narasimha his brother. As between these two authorities, Nuniz has to be preferred, for he wrote after personal inquiries on the spot within about twenty-five years of the incident, whereas Dūrjati wrote nearly a hundred years later at the court of Chinna-Venkata, when people could not have correctly remembered the details as to personalities. This inference is strengthened by certain other considerations. Vīra-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya both appear, in inscriptional records, as simultaneously ruling. There might therefore have been a legitimate fear in Vīra-Narasimha's mind as to the chances of succession of his own minor son whom Nuniz refers to, especially as against so promising a ruler as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It seems, accordingly, likely that he might have encompassed the end of his son's would-be rival. Sāluva-Timma, his minister and subsequently the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as well, was quite equal to the occasion and saved him from an untimely and an unnatural end. It is probably on account of the evil story attaching to his name that Dūrjati himself does not count Vīra-Narasimha, in his poem, as having ruled at all. As Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was co-ruler with him, he omits all mention of him and makes Krishna-Dēva-Rāya directly succeed Narasa, his father. Similarly, the author of *Rāyavāchakamu*, a popular version of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's conquests, omits to count Vīra-Narasimha's reign. The version of Nuniz helps us to rescue the name of Narasa from an infamy that would otherwise have attached to his name.

His titles.

It is a somewhat interesting and notable fact that though he is referred to in many records, Narasa is not given in them any of the imperial titles. The common titles given to him are :—*Nāyaka*, sometimes *Odeya* and occasionally *Nāyaka Odeya*. (See *Table* above). Even the Nāgaragere copper-plates term him "king Narasa" (*Narasāvanipālakah*). These same plates tell us that he won by his valour the title of *Gajapati-rāyebha-gandabhērunda* (*gandabhērunda* to the elephant *gajapati*). It also adds that by conquering the mighty fierce Turushka king in battle, he gained the titles of *dushtarān-mriga-sārdūla* (a tiger to the deers, evil kings), as also other titles. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77, dated in 1505 AD.).

Death of Narasa, 1503 A.D.

Narasa seems to have died in 1503 A.D. He is referred to as still living in a record dated in *Saka* 1424, Durmati, Bhādrapada month. (*M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 31). In another record dated in the same *Saka* year but in the month of *Māgha* (*i.e.*, four months later), Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya is described as ruling from Vijayanagar. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 152). It is probable, therefore, that he died in the latter part of *Saka* 1424 corresponding to A.D. 1502-3. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, P. 171). This suggestion of Mr. Krishna Sāstri is confirmed by a record which comes from Sante-Bachahalli, in the Krishnarajpet Taluk, which directly mentions his death. This is a lithic inscription in front of the Nārāyana temple at the place, dated in *Saka* 1425, Rudhirōdgāri, *Mārgasira ba.* 10 and registers the grant of a village for the daily illuminations and offerings of the god Vīra-Nārāyana at Bachahalli. The donor, one Gōpālarāya Nāyaka, who was evidently a feudatory of Narasa, specifically states that he made the grant at the time Narasanna-Nāyaka died in order that merit might accrue to him. (*Narasanna-Nāyakaru astamānavādāga avarigē dharmav agal endu*, etc.). It is possible, therefore, Narasa died on or about the date of this grant, which corresponds to Christmas Day, 1503 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, 64).

Vīra-Narasimha II, Bhujabala-Rāya, the Busbalarao of Nuniz, 1504-1509 A.D.

Narasa was succeeded in turn by three of his sons, born to him by three different mothers. The first of these was Vīra-Narasimha (II) or Nrisimha, who is also called in a few records as "Bhujabala-Rāya," originally a title assumed by Sāluva-Narasimha I (see *ante*; and *M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 462, dated in 1504 A.D.) and continued to his son. In at least half a dozen records of the latter's son, the title is applied to him. (See *Table* above). Nuniz, indeed, simply calls him *Busbalarao*, which is undoubtedly the Portuguese form of the title. The proposed identification of this name with "Basava-Rāya" has therefore to be given up. (Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, 110, 135). According to Nuniz, "he reigned six years," which seems correct if we take into consideration the fact that Narasa, his father, died in 1503 A.D. and Vīra-Narasimha stepped into his shoes from about 1504 A.D. Inscriptions that might be undoubtedly set down to him range from 1505 A.D. to 1509 A.D., in the latter of which year Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his younger brother, was crowned. At about the close of 1505 A.D., or thereabouts, Immadi-Narasimha died; Vīra-Narasimha's rule should be taken to have actually begun in 1506 A.D., and lasted down to 1509 A.D. From this point of view, he would have ruled in fact only for four years, though, counting from the date of Narasa's death, he would be taken to have been *de facto* ruler, as Narasa had been, for six years, the period mentioned by Nuniz.

Revolt of subordinates and feudatories.

When Narasa died, Sāluva Immadi-Narasimha was still reigning as sovereign but as the latter did not long survive his minister (probably not more than two years) and died about 1506 A.D., Vīra-Narasimha seems to have superseded the sons of Immadi-Narasimha and ascended the throne. When this event actually occurred is not clear. The Nāgaragere plates, dated in 1505 A.D., state that he obtained his father's kingdom while the Rāmachandrapur plates, dated in 1506 A.D., mention his being seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagar and making gifts. In both of these grants, however, the imperial titles are not attributed to him. The first record in which these are given to him is dated in 1508, though he is called still *Mahāmandalēsvara*, but in the Tekal record of the same year, the latter is omitted and the full imperial titles are given. This was apparently the signal for a revolt against the subordinates and feudatories of the kingdom. Nuniz, indeed, states that during his rule, which according to him lasted for six years, "he was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains; who in a short time were destroyed by that King, and their lands taken

Its probable cause and suppression.

and reduced under his rule. During these six years, the King spent, in restoring the country to its former condition, eight million gold *pardaos*." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 314). There could have been hardly any surprise at this universal revolt; for the Sāluva kings had been popular not only with the people but also with their feudatories and subordinates, some of whom had probably been their own nominees. Sāluva-Narasimha II had personally proved himself a highly charitable king, beloved by his subjects, so much so that he had been styled *Dharmarāya*. Even Narasa, strong and powerful as he undoubtedly was, did not openly declare himself king though he exercised royal powers, for fear of popular revolt, because of the favourable impression that Sāluva-Narasimha I had left on the country by his wise and vigorous administration. That was why, as we could well imagine, Narasa never crowned himself but was content to be *de facto* king. What would not have been tolerated in his case would hardly have been countenanced in that of his eldest son Vīra-Narasimha. Hence possibly the revolt of the chiefs and subordinates to which Nuniz refers and which seems to be confirmed by certain inscriptional records of the period. Thus we hear of an expedition led by Vīra-Narasimha (called *Bhujabala-Mahārāya* in the record) into the Tulu country against Immadi-Bhairarasa-Odeyar, governor of Kalasa-Kārakala kingdom, who was apparently one of those who had risen in rebellion. On Vīra-Narasimha encamping on the Bhavana channel of Mangalur (Mangalore), Bhairarasa took to flight and escaped from the country. He then took a vow that "if the army should go back" and he should return in peace to his country, he would repair the temple of Kalasanātha at Kalasa. The invading army retired, evidently without doing any harm to Bhairarasa, and he made good his promise. The record which furnishes us with this information is recorded on a stone in front of the Kalasanātha temple at Kalasa, Mudgere Taluk, Kadur District. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 41). It is dated in 1516 A.D., in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, but it refers to a *past* event, which took place, as it records, in Vīra-Narasimha's reign. (See also *E.I.* IX, 174 and *A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 2). Vīra-Nanjarāja-Udaiyar, the *Mahāmandalēsvara* of Ummattūr, had, as we have seen, already grown impatient of control and had practically declared his permanent conquest (*sthira-rājya*) of Terakanāmbi and the surrounding country. (*M.E.R.* 1908-09, Para 68; Appendix B. 315 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 55; App. B. No. 200 of 1909). He now appears to have given further trouble with the result that Vīra-Narasimha had to lead an unsuccessful expedition against him. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 4, quoting *Kongudēsarājakkal*). We have a glimpse of this in a Malvalli record dated in 1505-1506 A.D., in the reign of Immadi-Narasimha, in which the Mallarāja, son of the *Mahāmandalēsvara* of Ummattūr, is shown as bearing the royal title of *Chikkarāya.* Mr. Krishna Sāstri thinks that he had been "raised" to the position of the crown prince of the Vijayanagar kingdom. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 173, *f.n.* 4). Similarly, other chiefs in the Mysore country showed a spirit of defiance of authority—for example, Mahāmandalēsvara Gōvanna-Odeya, who, in 1504 A.D., styled himself "the conqueror of the three kings," rescuer of the Nīlgiri, and was holding Mudunakote (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 47) and Vīra-Narasimha appears to have proved unequal to the task of putting them down. The military tour undertaken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya soon after his coronation seems to be closely connected with this growth of insubordination on the part of local rulers and governors. The times were opportune for the Orissan king to push southwards as far as Kondavīdu and Udayagiri which were integral parts of the Vijayanagar empire. The fact that Krishna-

Dēva-Rāya had to re-conquer these places shows that they had been lost to the empire during his predecessor's time. The statement of Nuniz that Vīra-Narasimha had to spend eight million gold *pardaos* (*i.e.*, pagodas) to restore peace shows the extent of the rebellion he had to contend against. It does not appear that despite this great expenditure, his efforts proved permanently successful, though it might be, as Nuniz says, he "destroyed" them, and took their "lands." The process of reduction should have taken much time also, though, if we are to believe the Nāgaragere and the Rāmachandrapur grants, dated in 1505 and 1506 A.D., he was already well served by his subordinates, for we are told in this record that the Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and other kings addressed him with such words as "Look on us, great king! Victory! Long life." This description, however, judging from its date and the mention of the Anga, Vanga and Kalinga kings, seems nothing more than a poetical exaggeration of the power wielded by Vīra-Narasimha II. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64).

Table of inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha II.

The inscriptional records of Vīra-Narasimha are not many. The following is a list of those which might of a certainty be attributed to him:—

Authority	Date	Contents
1. *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77. Nāgaragere Copper-plates	*Saka*, Krodhana (1505 A.D.)	States that Vīra-Narasimhēndra obtained his father's kingdom and ruled it to the delight of his subjects according to the *dharma* and made the grant of a village renamed after himself in the Midigesi country included in the Penukonda Province on the occasion of the founding of a temple.
2. *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64. Rāmachandrapur *Math* Copper-plates.	*Saka* 1428, Kshaya (1506 A.D.)	Mentions Vīra-Narasimhēndra as seated on the jewel throne at Vijayanagar and states that by his order Sōmanna-Nāyaka, governor of Āraga, made a grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Authority	Date	Contents
3. *M.E.R.* 1892, Appendix A. No. 343 of 1892. Lithic inscription at Tādpatri, Anantapur District.	*Saka* 1429 (expired) Prabhava (1507 A.D.)	Mentions his minister Sāluva Timma.
4. *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 52. Lithic inscription at Maratihalli.	*Saka* 1429, Prabhava (1507 A.D.)	Mentions Srī-Mahāmandalēsvara Srī-Vīra-pratāpa Vīra-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya. Apparently records a grant in his reign.
5. *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 389 at Produtur, Cuddapah District.	*Saka* 1430, Vibhava (1508 A.D.)	Does not mention the name of the reigning king but records gifts made for the merit of Vīra-Narasimha and his minister Sāluva-Timma by Sāluva-Gōvindarāja, probably the brother of Sāluva-Timma.
6. *E.C.* X, Malur 6. Lithic inscription at Tekal, Kolar District.	*Saka* 1430, *Sukla* (1508 A.D.)	Incomplete. Evidently records a grant when Mahārājādhirāja rāja-paramēsvara pūrva-dakshina-paschima-samudrādhipati Srī-Vīra-pratāpa-Vīra-Narasimha-rāya Mahārāya was ruling the kingdom of the world.
7. *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 419 of 1925. Inscription at Chellur near Gudimallam, Chittoor District.	*Saka* 1431, *Vibhava* (1509 A.D.)	Records an irrigation agreement between three villages in the reign of Vīra-Narasingayya-Mahārāya.
8. *M.E.R.* 1893, Appendix A. No. 342 of 1892. Lithic inscription at Tādpatri, Anantapur District.	*Saka* 1431 (expired) *Sukla* (1509 A.D.)	Mentions a grant by his minister Sāluva-Timma, to the Rāmēsvara temple at Tādpatri. Vīra-Narasimha was still ruling at Vijayanagara at the time.
9. *M.E.R.* 1920, No. 601 of 1919. Lithic inscription at Conjeeveram.	*Saka* 1431 (1509 A.D.)	Records a grant for providing offerings to Saint Tirukkachchinambi at Kānchi in the reign of Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Narasingarāya Mahā-raya.
10. *M.E.R.* 1906, No. 501, Lithic inscription at Mopuru, Cuddapah District.	Lost ...	Records the remission of taxation for the merit of Vīra-Narasimha and his minister Sāluva-Timma.
11. *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 56. Lithic inscription at Kanchanahalli, Kankanhalli Tk., Bangalore Distt.	Cyclic year *Srimuka.* (1513 A.D.)	Mentions Srī-Vīra-Narasimha Vodeyar's reign and registers the grant of a village.
12. *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 41. Lithic inscription at Kalasa, Kadur District.	*Saka* 1438, *Dhātu* (1516 A.D.) dated in the reign of Krishna Dēva-Rāya.	Refers to an expedition led into the Tulu country by Vīra-Narasimha (called Bhujabala Mahārāya) against Bhairasa, governor of Kalasa-Kārakala province.

From the above, it will be seen that the records of Vīra-Narasimha II range from 1505 to 1509 A.D., and that he takes the highest imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-paramēsvara dakshina-paschima-samudrādhipati Srī-Vīra-pratāpa Vīra-Narasimha-rāya-Mahārāya* which are attributed in a record dated in 1508 A.D., though in one dated in 1507 he is still styled *Mahāmandalēsvara* coupled with the titles of *Srī-Vīra-pratāpa Vīra-Narasinga-Rāya-Mahārāya*. It seems possible that he actually began his independent rule, superseding the sons of Sāluva-Narasimha II, in or about the year 1506-1507 A.D., which agrees with what might be inferred from the inscriptions of Sāluva-Narasimha II himself. The records, it will be seen, mention Sāluva-Timma as his minister. As we know that the latter was minister of Narasa and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as well, it is clear he was Chief Minister to three kings in succession, Narasa, Vīra-Narasimha and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Sāluva-Gōvindarāja referred to in one of the above records has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, page 172) with *Guandaja* or *Gandaraje* mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Sāluva-Timma and as holding an important position in one of the provinces of the Empire. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 351 and 361, *f.n.* 1).

His personal appearance, gifts, etc.

Vīra-Narasimha II is described as having been "handsome" in appearance and as "equal to his father in liberality." (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64). He is said to have made many gifts "in Kanakasudas, in the temple of Virūpāksha, in the city of Kālāhasti, in Venkatādri, in Kānchi, in Srīsaila, Sōnāsala, Harihara, Ahōbala, Sangama, Srīranga, Kumbagōna, in the great Nanditīrtha, the remover of darkness (or ignorance), in Nivritti, Gōkarna, Rāmasētu and many other sacred places. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64; see also *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77).

Of these places, the first is Chidambaram, the second is at Vijayanagara, the third in North Arcot District, the fourth near Tirupati in the same district, the fifth is Conjeeveram, the sixth is in Kurnool, the seventh is Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District, the eighth is in the North of Mysore, the ninth is Kurnool, the tenth near Raichur, the eleventh near Trichinopoly, the twelth in Tanjore, the thirteenth and the fourteenth in Kurnool District, the fifteenth in North Kanara District, and the sixteenth in the Madura District. (*Ibid*, Translation, Part 155). In this record, the Rāmachandrapur grant, which was one made in favour of Rāghavēsvara-svāmi-Bharati of the Sringēri *Math*, who is described as the expounder of the traditions of the *Mahābhāshya*, we have also a long list of the gifts made by Vīra-Narasimha II, among which are *brahmāndam*, *visva-chakram*, *ghatam*, *udita-mahābhūtakam*, *ratna-dhēnum*, *sāptambōdhi*, *kalpakshītiuhālātikam Kānchanam*, *Kāmadhēnu*, *svarna-kshmāyē-hiranyasvartham*, *tulāpurusham*, *gōsahsram-hēmasvam*, *hēma-garbham*, *kanakakariratham*, *pancha-lāngaly*, etc. (See *E.C.* VIII, Nagar 64; *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 77 dated in 1505 A.D.). These gifts should have cost much and no wonder that Nuniz describes Vīra-Narasimha II as a great spendthrift. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 314).

His death, 1509 A.D.

Vīra-Narasimha II appears to have died at Vijayanagar, of some illness, in 1509 A.D. (See *Chronicle of Fernae Nuniz*, in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 314; also *Table of Inscriptions* above). It was just before his death that he tried, with the aid of his prime minister Sāluva-Timma, to blind Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in order to secure the succession to his own eight year old son. The story of this unsuccessful attempt has been told above, but it may be added that history will adjudge Sāluva-Timma as a just and far-seeing Minister who, by his merciful

His attempt to blind Krishna-Dēva Rāya.

conduct, saved for India one of its greatest rulers. What became of the "eight year old" son of Vīra-Narasimha, there is no means of knowing, as inscriptions do not refer to him.

Character of his rule.

Neither inscriptions nor literary sources testify to the success of Vīra-Narasimha's rule. Weak as a ruler, he was evidently unable to keep the governors in the empire under control. Already unpopular with them, his relations with them should have grown worse as he grew nearer to the close of his reign and endeavoured to put down Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by foul means. His gifts, profuse though they seem to have been, could not have helped to reconcile him to his subjects. He should have, judging from what Nuniz states, not only left an empty treasury to his successor, but also a country seething with discontent.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, 1509-1530 A.D.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next succeeded to the throne. It is possible that he was ruling simultaneously with Vīra-Narasimha II long before his actual coronation. The *Rāya-Vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* do not, for instance, suggest that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya directly succeeded to the throne of his father Narasa, and do not recognise the reign of Vīra-Narasimha II. Since we know from inscriptional records that Vīra-Narasimha II did reign and that before Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was actually *crowned* king, the only manner in which we could reconcile the literary version with facts as ascertained from the inscriptions, is to suggest the simultaneous reign of both during the period covered by the reign of Vīra-Narasimha II. There are a couple of records, dated in 1489 A.D. and 1499 A.D., dated in Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign, one found at Tenāli and another at Mādanūr, both in the present Guntur District, both recording gifts to temples in the name of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Sāluva-Timma, his future minister. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, Ongole 71; *Ins. in Madras Presidency* II, Nos. 389 and 842). These records suggest that he should have been co-ruler with his brother before he himself regularly succeeded him in 1509 A.D. But as the dates (*Saka* and cyclic) mentioned in both of these records do not agree, they need not be considered further here. Though there is a record dated in 1513 A.D. (see *ante* Table of Inscriptions under the reign of Vīra-Narasimha II, No. 11), which would suggest that Vīra-Narasimha II died in that year, it is clear from his own inscriptions and those of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he should have died in or about 1509 A.D. According to Hampi inscription of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his coronation should have taken place on or about the 14th day of the bright fortnight of *Māga* in the cyclic year *Sukla*, in the expired *Saka* year 1430. Unfortunately, the cyclic year *Sukla* does not correspond to *Saka* 1430 expired, but to *Saka* 1431 expired. If the cyclic year be taken to indicate the correct year, then the date corresponds to 23rd or 24th January 1510. However, if the *Saka* year be taken as the correct year, the date of the coronation should have been February 4, 1509, the cyclic year being *Vibhava* and not *Sukla*, as mentioned in the inscription. (*E.I.* I, 370; *I.A.* XXIV, 205; and Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 120). It has been suggested by Mr. Krishna Sastri, that the coronation should have actually taken place sometime between the months of *Vaishākha* and *Kārthīka* of the cyclic year *Sukla*, for the reason that we have an inscription of Vīra-Narasimha indicating that he was still ruling in the month of *Vaishāka* of the *Saka* year 1431, *Sukla*, while a record dated in *Saka* 1431, *Sukla*, but in the month of *Kārthīka*, shows that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was ruling on the throne at Vijayanagar. (*A.S.I.* 1908-1909, Pages 174-175; *M.E.R.* 1906, No. 491). It would seem to follow from this that it is not the exact date of the coronation (*pattābhishēka*) but the date on which the gifts, made on the occasion of the coronation, were actually engraved. In any event, it seems now clear that the coronation did take place between the months *Vaishāka* and *Kārthīka* of the cyclic year *Sukla* (the period of time covered between these two months being just six months) while the recording of the gifts appears to have taken place in the month of *Māga* (the month mentioned in the Hampi record), which is just three months after *Kārthīka*. The coronation ceremony appears to have been an impressive one. According to Kumāra Dhūrjati's *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, the coronation ceremony was attended by all the prominent feudatory chiefs, among whom were the following:—Āravīti-Bukka, the chiefs of Owk, Nandēla, Velgōdu, Budahal (Budēhal), etc. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 129).

Length of his reign.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had an eventful and prosperous rule of nearly 21 years, his contemporary English sovereign being Henry VIII (1509-1547). He died about 1530.

Authorities for the history of his reign.

The primary authorities for his reign are his own inscriptions which are several hundreds in number scattered all over Southern India, including every district within the present limits of the State, and literary works, both written by himself or by contemporary poets. Among the latter, may be mentioned Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu*, a work not mentioned in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, and Timmanna Kavi's Kannada *Bhārata*, all of which works are dedicated to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself. Among the former are *Āmuktha Mālyada* in Telugu and *Jāmbavati Kalyānam* in Sanskrit and there are also minor poems written by minor poets which will be found referred to under the head "*Literary progress*" below. There are also two Telugu works in particular, the *Rāya Vāchakamu*, which professes to be a contemporary work, and Kumāra Dhūrjati's *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, which was written by one Venkata-Rāya, surnamed Kumāra Dhūrjati (the younger Dūrjati), who lived at the court of Chinna Venkata, grandson of Rāma-Rāya, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Chinna Venkata was accordingly a scion of the Āravīdu dynasty and was the younger brother of Pedda Venkata II who ruled about 1634-1636 A.D.

Date of his birth, etc.

The exact date of the birth of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is not known. According to tradition prevalent in the Telugu country, he is said to have been born on Friday, the 12th of dark fortnight of *Pushya*, corresponding to *Saka* 1387. This, as remarked by Mr. Krishna Sastri, is a "very unlikely date," as it would make him about 45 years old when he was crowned. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, page 174, quoting K. Viresalingam Pantulu's *Lives of Telugu Poets*, 170). According to more reliable accounts (see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 158), Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was nearing that age when he died. According to another tradition, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have been born in *Saka* 1409, corresponding to A.D. 1487. This date appears nearer the truth as it is in agreement with the statement of Nuniz who lived at Vijayanagar during the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and wrote from personal knowledge that he was "over twenty years" at the time the unsuccessful attempt on his life was made by his brother Vīra-Narasimha II, which, as we have seen, was towards the close of the latter's reign. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 174 quoting *Lives of Telugu Poets*, 169; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 315). It would seem to follow from this that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya should have been born in or about the year 1487-88 A.D. If so, when he died in 1530, he should have been about 42 years old.

Principal events of his reign.

Both literary works and inscriptions testify in abundant detail to the extensive warfare in which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya engaged during the greater part of his reign. According to Nuniz, one of his first acts on the assumption of sovereignty was to send "without delay" his nephew—son of Vīra-Narasimha II—and his own "three" younger brothers to the fortress of Chandragiri apparently for being confined there. Nuniz also states that his nephew remained there till he died. After doing this "for his own safety," Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, it would seem, stayed in the city of Vijayanagar "for a year and a half without going outside of it, learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings." Among these he is said to have found one of king Narasimha I, in which he had desired that his successors should capture three fortresses which at his death had remained in revolt against him, and which he could not, in his own lifetime, take. These forts were those of Raichur, Mudkal and Udayagiri. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya determined on the conquests of these places. Whether the story of the reading of the testament of Narasimha I is true or not, there can be little doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya determined early in his career to punish, on the one hand, the Orissan king, who had made incursions into the Vijayanagar kingdom and had systematically joined the Muhammadans against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and on the other, to reduce, once and for ever, the northern debatable ground and annex it. Before we take up these conquests, it may be convenient to set down here in chronological order a few other events of no less importance.

Relations with the Portuguese, 1509-1510 A.D.

Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor, sent an embassy to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at the end of the year 1509 A.D. to reduce Calicut by land while he himself would assault it simultaneously by sea. Though

Albuquerque proposed that he would assist Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after the capture of Calicut, against his Muhammadan enemies of the Deccan, and promised to supply horses only to him and not to his enemies, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya thought it politic not to send any answer. Meanwhile, in 1510, Albuquerque captured Goa and made his triumphal entry into it in March 1 of that year. Immediately thereafter, he despatched another embassy to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya requesting him to grant permission to build a fort at Bhatkal for the protection of Portuguese trade. Bhatkal, about this time, was a favourite landing place, the road from it going northwards to Honawar, then inland to Bankāpūr, one of the more famous Hoysala capitals and a great trade centre, and thence to Banavāsi, the great Kadamba capital, in the present Shimoga district, and then, *via* Rānibennur, over the plains to Hospet and Vijayanagar. Though Krishna-Dēva-Rāya received the embassy "solemnly," he did not grant the request, apparently because he did not desire to break out with Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur just then and was perhaps even anxious that the latter should retake Goa, from the Portuguese interlopers. At the same time, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, with a desire to maintaining friendly relations with the Portuguese, sent a message of congratulations to Albuquerque on his capture of Goa. Ādil Shāh, however, re-took Goa, Albuquerque receiving no aid from Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and evacuating the place, after mercilessly murdering the principal Muhammadan inhabitants in it. Ādil Shāh, however, was in November 1510 called off to Bijapur, owing to internal dissensions. Rasul Khān, his deputy at Goa, lost the place to Albuquerque, who re-entered it on December 1st most cruelly putting to the sword 6,000 Muhammadan men, women and children on the occasion. Rasul Khān made a desperate attempt to retake it in 1512, but failed. Immediately the news of the recapture of Goa by the Portuguese reached Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, he sent ambassadors to Albuquerque to congratulate him on the event. He also permitted the Portuguese to build a fort at Bhatkal to protect their trade. It is not clear from the available evidence whether it was not the desire of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to get possession of Goa himself, if circumstances permitted. As will be remembered, Goa was an old Vijayanagar possession and had been lost by it to the Muhammadans in the reign of Mallikārjuna, and Narasimha I had tried to retake it in 1482 A.D., but without success. Since then, successive Vijayanagar kings had had their eye on the place. According to the report of Father Luis, the Portuguese priest who had been sent to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's court, it would seem that the Portuguese had been befriended by one Timōja (probably Timma-Rāja), apparently the Vijayanagar emissary at the place. Father Luis had declared that he could be no friend but a traitor, so far as the Portuguese were concerned, as he had, in conjunction with the chief in Gersoppa, promised Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, that he would take Goa before the Portuguese could fortify their possessions therein, if he sent a fully equipped army to seize the place. The recapture of the place by the Portuguese on December 1, 1510 prevented this design. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, made the best of what he could, of the event. He should have thought little of the Portuguese as a political power, and to kindle their cupidity as traders, while gratifying his own desire to secure horses for his intended conquests, he proposed to his ambassadors that Albuquerque should supply him horses in preference to Ādil Shāh of Bijapur. Albuquerque while pretending to be friendly with the Muhammadans, sent a civil message to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he was more inclined to provide him with cavalry mounts rather than his Muhammadan enemy. In 1514, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made the tempting offer of £20,000 for the exclusive trade to trade in horses and renewed the offer once again a little later. On the first occasion, Albuquerque refused the offer, and on the second, having received a similar offer from Ādil Shāh, he informed Krishna-Dēva-Rāya that he would exclusively supply him with all his horses, if he would pay him 30,000 cruzadoes per annum for the supply and send his own servants to Goa to fetch them. Albuquerque also proposed that he would aid the king in his wars if he was paid his military expenses. At the same time, he wrote to Ādil Shāh promising him the refusal of all his horses, if he would surrender to him in the name of the king of Portugal a portion of the mainland opposite the island of Goa. Before either of these proposals could be settled, Albuquerque died and nothing came of them. It will be seen, however, from the sequel that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya kept up his friendly intercourse with the Portuguese and not only imported horses through their agency, but made use of their engineering and skill in artillery in the development of his civil works and in the conduct of his military warfare.

Chronology of the principal events of his reign.

The chronology of the principal events of the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is not by any means clear. The following may, on a fair consideration of all the known facts, be taken as a near approximation to the actual facts :—

1509 A.D.—His coronation at Vijayanagar. Building of the Ranganātha temple in front of the inner shrine of Virūpāksha temple at Vijayanagar and a *gōpura* there.

1509–11 A.D.—Stays peacefully at Vijayanagar studying the past history of the kingdom. Engaged in settling internal affairs and preparing for the wars that he had fixed his mind on.

1512 A.D.—Reduction of Sivasamudram and Seringapatam.

1512–13 A.D.—First expedition to East Coast against Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa and his Muhammadan allies. Capture of Udayagiri.

1513–14 A.D.—At the end of the Udayagiri Campaign, returns to Vijayanagar and begins building Krishnasvāmi temple. Endows the temple on the consecration of the image in it in 1514 A.D. Begins building the House of Victory, the Hazara Rāmasvāmi and the Vithalasvāmi temples at Vijayanagar.

1514 A.D.—Second expedition to the East Coast. Capture of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunikonda, Tangēdu, Kētavaram and other strongholds.

1515 A.D.—Capture of Kondavīdu and its chief defenders Kēsavapātra and Prince Vīrabhadra, son of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati King of Orissa. Gifts to Amarēsvara temple by the king and his two queens.

1515–16 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appoints Prince Vīrabhadra, governor of Male-Bennur *sīme* in the present Davangere Taluk, Chitaldrug District.

1516-17 A.D.—Third expedition to the East Coast; visits Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District; encamps at Bezwada; remits taxes amounting to 10,000 *varāhas* in favour of Siva and Vishnu temples in the Chōla country. Besieges Kondapalli and reduces it, taking Prahara-sēna-siraschandra-Mahapātra, Bijjali Khān and others; capture of Anantagiri, Urdrakonda, Wilaguda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvayi, Nalagonda, Kambhamettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri and other strongholds—all situate in the present Raichur, Nalgonda and Warrangal districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions; advances on Simhādri (modern Simhāchalam) in the Vizagapatam District and Potnūr (modern Pottunūru in the same District); capture of Potnūr and planting of a pillar of victory there; flight of Pratāpa-Rudra from Potnūr; devastation of Oddadi (or Oriya country); destruction of Katakapuri (modern Cuttack); flight of Pratāpa-Rudra from Katakapuri; gifts to the Simhāchalam temple by himself and his two queens Chinna-dēvi and Tirumala-dēvi; marriage of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to Jaganmōhini, daughter of Pratāpa-Rudra; conclusion of peace; cession of territories north of the Krishna to Pratāpa-Rudra; return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to Vijayanagar.

1517–18 A.D.—Visits on his way back to the capital, to offer worship, the temples of Kālāhasti and Chidambaram at both of which places he ordered the construction of big *gōpuras*, etc. Expedition against "Catiur," on the Coromandel coast, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

1519 A.D.—Gift of villages to Simhāchalam temple made by the Gajapati King in the name of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. These villages had been first obtained by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from King Pratāpa-Rudra, who transferred them to the temple on Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's behalf. Construction of the new town of Nāgalāpuram, modern Hospet.

1520 A.D.—Construction of a big reservoir close to Nāgalāpuram with the aid of the Portuguese Engineer Joao de la Ponte.

1520 A.D.—War against Bijapur Sultān. Siege and battle of Raichur. Annexation of the Raichur Doāb to Vijayanagar. Capture of Kulbarga and reinstatement of deposed Muhammadan prince on the throne.

1524–25 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya crowns Prince Tirumalaiya Dēva, as King (or co-ruler).

1525 A.D.—Prince Tirumalaiya-Dēva's death by poison at the hands of Timmanna-Dannāyaka, son of Sāluva-Timma. Sāluva-Timma, his two sons and his brother Gōvinda cast into prison and blinded. Death of Timmanna-Dannāyaka.

Circa 1525–26 A.D.—Ādil Shāh's attempts to retake Raichur frustrated by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

1529–30 A.D.—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's preparations to take Belgaum. Sends ambassadors to Goa for obtaining help from the Portuguese in this connection.

1530 A.D.—Sudden death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Vijayanagar, while preparing his projected expedition against Belgaum.

Subjugation of Ummattūr Chief, *Circa* 1510—1512 A.D.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's anxiety to secure a steady and constant supply of horses was necessitated by the plans he was maturing, at about this time (December 1510 A.D.), for the conquest of the Orissan king and the Raichur Doāb. As a preliminary to the execution of this plan, he appears to have led an expedition against the Ummattūr chief who had practically asserted his independence. The details pertaining to this warfare are not clear. The Ummattūr chief of the time was Malla-Rāya-Vodeyar, who bore the title *Chikka-Rāya.* How he came to possess this title and on what ground he claimed to possess the title of heir-apparent (*Chikkarāya-patta*) is nowhere indicated. (See *E.C.* III, Malavalli 95). It is possible that he was connected with the family of one of the sons of Mallikārjuna, the last king of the first dynasty who ruled over the Terakanāmbi country (see under *Mallikārjuna*) which the Ummattūr chiefs had subsequently claimed as their own, having established their permanent rule (*sthirarājya*). In an inscription dated 1505 A.D., Chikka-Rāya describes himself as the Imperial Lord (*Chakrēsvara*) of Penukonda. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 67). Such a claim could only have been made by a person who considered himself as a scion of the former ruling family. Chikka-Rāya was established on the island of Sivasamudram at the falls of the Cauvery. It was for this reason that he is referred to in the records of the period as the chief of Sivasamudram or Sivasamudram-*sīme* which included a great part of the present Bangalore District. According to the report furnished by Father Luis to Albuquerque, about December 1510, it is inferable that Chikka-Rāya had rebelled about that time and had seized the city of Penukonda "saying that it belonged to himself by right." It was evidently to put down this rebel that, as Father Luis reported, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya "was getting ready a small, expedition of seven thousand men" against him. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 126). Father Luis added, in his letter, "that after he had taken the rebel, the king would proceed to certain places on the East Coast." This fixes the date of the expedition against Chikka-Rāya and shows that it was undertaken before his invasion of the East Coast country. The Amarāvati Inscription of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is the only record which refers to his conquest of Sivasamudram prior to his capture of Udayagiri, thus confirming Father Luis' statements. There is other confirmatory evidence from foreign travellers and Muhammadan historians as to this fact. (*E.I.* VIII, 17-22). The Telugu poems *Pārijātāpaharanamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* also mention the capture of Sivasamudram, while the *Rāyavāchakamu* also furnishes a few details about it, though Nuniz does not mention it. According to the *Rāyavāchakamu*, the reduction of the Ummattūr chief was the first item in the tour of conquests undertaken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It calls the chief of Sivasamudram as Ganga-Rāya and states that the latter place was taken after a single day's fighting. The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (end of Canto II) adds the interesting information that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya pulled down the walls of Ummattūr and Sivasamudram, its citadel. The *Rāyavāchakamu* states that after the reduction of Sivasamudram and its being garrisoned by his own troops, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya proceeded to Seringapatam from where, after examining the fortifications and worshipping the god there, he marched on towards Ikkēri. What became of Chikka-rāya (? Ganga-Rāya) after the conquest is not known. He probably fell in the war. His son Vīrappa Vodeyar was evidently allowed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to rule over the Seringapatam country, as we have at least three records of his making grants, one of them under the orders of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as chief of Seringapatam. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 10 dated in 1516 and Mysore 5 dated in 1517 A.D.). But certain inscriptional records suggest that the province of Terakanāmbi was from about this time lost to the Ummattur chiefs. One lithic record dated in 1513 A.D. states that the Terakanāmbi country was bestowed on Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāya, brother of Sāluva-Timma, the minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 3). A series of grants by Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāya, dated in

1522 and 1523 A.D., show that he was in charge of the Terakanāmbi province. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 1 and 35 dated in 1522 and Chamrajnagar 99 and 111 dated in 1523 A.D.). There are other grants of his dated in 1519 and 1521. (See *E.C.* III, T.-Narsipur 73 dated in 1519 and 42 dated in 1521). It has to be presumed that, with the defeat of Chikka-Rāya, Penukonda was recovered.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's invasion of Mysore is also referred to in a record from Mēlkōte dated in 1551 A.D. It refers to the invasion as an "avāntara," *i.e.*, a calamity (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, Paras 43-44; 1907-8, Para 68). The Dodda Jātaka plates of Nāgamangala, dated 1512 A.D., record a gift by the king to a learned Brāhman in the person of Gangādhara of Sivaganga of a village called Hiri-Jattiga (modern Dodda-Jātaka, from where the plates come) and four hamlets adjoining, re-naming the village Chinnādēvipura, after Chinnā-Dēvi, one of his favourite queens. The grant was probably made after the conquest of Ummattūr, when the king was present in person in the Hoysala country, where the village granted is described to be situated. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 93). In 1517 A.D., another grant was made by the king, at the capital, in favour of god Gangādhara. (*Ibid*).

About the time the suppression of the political disturbances that gave rise to the invasion against Sivasamudram took place, Dēmarasayya, son of Kondamarasayya, apparently became (or was confirmed) Governor of Penukonda. According to a record dated in 1513 A.D., he was instrumental in getting the taxes on *Dēvadāya* and *Brahmadāya* lands, which had been imposed during the period of political disturbances referred to, abolished. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 30). This shows that this abolition was a political move intended to win over the people. The remission was preceded by a big sacrifice at Penukonda, at which the remission was announced as a gift at the time the final oblation was offered to Agni, the god of fire. (*Ibid*).

Attack on Raichur Fortress, 1512 A.D.

According to Ferishta, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have invaded in 1512 A.D. Ādil Shāh's territory and to have attacked the fortress of Raichur and taken it together with Mudkal. This, however, is not confirmed by Nuniz or by Father Luis who states that, after the reduction of the rebel chief who had seized Penukonda, the king was proceeding on certain places in the East Coast. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, however, suggest that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after the reduction of Sivasamudram, proceeded with his army towards the frontiers of Bijapur and captured a number of places and then advanced against the Orissan king, next proceeded against Ahmednagar and finally against Kulbarga. It is difficult, however, to say whether the order of narration follows the actual order in which the events occurred. If Nuniz is correct that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's first attack on Raichur was made in 1520 A.D., then the statement of Ferishta that there was an earlier attack in 1512 will have to be rejected. It is possible, however, that, as mentioned in the Telugu works above referred to, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya might have on his return journey from the Sivasamudram country taken a few places which lay in the Bijapur territories. These minor conquests might have been included in the narrative by the Telugu authors irrespective of the order in which they were taken.

Ministers, Governors and Generals.

The chief minister of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya practically throughout the whole of his reign was Sāluva-Timma, whom Paes calls *Temerasa* (*i.e.*, Timmarasa) and Nuniz, *Sālvatinica*, *Sallvatina*, *Salvatimya*, etc. His full name appears to have been Sāluva-Timmayya, shortened in inscriptions into Sāluva-Timma. He was called " Sāluva " because he served kings who bore that title, they themselves having taken it over from the kings of the Sāluva Dynasty. The story of how he averted the attempted assassination of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when he was yet an young man has been narrated above. Krishna-Dēva thus virtually owed to him his throne. Paes notes that "he brought up the king and made him king and so the king looks on him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him, he addresses him as 'Lord Salvatinica,' and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him." Because he was treated as "Appa" or "Father," *ji* being a mere honorific termination, he was commonly known in his own time and subsequently to the people as *Appāji*. The many stories of *Rāya* and *Appāji* (see a collection published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) refer to him and the great sovereign whom he served. He was evidently a Minister, head and ears above the contemporaries of his time. His political cunning, his capacity for work and his administrative skill was utilized to the fullest extent by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. A record dated in 1510 calls him "Tantra-Nāyaka" and as skilled in listening to instruction. He was Prime-Minister, Provincial Governor, and military leader. A popular Telugu verse quoted by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri speaks of him thus: The best of Kings, Krishnarāya, called you "Ayya," *i.e.*, "Father," Oh! Timmarasayya! where is your equal? You are (surely) the sugar-cane bowed (god) *i.e.*, Manmatha!" Apparently he was a handsome man, thus uniting good looks with extraordinarily great abilities. So high, indeed, was he considered to be in the estimation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, that in one record he is called Krishna-Dēva's "own body" and styled "Dharanivarāha." (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 183; *M.E.R.* 1897, No. 186.). He was a Brāhman of the Kaundinya *Gōtra* and son of Rāchaya and grandson of Vēmaya, (*E.I.* VI, 234). As will be seen from what follows, he took part in the wars of the reign, accompanying the king and arranging for the administration of the conquered country. He was appointed Governor of Kondavīdu on its reduction and it was administered in his name in succession by his nephews, Nādindla (who were also his sons-in-law,) Appa and Nādindala *Gōpa*. He also put down an attack on Kondavīdu and settled the government of that country.

In a record dated in *Saka* 1443 (or A.D. 1521), he is entitled *Pratāpa*-Sāluva-Timmarasayya. It has been suggested that this title was given to him "on account of his heroic capture of Kondavīdu in *Saka* 1437." (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. 433). As the king was himself in chief command at this seige, it would be more correct to say that this title was given to him for the splendid services he rendered to the king in reducing this fortress.

Gōpa was governor of Gooty and Appa of Sōlur-sīme in the present Mysore State. (*E.I.* VI, 112; *E.C.* IX, Magadi 11 dated in 1520 A.D.). Himself and his nephews were Sanskrit scholars. (See below). The king never did anything—declaring war or making peace—without consulting him. Whether it was the management of the nine days festival at the capital or the reception of the inhabitants of a captured city in the field, Sāluva-Timma had to do the preliminaries and put matters through. He was trusted implicitly by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and so, when he felt such trust had been betrayed in the matter of the poisoning of his little son, Tirumala-Dēva, the king's anger evidently knew no bounds, and he chastised him in a public manner and lodged him and his two sons, Sāluva-Timmanna-Dannāyaka and Gōvinda, in prison. For securing them, he sought the assistance of the Portuguese resident in the capital. According to Nuniz, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in open Court addressed him thus:—

"I held thee always as my great friend, and now for these forty years thou hast been Governor in this Kingdom, which thou gavest me; yet I am under no obligation to thee for that, because in doing so, thou didst act in a way contrary to thy duty. Thou wert bound, since my lord, the king, my brother, commanded so, to put out mine eyes; yet thou didst not carry out his will nor obey him, but instead thou didst cheat him and the eyes of a goat were put out, wherefore since thou didst not fulfil his command, thou wert a traitor, and thy sons with thee, for whom I have done so much. Now I have learnt that my son died of poison given to him by thee and thy sons, and for that ye are here all made prisoners."

So saying, he laid hands on them, and cast them into prison, where they stayed three years. Sāluva-Timma was, meanwhile, superseded in his position as Chief Minister and one Kondamarasayya took his place, Timmanna-Dannāyaka, his elder son, escaped from prison and was captured. He, his brother Govinda and their father Sāluva-Timma were next blinded, by order of the king, while Timmanna-Dannāyaka died. The charge of poisoning rests on the above statement of Nuniz and is indirectly confirmed by certain inscriptions, which do not mention the fact of poisoning but mention the prince, Tirumala-Dēva, in certain records dated 1524, after which there is no mention of him. (See above). Whether Sāluva-Timma was guilty as accessory either before or after the fact will probably be never determined. His previous probity, his love for Krishna-Dēva, his rescuing him from the assassin's knife and his eminent services did not stand him in good stead. *Similis simili gaudet* (like is pleased with like), goes the Latin saying. Nevertheless, History will adjudge that he deserved the sad fate that overtook him if the charge was really anything more than a mere suspicion. Krishna-Dēva's charge that he saved him *against* the injunctions of his brother, the King, creates an irksome feeling that he was acting on mere suspicion against his minister, in the belief that he might have been actually connected with, if he had not connived at, his little son's death. The charge, however, is too direct to be thrown aside peremptorily, though it is just possible that Krishna-Dēva might have acted in a fit of anger. That he was subject to such "fits" is testified to by Paes who had known him personally and at close quarters. (See above). The fall of the great and aged minister is pathetic in the extreme, especially when we remember that he saved to the world so distinguished a ruler as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

Sāluva-Timma had an younger brother, also named Govinda, who served for some time as Governor of Gooty and then became Governor successively of Kugaganād, Tērakanāmbi and the capital city itself. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 340; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 3; and *A Forgotten Empire*, 284). In a record dated in 1519 A.D., he styles himself *Mahāpradhāna* (Prime Minister) and in another dated in 1523 (? 1521), he calls himself *Sirapradhāna*. Another inscription of Sāluva-Govindarājayya, brother of Sāluva-Timma, dated in 1519 A.D., records a grant of land at Alakere in Yelandur Taluk for the merit of his sovereign. (*M.A.R.* 1916-17, Para 112). He also made a grant to the Vīrasaiva *matha* at Sutturu in 1517 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 124, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 110). He continued as a minister up to at least 1538 A.D., when we find him making the grant of a village in Nanjangud taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 111). Saluva-Timma appears to have had the assistance of a subordinate minister styled *Upa Pradhāna* in the person of one Soma-arasa, son of Mēlarasa (or Mēla-māmantri) of Chandragiri who is mentioned in one record dated in 1518 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 186 of 1897). He is probably the same as Tippasoma mentioned in a record from Shimoga (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1) dated in 1513 A.D.

Sāluva-Timma was succeeded in the Premier's post by a person called "Ajaboissa" (Ayyapparasa) or "Ajaparcatimapa" (Ayyapparasa-Timmapa), son of "Codemerade" identified with "Comdamara," one of the provincial chiefs mentioned by Nuniz. The latter, perhaps, stands for Kondamarasayya. Kondamanāyaka and Kondama Nāyudu would indicate his connection with the army. He was one of those who accompanied the King in the East Coast and Raichur campaigns. (See above). He was Governor of Udayagiri, from the time of its capture. He was a Brāhman of the *Bharadvāja Gotra*, and son of Timmarasayya (given as Vēmarasayya) in another record. That his parents were really Timmarasayya and Singāyamma (or Sangamāmbika) is confirmed by other records. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. 336; *M.E.R.* 1912, Page 80; see *Nellore Inscriptions* III, App. 1. pages 1475-6). He is referred to in some stray records as Kondapparasayya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, Kandakur No. 27, pp. 536-8, dated in 1514 A.D.; Kandakur No. 39, pp. 560-1; III Udayagiri No. 4, pp. 1333-34, dated in 1515; Kandakur No. 30, pp. 542-3 dated in 1520 A.D.; III Podili No. 36, pp. 1197-1200 dated in 1520 A.D.). He is generally styled in these records "Rāyasam Kondamarasayya," probably because he was at one time Secretary to the King. Nuniz states that Kondamarasa was the person who canvassed and carried out the death of the son of King Sāluva-Narasimha I at Penukonda. (See *ante*). His successor at Udayagiri was Ayyaparasu; one of whose records, dated in 1527 A.D., is known. (*M.E.R.* No. 209 of 1894; Inscription in Madras Presidency II, Nellore 350). An inscription dated in 1522 A.D. found at Dādikombu, near Dindigul, in the Madura District, shows that he had temporary jurisdiction over that Province at that time. He is stated in it to have issued orders to a certain Timmaya-Nāyakar to repair an ancient *anicut* and dig a canal called *Kāvēri-Vallabhan.* (See *M.E.R.* 1894, App. B. No. 4; also *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 184, *f.n.* 2). From inscriptions found in the Nellore District, it is known that Kondamarasayya was the *Kāryakarta* (Agent) for Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Udayagiri province. He is said to have built the large tanks at Anantasāgaram and Kaluvāya in the Nellore District. After his transfer from Udayagiri about 1527-8 A.D., we find him governing Kondavīdu as deputy under Rāyasam Timmarasayya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, Darsi 33; see also III, App. page 1476).

The Chōlasamudram record dated in 1517 A.D. supplies the interesting information about him that he was the grand-son of Srīpatyāchārya, the chief of Podatūru, a flourishing village in the Dravida country. He belonged, it is said, to the Udayagiri-Kannadiga sect and was the chief of fortresses like Penukonda, Udayagiri, etc. He is spoken as the hero who actually accomplished for Krishna-Rāya the planting of the pillars of victory at Simhādri and Srīkūrmam and as a scholar who was acquainted with the curious writings prevalent in the fifty-six countries. This record shows he accompanied his sovereign in his campaigns against the Kalinga King, when, after defeating him, he planted a pillar of victory at Pottunūru. The other pillar of victory at Srīkūrmam mentioned in this record goes to confirm Krishna-Rāya's complete conquest of the Kalinga Kingdom, which, according to Peddana, ended with the burning of Cuttack. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. C. No. 87). Kondamarasayya probably died somewhere about 1525 A.D., for we have a grant in that year of Rāyasam Ayyapparasayya "in order that Kondamarasayya may attain bliss." He must have died by the time this record was engraved. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. C. 96). Ayyapparasayya was Governor of Kondavīdu, as stated above, in the last days of Krishna-Dēva's reign. During Achyuta's time, he was Governor of the Ghāndikota country. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 499 of 1907). He was also for a time the agent of the king in the Southern dominions about 1527 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 46 ; App. C. Nos. 286 dated in Kali 4628 and 290 dated in *Saka* 1449, Kali 4628, Cyclic year *Sarvajit*).

In 1530 A.D., one Chandrasēkharayya was governing the Srī-Saila-Rājya as the representative (*avasaram*) of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*M.E.R.* 14 of 1915). Vīrabhadra-Mahārāya, son of Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa, was Governor of Maleya-Bennur-sīme in the present Mysore State. (See *ante. E.C.* XII, Davangere 107 dated 1516 A.D.). A grant by this prince for the merit of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, dated in *Saka* 1438, or A.D. 1516 A.D., has been traced in the Madaksira Taluk, in the present Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1918 quoting App. B. No. 74 which seems wrong). The province to which he was appointed was known as *Vīra Bhadra Rāyasīmai.* (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 50 ; App. B. No. 466 of 1920 dated in *Saka* 1440 or A.D. 1518). One Bagur Mallarasa or Mallarasayya, described as a "great minister" in certain records, is found mentioned in Chitaldrug dated in 1517 and 1518 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 70 and 73). Timmanna-Dannāyaka, son of Sāluva-Timma, was governing a part of the present Bangalore District, until shortly before his death. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 6 and 82, dated in 1524 A.D.). Vīra-Immadi-Bhairasa-Vodeya was governing Kalasa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 39). His minister Sūrappa-Senabōva was manager of the Kalasa country in 1524 A.D. (*E.C.*VI, Mudgere 62). Mangalūru-Bārkakūru-rājya was governed by Ratnappodeya of the family of Baicha-Dandādhipa in 1512 A D. and 1515 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 42 and 54 of 1901). In 1425 A.D., one Vitharasa-Odeya was in charge of this province. (*Ibid* No. 150). Sāluva-Immadi-Dēva-Rāya was governing the Haiva, Tulu and Konkana provinces from his capital at Gersoppe. Sāluva-Nāyakkar, a scion of another Saluva family, was in charge of the

Tiruvadi-Sime, identified with Tiruvādi in the present South Arcot District. (*M.E.*R. 1897, App. B. Nos 117 and 118 dated in 1526 and 1526 A.D.). A number of inscriptions found in the Chingleput and Madura Districts and the Pudukkota State refer to one Sellappa Vīra-Narasimha-nāyakkan. These are dated in 1510 and 1515 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 426; 1901, No. 233; 1906 No. 309; 1908, Nos. 91, 92 and 361). Mr. Krishna Sastri has identified him with Vīra-Narasimha entitled *Sāluva-Dannāyaka* mentioned in one epigraph found at Urattur in the Chingleput District and with *Sālvanay* or *Salvanyque* mentioned by Nuniz as the ruler of a large territory bordering on Ceylon. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 384; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 185, *f.n* 1). Apparently he belonged to the Sāluva family of South Arcot and was the person against whom Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya led an expedition. He was in charge of Tiruvadi-rājya, or modern Travancore. (See below). There should have been many other chiefs and Provincial Governors, whose names inscriptions do not record but are referred to in the *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishnarāya-vijayamu*, though not in all cases by their names.

According to an inscription at Siddhalingamadam in South Arcot District, one Taranikka Mangarasaiyyan was governor of Tiruvadi-rājya in the Cyclic year *Srīmukha* (*Saka* 1436=1514 A.D.). (*M.E.R.* 1910, App. B. No. 426 of 1909). He is probably the Karnika Mangarasa, son of Hariyappa, a member of the Sāluva family, who is descended as Viceroy of the king in Tiruvādirājya. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 51; App. C. 13, dated in *Saka* 1435, or A.D. 1513; see also App. B. 307 and 319 and App. C. No. 184). This would suggest that Travancore formed a province of the Vijayanagar Empire at this period. Another was Sāluva Tirumalayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, of the family to which Sāluva Narasimha I belonged, who was governor of part of the modern Guntur

District (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 80, App. B. Nos. 754 and 756 dated in 1543 and 1544 referring to grants previously made to him in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by his minister Timmarasaiya). Trimbicara, who is mentioned as a provincial chief by Nuniz as having joined Krishna-Dēva-Rāya before the battle of Raichur, has been identified with Tryambaka-Udaiyar, son of Tipparasa-Udaiyar, the governor of Muluvai country. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66; App. B. Nos. 138 and 140 dated in *Saka* 1455 which is a mistake for *Saka* 1445 and *Saka* 1444 or A.D. 1522 and 1523). Another officer of Krishna-Dēva was Adappattu Vaiyappa Nāyaka, who is referred to in a record at Tiruppakuli (Chingleput District) dated in the Cyclic year Vishu (=*Saka* 1444) or 1523 A.D. Another subordinate was Mahāmandalēsvara Ālamandala Sarvayyadēva-Chōda-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a record from the Guntur District, dated in *Saka* 1445 or A.D. 1523. He was apparently a divisional governor in the Vinukonda-Sīma. Another feudal chief of Krishna-Dēva was Ādiyappa-Nāyakkar, who has been identified with Ādappanayque of Nuniz. He is probably the same as Adapi-Nāyaningāru, mentioned above. His brother Sīnappa-Nāyakkar was also a subordinate chief. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 66, App. C. 246). Ādiyappa is called an officer of the door (*Vāsal*). Apparently he was originally employed in the king's Palace. Allasāni-Peddana, the king's Poet Laureate, was also a provincial governor, having charge of Karivāchchi-sīma, included in the present South Arcot District. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 623 dated in 1442, Pramāthi, or A.D. 1520-21). A further reference to him will be found below.

A record dated in *Saka* 1440 or 1518 A.D. which comes from Piranmalai in the Rāmnad District discloses the name of another subordinate chief, Ponnambalanātha Tondaimānar, who, among other titles, claims the one of "he who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days."

He was the chief of Arantangi in the Tanjore District, not far away from Pudukkōtai. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 43; App. C. No. 201). Another chief was Tirumala-Nāyaka, on whose behalf Sevvappa-Nāyaka, his Dalvai, made a grant in 1522 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 44; App. C. No. 145). This Sevvappa has been identified with Chevva or Chinna-Chevappa-Nāyaka who later became the progenitor of Nāyak family of Tanjore. He is said, both in inscriptions and in literary works, to have become Viceroy by reason of his relationship with the Royal family. He had married an younger sister of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, brother of Krishna-Dēva. (*Ibid*). Vīrayya-Dannāyaka-Udaiyar is described as a general of Krishna-Dēva in a record dated in 1511 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 40; App. C. No. 213). Arasaram Dēmarayya was governor of Ghandikōta-sīma. (*Ibid*, App. C, Nos. 402-3 dated in 1526 A.D.). He was succeeded in the governorship of that fort in 1530 A.D. by Rāyasam Ayyapparasayya (*Ibid*. No. 401), who, as governor of Udayagiri, commanded Ghandikōta as well. Vairava-Nāyanār Vijayālayadēva and his father Palli-Konda-perumāl, who affect many titles of curious interest, were chiefs in charge of portions of Tanjore and Rāmnad. Their ancestors appear to have taken part in the ancient Chōla-Pāndya wars. (*Ibid*, Nos. 14, 29 and 30 dated in 1522 and 1526 A.D.). One Lingarasu-Odeya was Viceroy of Barakuru in 1525 A.D. He was succeeded by Yatirāja-Odeya. (*M.E.R.* 1927, Para 83; App. C. No. 368).

Yatirāya-Vodeyar was governor of Barakur in 1526 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Page 24). Bēlūr was in the charge of one Singappa-Nayaka in 1519 (*E.C.* V. Bēlūr 59; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 118). Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja-Odeyar was governing Mugur. Grants made by him in 1519, 1521 and 1528 have been found in this State. (*Ibid*). Timmanna-Odeya was in charge of Channapatna-sīme between 1513 A.D. and 1523 A.D. (*Ibid*; see also

E.C. IX, Channapatna 1516). Various minor chiefs are mentioned in certain other records. (See *M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 98; *M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 93).

Immadi Basavappa-Odeya, entitled *Bhujapratāpa*, was another General of Krishna-Dēva. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. B. No. 457). Chandrasēkharayya was the Governor of Srīsailam during the period. His gifts to the temple there, are recorded in certain inscriptions dated in 1529 and 1530 (*M.E.R.* 1915, App. C. Nos. 15 and 14). As he calls himself the son-in-law of Dēmarasayya, he must have married a grand-daughter of Kondamarasayya, one of whose sons was Dēmarasayya, Governor of Penukonda (See Conquest of Ummattūr above). The record dated in 1529 states that Chandrasēkharayya installed stone-statues of Krishnarāya, Dēmarasayya and himself in the Mallikārjuna temple at Srīsailam, but these are not now traceable there. (*Ibid*, Para 48).

War against the combined Muhammadan Chiefs and Pratāpa-Rudra, King of Orissa. Capture of Udayagiri, Kondavidu, etc., 1513 A.D.

If the *Rāyavāchakamu* is to be believed, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after his capture of Sivasamudram, turned his attention to the occupation of certain parts of the Bijapur territory, including Raichur, Mudkal, Adoni and other places. In mentioning these places, the poem agrees with Ferishta, but it is doubtful, as already suggested, whether this part of the story is true, especially in view of what Nuniz definitely asserts in this connection. However this might have been, there is no doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next concentrated his mind on the driving out of the combined forces of the Gōlkonda and Orissa from his territories to the south of the Krishna. In mentioning this invasion of the East Coast, Nuniz mentions that he was drawn to it by what he read in what he calls the "testament" of "king Narsymga, whose minister his (Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's) father Narsenayque had been," in which he had left instructions that whoever might succeed him should capture the three fortresses of Udayagiri, Raichur and Mudkal which had been "in revolt against him" and which "he had not himself taken, because time failed him." Seeing this testament, he adds, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya saw how badly his predecessors had acted in what had been enjoined on them and at once prepared armies to proceed against them, the first to be attacked being Udayagiri. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* indicate that the aggressions of the combined Gōlkonda and Orissan forces into the Vijayanagar territory south of the Krishna had increased rather than decreased during the decade that had elapsed since the death of Sāluva-Narasimha I. Though Īsvara beat off the Bidar forces from Kandakur and rivers of blood had run at the battle he fought, both the Muhammadan and Orissan forces appear to have taken advantage of the weak reign of Vīra-Narasimha II and re-occupied all the Vijayanagar territories to the south of the Krishna. The determined warfare of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to subjugate the Gōlkonda and Orissan kings shows the lengths to which these monarchs should have gone in their re-conquest of these territories. The two Telugu works named above, indeed, make specific mention of the atrocities that had been committed by them in the areas they re-occupied, after, apparently, what should have been some severe struggle, in which they should have met with obstructions from the local governors and people. Before sounding the war drum, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have made elaborate preparations. During the first year of his reign, he got the local governors to maintain the full contingent of their troops or pay a heavy fine to the State. He examined his treasury, the main head of the receipts and expenditure of the State, and the army and its accoutrements. With the aid of Sāluva-Timma, his able minister, he made the necessary arrangements for the early movement of the troops. To create an *esprit de corps* among the leaders, he invited the nobles from the eighteen different provinces of his kingdom and stood a dinner for them, at which the details of what was being undertaken were doubtless driven home to them. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next ordered the army to advance thirty miles into the enemy's territory and gather from there men, cattle, sheep and goats so that they may not be available to the enemy. This done, and after due provision had been made for the protection of the capital, he set out with his minister, army leaders, troopers and men from the different parts of his kingdom. Thus began the war, which, commencing with the reduction, as above said, of Sivasamudram and the Bijāpur fortresses, ended with the defeat of the Orissan king in his own territories. As Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was finishing his task of occupying the deserted fortresses of Bijāpur, news reached that the three rulers of Bijāpur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Gōlkonda had invaded the territory south of the Krishna and had been guilty of different kinds of atrocities. They had ten thousand horses and a thousand elephants. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, angry with the news of the excesses of the enemy, sent for one of his generals Pemmasani Rāmalinga, who presented himself before the king, and engaged to lead the forlorn hope. With 80,000 men (so says the *Rāyavāchakamu*), he "marched to the battle as to a marriage." After a short fight, the enemies lost 4,000 horses; next fell 4,000 more. Rāmalinga contrived to cross over to the tents, whose ropes he cut and gave the alarm signal as promised. On this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's triumphal band struck and his grand army of elephants, 60,000 horse and 500,000 infantry, with the king himself seated on his elephant pressed forward. With this, the river Krishna rose in floods. The enemy's elephants could not bear the fierceness of the attack and the summer sun and fled to the river side and fell into the water. The troops followed suit, but most of them lost their lives in the flood. Just a third of the combined army remained on the southern side of the river and they escaped as best they could on elephants, barges or otherwise. Most of the elephants could not be persuaded to leave the river and their mahouts fled for their lives, leaving the animals to themselves. The rout of the Muhammadan forces was thus complete and the booty was large. The enemy's many elephants, horses and camp equipage fell into the hands of the king and they were duly gathered in. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next held a court and received the congratulations of ministers, generals and court poets.

The whole of this part of the campaign is not even whispered in Nuniz's *Chronicle* nor in any of the numerous inscriptions of the period of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. But they are graphically set down in the two Telugu poems above-mentioned, and but for them we would have lost all knowledge of it. Apparently, there was an alliance between the three allied Muhammadan potentates and the Orissan king, patched up by the agents of the former—two of whom Venkōji and Dādōji are named in the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*—in order to put down the rising power of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. They had mutually agreed upon a definite course of action. According to this pre-arranged plan, got up largely through the aid of news obtained by means of espionage, which appears to have been in full swing at the time, the Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Gōlkonda and Bidar forces were to take the field in the earlier part of the campaign and aggressively carry on the warfare into the territories of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and if they suffered defeat, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was sure to cross the Krishna into the territories of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa, (1497-1540 A.D.) when he was to take the field against the Vijayanagar king and beat him back. With this plan in view, the Muhammadan monarchs had garrisoned all their frontier fortresses and stored large quantities of provisions and ammunition in them. They had also issued strict rules in regard to the entry of strangers into their territories, a system of sealed passports being introduced. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who had doubtless a correct idea of what had been done by the combined Muhammadan chiefs, did not pursue them beyond the Krishna. Taking the advice of his ministers, he desisted from further action against them for the moment. While waiting for the cessation of the rains and the floods, he prepared himself for the reduction of the fortresses of Udayagiri, Kandakūr, Kondavīdu, Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunikonda in the possession of the Gajapati king. The two poems do not furnish us any information in regard to the capture of Udayagiri. Here Nuniz's *Chronicle* fills a useful rôle. Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya moved an army consisting of 34,000 foot and 800 elephants against it and laid siege to it. There were, according to Nuniz, only 10,000 foot and 400 horse in it, it requiring no more to defend it. The fortress being of great strength, it could not be taken except by being starved out. The siege is thus described by Nuniz:—

> "The king laid siege to it for a year and a half, in which time he made many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress. The place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time; and in this place he made a broad road, and many others also, so that he could come close to the fortress. And he took it by force of arms, and in it captured an aunt (some say uncle) of the king of Orya, who was taken captive and carried off with all the courtesy that he could show her, having her liberty; and he took her along with himself."

The "aunt" referred to, by Nuniz, as having been captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at this place was really an "uncle." According to Kannada and Telugu inscriptions found on the Udayagiri hill, among the persons captured was one named Tirumala-Rautarāya (Rāhuttarāya), which name has been misread "Tirumala-Rāghavarāya" and "Tirumala-Kantarāya." He is described in them as an uncle of king Pratāpa-Rudra. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41, of which the last two are dated in 1514 A.D.).

The fall of Udayagiri did not satisfy the king. He sent for Sāluva-Timma and bade him see how well he had fulfilled the testament of king Narasimha but added he was not "content with such a trivial victory, for he desired to go forward a hundred leagues into the kingdom of Orya." He accordingly ordered him to get ready provisions and pay fully the troops, their salaries.

Krishna-Rāya next tried his attention to Kandakūr, which fell. Then he pushed on to Kondavīdu and laid siege to it. The *Rāya-vāchakamu* states that it surrendered within 36 hours. But Nuniz's account is entirely different. Being an important city at the time of the Orissan king, he advanced to its relief with 1,300 elephants, 20,000 horse and 500,000 foot-soldiers. On this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya proceeded with the main army against him and a river separated him from the advancing Orissan forces. He sent word to the Gajapati king that he would retreat two leagues from the river, so that the enemy forces might cross the river unmolested and then join battle. The Gajapati king, without heeding the message, made ready to give battle. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on seeing this determination, forthwith himself crossed the river—about 12 miles off Kondavīdu, but not yet identified—with all his forces and elephants. There were many encounters in the crossing of the river and the losses on both sides were heavy. Despite this severe fighting and the opposition he met with, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya successfully crossed the river and on the bank fought so bravely that he defeated the Orissan king and put him to flight. The enemy lost many horses and elephants. Next, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned back on the fortress, before which he had left a sufficiency of forces to keep up the siege and prevent the beleaguered citizens from fleeing to the coast. The pent-up forces offered a stout resistance and the siege lasted two months, at the end of which the fortress fell. It was evidently taken by escalading its walls. At Kondavīdu, Krishna-Rāya captured the "celebrated Kasavapātra" who had opposed him. (*Manucharitramu* I, 37). The capture of this general who was evidently the defender of the place and prince Vīrabhadra who was with him is also mentioned in *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (Canto I). This poem further states, as a well-known fact, that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya having caught Prince Vīrabhadra—son of Pratāpa-Rudra—alive, with great kindness spared him his life. (*Karunāmati gāche jagatprasiddhigan*). According to the Kondavīdu and the Mangalagiri records (see *E.I.* VI, 230; 108), the capture of Kondavīdu should have occurred on 12th day of the bright half of *Āshādha* in *Saka* 1437, corresponding to 23rd June 1515 A.D. In view of what is mentioned in certain other records found at Tiruvannāmalai, Kālāhasti and Amarāvati (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196; *M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 272), there were many others taken as prisoners of war besides Kasavapātra and Prince Vīrabhadra. Among these were Naraharipātra, the son of Kumāra Hammīra-Mahāpātra, evidently another Gajapati prince; Rāchirāja of Pusāpādu, identified by Mr. Krishna Sastri with the village of the same name, seventeen miles west of Bāpatla, in the present Guntur District; Batachandra-Mahāpātra of the west; Mallukhān and Uddandākhān of Rāchūru (Raichur), of whom the former has been identified with Kutub-Malka mentioned in the *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* as having been defeated at Kondavīdu by the

Nandyāla chief Nārapārāja, who was one of the generals of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 178 *f.n.* 4). Of the nobles and feudatory chiefs, Prince Vīrabhadra is referred to in these records as Vīrabhadrarāya and Vīrabhadrasēna and Kasavāpātra as Kasavāpātra of Janyāla. Apparently, these chiefs and nobles had all combined their forces at Kondavīdu and offered the utmost resistance possible. No wonder, too, that it took some months to take it. The presence of the two Muhammadan generals shows the close co-operation that existed between Ādil Shāh, King of Bijapur, and Pratāpa-Rudra, in this war. Prince Vīrabhadra subsequently became a provincial governor in the Mysore country under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and did not commit suicide, as stated by Nuniz. (See under *Ministers and Governors*). Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave the command of the place to his minister Sāluva-Timma, so that he himself might freely go forward in pursuit of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Orissan king. Sāluva-Timma, however, appointed one of his brothers to it. The *Rāyavāchakamu*, on the other hand, mentions one Kondamayya (identified with Rāyasam Kondamarasu) as being ordered to garrison the place. It is possible that Sāluva-Timma's brother was in administrative charge, while Kondamayya was in military command of the fortress.

The next place to be taken, according to Nuniz, was Kondapalli, which, though not mentioned by the *Rāyavāchakamu*, is confirmed by the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*. Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya rapidly took all the country that lay on his march and suddenly appeared before Kondapalli, when he was least expected there. That city was the capital of that part of the kingdom and was, adds Nuniz, the seat of all the local chiefs. The siege began and lasted three months, which shows the nature of the resistance offered. But the force of mere numbers told in the end where the force of arms failed. In the fortress were found many people of high rank whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya took captive, "amongst whom was a wife of the king (of Orissa), and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom," all of whom he sent by road to Vijayanagar. We learn from Ferishta that the son referred to was Rāmachandra-Dēva. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, 354-371). Among others taken prisoners of war here and pardoned were, according to the Kālāhasti record, Prahararāja-Sirāschandra-Mahāpātra, Bodajanna-Mahāpātra and Bijjilikhān. Many transformations of the first of these names occur in other Tamil records (see *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 511; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196 and *M.E.R.* No. 1904. 125), but as Mr. Krishna Sastri has pointed out, there can be no doubt they refer to one and the same individual, Prahararāja, whose name in the form *Praharēsvara* occurs in the *Āmuktamālyada*, where he is spoken of as having been in charge of Kondapalli at the time it was besieged by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 179; *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto III, Colophon). Bijjilikhān was evidently a Muhammadan general either in the service of the Gajapati king or had been sent by the Kutabshāhi king of Gōlkonda to defend Kondapalli, which at that time was under the joint protection of the Gajapati and Gōlkonda kings (Sewell, A forgotten Empire 134), and there was a treaty subsisting between them at the time.

According to the *Rāyavāchakmu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, Vinukonda next surrendered. One Bhāskarayya (otherwise known as Rāmaya Mantri Bhāskara) was placed in charge of it. Bellamkonda and Nāgārjunikonda followed suit and were garrisoned by Vīrabhadrayya and Ayyalayya. Among other fortresses taken on this occasion were Addanki, Tangeda, Kelavaram and other strongholds, situate in the modern districts of Nellore and Guntur, some being then in the territories of the Gajapati king and the others in those of the

Kutbshāhi king of Gōlkonda. (Sewell, 132-136). To these, the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* adds others which Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks were taken in the next advance made by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 177, *f.n.* 8). According to the two Telugu works referred to above, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next marched into the territories of the Ahmadnagar (*i.e.*, Ahmadabad, Bidar), the ally of the Gajapati, before he proceeded further into the Gajapati's own kingdom. According to Nuniz, however, after the capture of Kondavīdu, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya "went forward a hundred leagues (*i.e.*, 300 miles) into the kingdom (of the Gajapati king) finding no one to bar his progress till he got to Symamdary," *i.e.*, Simhādri, modern Simhāchalam, near Vizagapatam town. It seems probable that the Telugu works are correct in their mention of a detour into the Bidar chief's dominions, before Krishna-Dēva-Rāya reached Simhādri. Apparently, he met little or no opposition after the fall of Kondavīdu, and this should have helped him to turn momentarily to disable the Bidar chief, especially as he would likely enough prove a thorn in his side if he proceeded further without inflicting a blow on him. Accordingly, to avoid being hemmed in between the Bidar and the Gajapati's forces, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya advanced on Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Bidar chief. The outskirts were easily captured and a pitched battle was fought outside the city, the enemy losing 2,800 of his cavalry. The victory was so complete that the troops which garrisoned the fort inside the city voluntarily evacuated it and retreated into the interior. The fortress was demolished and its site was ploughed and sown with castor-seeds—a just retribution, it would seem, for the atrocities committed by the Bidar forces in the Vijayanagar territories. This done, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned his attention to the Gajapati's dominions once again. His able minister, Sāluva-Timma, was not for a further advance, for fear of an attack on the flank. But Krishna-Dēva-Raya would not desist his impetuous march. While descending the ghāt—the Eastern Ghāts—he was attacked by one Chitapra (Chitāp-Khān), who had in 1503 recovered Warrangal from the Muhammadans (See *M.E.R.* 1902, Para 7, Appendix B. No 108) and restored the Hindu dynasty, and had apparently been befriended by the Gajapati king. A severe fight ensued, Chitapra's forces were soon hemmed in between two detachments of Krishna-Dēva-Raya and practically annihilated. Chitapra lost 23,000 of his archers and 4,000 horse and was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Krishna-Dēva-Raya detached 30,000 of his own troops to guard the passes and marched on rapidly through the Gajapati's kingdom, conquering as he advanced, until he reached Pottunūri-Simhādri, *i.e.*, Simhādri near Pottunūru, both places being not far away from the modern town of Vizagapatam. He laid siege to the place, where apparently, according to the Telugu works quoted above, the Gajapati king had his palace. (Pottunūru has even now the air of a large deserted town about it and its mounds, if excavated, may throw light on its past. See *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, 228-229 and 230). It is mentioned in Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu* (I. 37) as one of the places occupied by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Local tradition confirms this statement. Nuniz mentions the name of the place Simhādri as "Symamdary," which is identified by Mr. Sewell with "Rajahmundry," which is a patent error. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 319, *f.n.* 1). Nuniz describes it as a large city (local tradition states that it included in those days Bhogāpuram, close by) and adds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya halted in it for six months, waiting for the king of Orissa. He then writes :—

> "He (Krishna-Dēva-Rāya) sent many messages to say that he was waiting for him in the field, but he never came. And

in this city, he did many works, and gave alms to the temples, and erected therein a very grand temple to which he gave much revenue. And he commanded to engrave on it an inscription which says:—'Perhaps when these letters are decayed, the King of Orya will give battle to the King of Bisnaga. If the King of Orya erases them, his wife shall be given to the smiths who shoe the horses of the King of Bisnaga.'

While the giving of "alms to the temples" has been found to be true, the erection at Simhādri of "a very grand temple" seems incorrect. The time of "six months" would have been insufficient for the purpose. The "very grand temple" referred to is probably the famous temple of Narasimha, from which the hill takes its name, to which, it is known, from inscriptions actually to be seen in it even to this day, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made handsome gifts. As regards the contents of the inscription engraved in the temple, no such record as is mentioned by Nuniz has been found in it. Probably Nuniz is referring to the pillar of victory which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have put up at Pottunūru, not far away from Simhādri. According to Allasāni-Peddana, the Court Poet, who, if we are to believe the *Rāyavāchakamu*, accompanied Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in this expedition of his against the Orissan king, this pillar of victory is said to have had engraved on it the titles and conquests of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*Manucharitramu* I, 38). This pillar, it would seem, was about the height of a palm-tree and was, it is stated, set up at Pottunūru with great assiduity by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya while he was at the place. It had on it engraved, says the poet, all the great conquests and titles of the king written in such a manner that the hosts of divine beings who got down from the high heavens to witness the festivals held in honour of the Lord of Simhādri read over afterwards what was engraved on it (the pillar) by applying again and again the black-ink of discredit that the Kalinga king had sustained (by his cowardice in not meeting Krishna-Dēva-Rāya on the battle-field). Whether it contained the insulting injunction mentioned by Nuniz is more than can be said, in view of the non-discovery so far of the pillar itself at Pottunūru, which, however, has not so far been explored with the care that it requires. However this may be, the fact of a pillar of victory having been set up at Pottunūru must be conceded as it is not only mentioned by Nuniz and Peddana, the poet, but also in the *Āmuktamālyada*, the *Rāyavāchakamu*, the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*, and numerous inscriptions found in different parts of Southern India. The inscriptions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya found in the Simhāchalam temple record his conquests and gifts by himself and his queens but mention neither the fact of his having set up a pillar of victory at Pottunūru nor his well-known *biruda Gajapati-Saptāngā-harana*, or "the destroyer of the army of the Gajapati king." The omission of the former may be due to the fact that the setting up of the pillar not far away at Pottunūru rendered it unnecessary to repeat it in the Simhāchalam records, while that of the latter might have been due to the fact that the *biruda* in question had not yet been invented, being indeed a product of the successes over the Gajapati king.

Nuniz, however, omits all mention of the events that should have preceded the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru. According to Allasāni-Peddana, among the places that were taken by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya on his march were Jammi (modern Jami), Gottam, Kanakagiri, Gautami (Gōdāvari, signifying Rajahmundry), Mādemulu (the hill regions) and Oddādi (Canto I, 37). The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* mentions that he devastated Vēlupukonda, razed to the ground Jallipalle, subdued Anantagiri and took Kambamettlu by surprise and struck terror into the mind of the Utkala king. (See

Canto I ; also *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 138 and 140). The places mentioned in *Manucharitramu* are, except for Kanakagiri, a fortified town in the present Raichur District, Rajahmundry, and Oddādi, not to be confused with *Vaddādi* in the Vizagapatam District, in the Vizagapatam District. Those mentioned in the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* are mostly in the Raichur, Nalgonda and Warrangal districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The campaign evidently ended with the capture of Simhādri and Pottunūru and the setting up of a pillar of victory at the latter place. Though the poets Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi Timmana do not mention it, the capture of Pottunūru did not prove an easy affair. The *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* indicate in definite terms the tremendous odds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had to overcome before he succeeded in his attempt. It is clear from these two narratives that Pottunūru was the chief capital of Pratāpa-Rudra, the Kalinga king, on this side of the Langulya river. He had evidently concentrated all his forces there and had intended to oppose Krishna-Rāya here with the aid of his sixteen feudatories called Mahāpātras. Krishna-Rāya appears to have for once doubted the result of the struggle. He had been drawn far into the interior and he had no idea of what might befall him, if Pratāpa-Rudra won. A consultation followed and Sāluva-Timma, his chief minister, was equal to the occasion. He persuaded the Emperor that what could be won by a simple stratagem need not cost them a life. Sāluva-Timma hit upon the novel mode of despatching without delay chests full of gold and valuables to the sixteen Mahāpātras along with secret letters. The letters stated that the chests had been sent to them in accordance with the agreement between them and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and enjoined on them that they should act up to it and desert Pratāpa-Rudra during the battle. Some of these chests of cash and valuables fell, as intended, into the hands of Pratāpa-Rudra's messengers, who took them to him. When he read the letters, he was, as expected, deceived into suspecting treachery and feared for his own safety. He therefore determined on flight and left stealthily his palace in the night and went a long distance northwards. On the morrow, the Mahāpātras heard of his flight and themselves left to their respective fortresses. The stratagem was thus completely successful. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya entered the city and taking possession of it, appointed his own guards over the Kalinga king's palace and the city. He followed this up by setting up the pillar of victory at the place. According to the *Manucharitramu*, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next attacked the hill regions and devastated it; reduced to ashes the Orissa country (Oddādi) and finally set fire to *Katakapuri*, which probably stands for Pūri, the famous capital of Cuttack. Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king, on this, in utter dismay ran for his life. (The text has the following:—*Mādemulu vrēlche noddādi masiyonarche katakapuri gālche gajarāju galagi paravan*). This version is supported by the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* (Canto I) which refers to the fear engendered by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Utkala king who was in daily fear of his being attacked in Cuttack. (The text has *Katamunu ninka nanuchu nuthkula mahīshuda nudīnammunu verachu nevvaniki nathadu rājamāthrunde Srīkrishnarāyavibhudu*). It would seem to follow from both these poems that Pottunūru was made the base for further attacks as far as the chief capital of Gajapati king, who after leaving Pottunūru had evidently sought shelter in it and was in hourly expectation of Krishna-Rāya's forces against it. On its burning and reduction by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, he seems to have taken to flight once again. The fact that Krishna-Rāya stayed for six months at Pottunūru shows that he was determined on the final subjugation of Pratāpa-Rudra.

That he did accomplish it then and did not come back again for it, on a fresh expedition, is made clear from the definite statement made by Nuniz that "after the king returned from Orya (*i.e.*, the Orissa country), he never again went thither." (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 322.) Mr. Krishna Sastri takes a different view and states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya undertook another expedition to which the events set down above as having taken place after the capture of Pottunūru are ascribed by him. He has missed to note the very specific mention made by Nuniz that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya did not again pay any further visit to the Orissa country after he returned from the last expedition and he has accordingly by misapprehension suggested the identification of "Catuir," the place to which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next turned his attention, with "Cuttack." This point is referred to below. In support of his idea of a fresh invasion of Cuttack, he has sought the aid of the three records of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the Simhāchalam temple. An examination of these three records, however, instead of supporting any such suggestion, yields a point against such a view. Two of these records are dated in *Saka* 1438, *Dhātri* (corresponding to 1515-16 A.D.), one recording a gift of jewels by the king, and the other, gifts of jewels jointly by the king and his two queens Chinnādēvamma and Tirumaladēvamma. The third record is dated in *Saka* 1441, *Pramādhi* (corresponding to 1519-20) recording the making over by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya of certain villages which had been made over to him by the Gajapati king. These villages should have been accordingly made over to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by the Gajapti king after the restoration of peace and the marriage of his daughter to his former enemy and then regifted by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the Simhāchalam temple. Such regifting need not necessarily have required the personal presence of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Simhāchalam, as is presumed by Mr. Krishna Sastri, necessitating the further assumption of a fresh and "a regular raid on his capital." Such a suggestion has been necessitated by his proposed identification of Nuniz's "Catuir" with "Cuttack" and seems wholly negatived by Nuniz's assertion that Krishna-Rāya did not again visit the Orissa country after he left Pottunūru on the conclusion of the last expedition. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, P.P. 179-181; *M.E.R.* 1900, App. A. Nos. 243-45.) The Chōlasamudram record, dated in 1517 A.D., states that Kondamarasayya followed the king in his invasion and it was he who heroically planted the pillars of victory at Pottunūru and Srī-Kūrmam The getting up of the latter pillar is otherwise unknown and confirms the statement of Peddana that the burning of Cuttack was a fact and that after it a pillar of victory was also set up at Srī-Kūrmam, the capital of Cuttack. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 55, App. C. No. 87.)

According to Nuniz, after planting the pillar of victory at Pottunūru, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya went back to Vijayanagar, "where he rested some days." He then called for "the son of the king of Orya" (apparently Vīrabhadra) and asked him to show his skill in fencing by engaging with an expert in the art belonging to his court; the Prince, it it said, protested, "God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the royal blood," and saying this he slew himself. Pratāpa-Rudra, hearing this, grew suspicious of the fate of one of his wives who had been taken prisoner by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and opened negotiations with Sāluva-Timma, the minister of Krishna-Rāya, as to the best manner of bringing about peace and recovering her. Sāluva-Timma proposed that he should agree to give his daughter in marriage to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on which the latter "would restore him his wife and lands." This counsel was accepted and he sent ambassadors to Vijayanagar to arrange for the marriage. This over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya restored Pratāpa-Rudra's queen and all the conquests north of the Krishna River. With this, the two kings "were friends" once again. Such is the story told by Nuniz. But the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* tell a different tale. According to these works, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said, while he was still at Pottunūru, to have sent for the minister of Pratāpa-Rudra and told him that he had invaded the country merely for victory and not for its permanent conquest, and that he was prepared to cede back the conquered area to his master and return to his own capital. This was made known to Pratāpa-Rudra, who returned to his capital, and apologised for having fought against Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The sixteen Mahāpātras followed suit and were duly forgiven. The marriage of Jagan-mōhini, daughter of Pratāpa-Rudra, with Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was next celebrated—it is made to appear that this was a voluntary affair on the part of Pratāpa-Rudra and not a condition of the treaty of peace as is made out in Nuniz's narrative—and the gifts to the son-in-law included valuable gems, ornaments, elephants, horses, etc., including the sixteen chests of treasure sent by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's minister to the sixteen Mahāpātras to deceive them. Pratāpa-Rudra also ceded to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the whole of the country south of the Krishna as the dowry of his daughter, which presumes that the entire conquered territory had been first returned to him by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as first promised by him. After the marriage was over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his own capital. A close examination of the two versions shows that while they disagree as to the place where the final treaty of peace between the two kings was concluded, they are entirely at one in regard to its main terms:—

(1) the marriage of Pratāpa-Rudra's daughter to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya;

(2) the cession by the latter of all his conquests to the north of the Krishna; and

(3) his actual evacuation of all ceded territories.

These may accordingly be accepted as the real terms of the peace which ended the war of conquest. It has been suggested that this marriage may have been one of the objects of the war against Pratāpa-Rudra. The idea underlying it was the desire to pay off an old score. According to a story in Orissa, Purushōttama, father of Pratāpa-Rudra, had claimed the hand of the daughter of the king of Kānchi, identified with the usurper Sāluva-Narasimha, which had been refused. He vowed to capture Kānchi and marry the girl to a sweeper. Kānchi was taken and Purushōttama determined on carrying out his threat. Before he could do so, the great festival of Dol Purnima occurred at Puri, at which Purushōttama had, according to an old-world custom, to act the sweeper before the god. While he was carrying out his duty, his minister brought the princess and placing her beside him, asked him to fulfil his vow by marrying her. Purushōttama, who had by now repented of his rash threat, accepted this solution of the difficulty. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have returned the compliment by insisting on marrying Purushōttama's grand-daughter. (J. Ramayya Pantulu's *Krishna-Rāya* in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, II, 215).

If we desire to picture to ourselves the successive expeditions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the East Coast, we may have to visualise it as follows with the aid of a map:—

The first expedition probably began in 1512 A.D., with Udayagiri as the objective. This covered the country almost due east of the capital, in what is now the Nellore District. This campaign appears to have been over by 1513 when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his capital and made grants to the two temples at Udayagiri as attested by inscriptions at

Udayagiri. One of these is dated 1514 A.D., cyclic year *Bhava*. Rāyasam Kondamarasayya became the governor of the province, and his grants are to be found in it. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 210; *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, II, No. 610). On his way back, Krishna-Rāya paid a visit to the god on the Tirupati Hill and had him bathed in gold (*Kanakābhishēka* with 30,000 gold pieces (*varāhans*) and made costly presents) on the occasion. Four inscriptions in Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil found at Tirumalai give a graphic description of his pursuit of Pratāpa-Rudra and his capture of Udayagiri. These are all dated in *Saka* 1436 and fix his return in 1514 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 53 to 55). Krishna-Rāya's return to Vijayanagar was marked in 1514 A.D. by the founding of the Krishnaswāmi temple in which he installed the image of Bālakrishna he brought with him from Udayagiri. This is marked by an inscription in that temple. The Ahōbalam and Srīsailam inscriptions combined together show that the king stayed at his capital for a short time only before starting against Kalinga. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. C. 64 dated 1515-6 A.D.; App. C. No. 18 dated 1516 A.D.). In the same year (1514 A.D.) he also began the construction of the House of Victory and the Hazara and the Vithalasvāmi and Rāmasvāmi temples at the capital. Inscriptions at these places show that they were begun in 1514 A.D. Nellore continued a Vijayanagar possession during the rest of the reign, as is attested to by inscriptions found in it mentioning grants made in his name. (*C.P.* No. 169 of Nellore dated 1515 A.D.). He should have counted the victory a great and memorable one to have thus commemorated it. The second expedition, which began about 1514 A.D., covered the country north-east of the capital, over parts of the present Kurnool, Guntur and the Kistna Districts. Many strongholds were taken and the campaign ended at Bezwada, from where Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to his capital. The enemy was concentrated at Kondavīdu, where he was severely beaten. Prince Vīrabhadra and general Kasavapātra were among those taken prisoners. The fall of Kondavīdu occurred in 23rd June 1515 A.D. Inscriptions dated in Krishna-Rāya's reign found at Pērur in the Gudivada taluk, Kistna District; Mēduru in the Tanuku Taluk, Kistna District; and Srīsailam in the Kurnool District attest to the victories obtained by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in this campaign. The first of these is dated 1515 A.D. and the second and third in 1516 A.D. Appayya and Gopayya, nephews of Sāluva Timma, distinguished themselves in the war and were appointed to the charge of Kondavīdu and Gooty respectively. (See *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, II, 234 D; 335 E; *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 18; *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 19). After his conquests, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, according to one of these records, visited the Amarēsvara temple at Dharanikōta and made gifts there and then went to the Srīparvata where he constructed *mantapas* in the Car street. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 18). The visit to the Amarēsvara temple is also mentioned in an inscription dated in 1516 A.D. found at Tiruvannāmalai (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574), where also the king built various structures to commemorate his victories. (See below). After providing for the government and defence of the conquered area, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya returned to Vijayanagar. The third expedition which began within six months of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's return to his capital in 1516 A.D. extended from beyond Bezwada, following nearly the modern Railway line as far as Cuttack, on the Mahānadi. It covered the present districts of Godavari, Vizagapatam, Ganjam and Orissa and was evidently intended to carry the campaign not only into the heart of the enemy's country but also to his very doors. This might be fitly called the Kalinga Campaign, in view of the fact that it aimed at the conquest of the Kalinga country and its ruler, who is so described in contemporary Telugu poems. (See, *e.g.*, *Manucharitra*, I. 38). So far Pratāpa-Rudra had evaded battle and his son and generals had been taken prisoners. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was, however, determined on his final conquest. Leaving Vijayanagar accordingly in 1516 A.D., he halted at Ahōbalam, in the Kurnool District, where he offered worship to God Narasimha there. From there, he passed on to Bezwada, at the end of *Saka* 1438 (A.D. 1516). Here he remitted, in the presence of the gods Anantasāyin and Mallikārjuna of the place, taxes amounting to 10,000 *varāhas* in favour of the Siva and the Vishnu temples in the Chōla country and directed that the order should be recorded in all the temples which received the benefit. The inscriptions referring to this grant are all dated in *Saka* 1439 or A.D. 1517, though they refer to what took place in *Saka* 1438 or A.D. 1516. Among the places where they have been found are:—Tīrthanagari, Sēndamangalam and Ēlavanasūr in the South Arcot District, Kannanur and Tiruppālathurai in the Trichinopoly District; and Tiruvīsalur in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 288; *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 511; *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 125; and *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 74, the last of which fixes the limits within which the order was operative). This done, apparently a move to keep the people of these countries reconciled to his rule while he was away fighting outside of it, he went to Srī-kakulam near Masulipatam, where he worshipped god Srī-Āndhra Vishnu. It was while resting here that he received, as he tells us in his *Āmuktamālyada*, the divine command to undertake that great work. Next, he resumed his advance and he fell on Kondapalli, where the chiefs and generals of Pratāpa-Rudra were collected with the generals of his ally the Kutb Shāhi King of Gōlkonda. The place was taken and the prisoners of war included one of the wives of the king, a prince and General Praharēsvara and others. These were sent off to the capital, and Krishna-Rāya marched on taking on his way many other strongholds until he reached Simhādri-Pottunūru, not far away from Vizagapatam. Here Pratāpa-Rudra awaited the arrival of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya evidently with his sixteen vassal-chiefs. A cunningly conceived and carried out stratagem created misunderstandings between Pratāpa-Rudra and his vassals and instead of giving battle they fled in opposite directions leaving everything before the enemy. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, jealous of honor in the hour of victory, respected the palace and put guards over it, while he took steps to pursue the enemy into Cuttack whither he had fled. The Orissa country was devastated and Cuttack was not spared. This done—apparently the campaign was a quick one—Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his two queens then present at the place, made gifts to the Simhāchalam temple which are recorded in it in two inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1438, cyclic year *Dhatu* or A.D. 1517. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 243 and 245). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya also planted a pillar of victory at Pottunūru. This pillar has not been traced, though a stone called the *Rāchabanda* (King's Rock), alleged to be the pillar planted by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, is still pointed out at Bhōgapuram near Pottunūru. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presy.* III, 214). Besides the inscriptions at Simhāchalam, numerous other records attest to the conquests effected in this campaign. Among those are the records at Kālāhasti, which he visited on his return journey in *Saka* 1438 or A.D. 1516 and where he ordered the construction of a hundred-pillared mantapa and a big *gōpura* (*M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196); and at Chidambaram, which also he visited and where also he ordered the construction of the northern *gōpura*, said to be the best there. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 174; *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 175; *M.E.R.* 1913, No. 374).

To have carried three successive campaigns, ranging over a period of about four years and covering a country about 1,500 miles in length, and that hostile to him and disputing his progress at every stage, speaks highly of the careful organisation of resources, men and money, on the part of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. As the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* hints, all the vassal chiefs of the king appear to have joined in the prosecution of his great object of putting an end to the aggressions of the Gajapati king. (See *Sources*, 131, for a list of these vassal chiefs). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have personally commanded the expeditionary forces, ably seconded by Sāluva-Timma, who was evidently as great in war as in peace. Some inscriptional records, indeed, attribute the capture of Kondavīdu to Sāluva-Timma and the king; nominating him to governorship seems to confirm this statement to some extent. A remarkable Mysore hero who apparently took part in the third and final campaign was one Dhananjaya, who is referred to in a lithic record which has been found at Bittugondanahalli, Hassan Hobli. (*E.C.* V. Hassan 13). This inscription is dated in *Saka* 1438, cyclic year *Dhatu*, or A.D. 1516, and registers the grant of Bittugondanahalli, renamed Dhananjaya-grāma as an *agrahāra* by a chief named Dhananjaya, who is described as the son of one Rāya-Odeya, who is spoken of as the son of Aliya-Timmarasa-Odeya. It would seem that Rāya-Odeya was a Dalavāyi in the army of king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and took part in the march from the banks of the Krishna at Bezwada against the Gajapati king and in the setting up of the pillar of victory (at Pottunūru and not on the banks of the Krishnavēni, as Mr. Rice has translated the passage). His son was Dhananjaya-Rāya-Odeyar, the donor of the grant, who apparently followed his father in the expedition and evidently greatly distinguished himself in the warfare of the time, and was on his return appointed the Amara-Padēya-Nāyaka of Hassan–*sthala*. His exploits during the march on Pottunūru from the banks of the

Krishna are thus described in a verse, which is an adaptation of one which occurs in a modified form in the *Bhōja-Prabandha* in connection with the deeds wrought by Asōka :—

> " Where hast thou been wandering, Nārada ? Here, in the earth, what is there wonderful ? The oceans ran dry filled with the dust from Dhananjaya's victorious march ; but why there was no fear for the smiter off of the wings of (mount) Mainaka was, because the waters were again filled up by the tears of the wives of the enemies of Nītasōka."

Mr. Rice at the time he published this inscription, now nearly 27 years ago, did not—it is not by any means surprising—quite appreciate the meaning of what he called "this extraordinary verse," which, he remarked, had "no apparent connection with the text except in containing the name Dhananjaya." Knowing as we do now, the great war of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, in which Dhananjaya took part, we can see its real significance. Apparently he fought very hard and the nameless poet who composed the record compared him to Dhananjaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna), the great epic hero, to whom Srī-Krishna sang the famous *Gīta*, and quietly appropriated, with but a few verbal changes, a famous verse from the work already named. The following is the original verse, as applied to Asōka, the great Buddhist Emperor:—

> " Where hast thou been wandering, Nārada ? Say, what is there wonderful in the Earth ? Sambhu, the ocean, was turned to dry land by the dust from his victorious march ; but it was filled up, the people in the Earth say, by the tears of the wives of his enemies, caused by their separation from their husbands bereft through Asōka."

Dhananjaya, who appears as Nītasōka in the above-quoted verse, should have greatly distinguished himself to have deserved such a comparison. It cannot be all praise, without the smallest substratum of truth in it. Undoubtedly Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's expeditions against Pratāpa-Rudra seem to have been conducted on a scale commensurate with the genius of one who so successfully planned and executed the conquest of Raichur five years later.

Settlement of the conquered countries on the East Coast.

These conquests on the East Coast made Krishna-ēva-Rāya master of the whole of the Eastern sea-board p to about Bezwada. Beyond that point, the treaty of peace restored the *status quo ante*. As regards the governance of re-conquered provinces, Krishna-Dēva-āya made suitable arrangements. To Udayagiri, he ppointed Rāyasam Kondamarasayya, a number of whose grants dated in 1520, 1521 have been found at Kandakūr and other places in the present Nellore District (*Ins. in Madras Presidency*, II. 301, 594). To Kondavīdu, he appointed Sāluva-Timma, who entrusted it almost immediately to his nephew Nādindla-Appa, who as Governor administered the Province. There is no doubt that he governed the province under the control of his uncle, the king's premier. (See *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 257 dated in 1521 A.D.; see also *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 242 dated 1520 A.D.). An inscription dated in 1515 A.D., which comes from Pērur in the Kistna District, states that that Nādindla Gōpa and Appa were brothers and nephews of Sāluva-Timma and greatly distinguished themselves. They obtained their offices from their uncle. Appa is said to have been the son-in-law of Sāluva-Timma. It is to him that the Telugu poet Mādayyagāri-Mallanna dedicated his poem *Rājasēkhara-Charitramu*. Gōpa, his brother, was the governor of Gooty. Gōpa's literary attainments are referred to below. But the possession of Kondavīdu was not left undisputed by the Kutb Kuli Shāh, king of Gōlkonda. But to make the position lear, we may hark back a few years and sketch the istory of its connection with the Kutb Kuli Shāh, the ultan of Gōlkonda. He had, without provocation, aken several places (such as Rāyakonda, Dēvarakonda, tc.) in 1512 and had brought on, in 1513, an invasion f Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Though the Muhammadan istorian claims many successes (see Briggs' *Ferishta*, 54-371), there is no doubt that eventually he was beaten off by Krishna-Dēva-Raya. At first, Kutb Kuli was successful. He defeated Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, so the Muhammadan historian records, at Pangal, and then marched on Kōvilkonda and took it. He next attacked Bellamkonda, but was stoutly defended by Sītāpati, Rāja of Kammamet (Kambampēta), who was eventually defeated. Most of the neighbouring Hindu chiefs rose to a man and called in Rāmachandra-Dēva, son of Pratāpa-Rudra, of Orissa, who held Kondapalli at the time and was ruling from there the surrounding country. Kutb Kuli, who had meanwhile returned to Gōlkonda, advanced with fresh forces and attacked Kammametta, which he took and put to the sword, every man, woman and child in the city. The Hindu chiefs, under Rāmachandra-Dēva, attacked him, however, at Palinchinur, where they were defeated. Kuli seized upon Kondapalli, Ellore and Rajahmundry. A treaty of peace between Kuli and the Orissan king fixed the Godāvari as the Eastern boundary of Gōlkonda. Thus, Ellore and Bezwada passed into the hands of Kutb Kuli, who, however, had reckoned without his host in a third person, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya advanced to the rescue of the Hindus and Kutb Kuli marched to Kondavīdu. He was, however, forced to retreat, being attacked from Bellamkonda and Vinukonda. He reduced the first of these, though at great loss to himself. He then retired to Kondapalli. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya now attacked the Muhammadan garrison at Bellamkonda. Kutb Kuli now countermarched, and Krishna-Dēva-Rāya raised the siege. Kutb Kuli next advanced on Kondavīdu and took it. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya detached a large force under "Seeva Roy" (probably Siva Rāya), his general and son-in-law. This induced Kutb Kuli to evacuate Kondavīdu and encamp on the banks of the Krishna. Seeva Roy occupied Kondavīdu. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya next apparently engaged Kutb Kuli, whom he pursued. Kutb, however, defeated him, says the Muhammadan historian, and he retired to Kondavīdu. He was followed by Kutb Kuli, who now invested Kondavīdu. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya yielded and agreed to become tributary. This story, if it relates to the wars of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (1514-1515) referred to in the account above given in connection with his second campaign against the East Coast countries, is a highly exaggerated and one-sided one. Even so, the Muhammadan historian has had to allow for the success attained by "Seeva Roy" against Kondavīdu. The above wars of Kutb Kuli cover the entire period of his twenty-one years' rule (1512-1534 A.D.) and it is probable that the occupation of Kondavīdu by the Vijayanagar general "Seeva Roy" marks—this is no more than a mere guess, for it is difficult to reconcile the account of the Muhammadan historian with that told in the *Rāya-vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* and, more than these, in the inscriptions of the period engraved almost contemporaneously with the events as they occurred—its capture by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1515 A.D. The subsequent story of its re-capture could not have occurred until long after 1525 A.D. As we have seen above, Appa was governor until at least 1521 A.D. up to which there are records mentioning his grants. An inscription dated in *Saka* 1447 (or A.D. 1525) in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya has been found in the place itself. (*M.E.R.* 1890, page 2). This shows that it continued under his rule at least till then. It was probably about this time, if not five years earlier, that the attempt to retake Kondavīdu was made by the Muhammadans, as mentioned by Nuniz. Nuniz states that after the settlement of the "Catuir" province, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya sent Sāluva-Timma, his minister, to Kondavīdu "to see directly to the land and its government." If the settlement of "Catuir" occurred in 1518-19, the despatch of Sāluva-Timma to Kondavīdu should have come off in about 1520 A.D. According to Nuniz, before Sāluva-Timma aimed at Kondavīdu, he met opposing his path, a Muhammadan General named "Mader Meluquo" whose identity it is difficult to establish, who, in that year, is said to have reduced Kondapalli and other places, on behalf of Muhammad Shāh Sultān. He had under him 69,000 men. Sāluva-Timma, with 200,000 men, "had very little fear of him." The Muhammadan General was not only defeated but his wife and son were all taken prisoners, while "the horses and elephants and much money and store of jewels," taken were all sent to king Krishna-Rāya. The prisoners were commanded to be put in prison, where, it is said, they died. Sāluva-Timma, who had meanwhile returned to the capital, "went back to his territories" and after he had stayed there some months and seen to its government and decided matters in dispute, returned to the King at Vijayanagar, by whom he was, we are told, "well received as being the principal person in the Kingdom."

According to a record found at Mālkapuram in the Kistna District, Kondapalli and other fortresses were apparently taken about 1531 A.D. by one Masanada Eli Kutumana Malka-Odeya, who is said to have reduced them on behalf of Muhammad Shāh Sultān, the Kutb Shāhi King. (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 151-152). This would seem to indicate that the provinces as far as the mouth of the Kistna continued in the dominions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to the end of his reign, despite the attempt of the Kutb Shāhi king to retake it.

Reduction of "Catuir" on the Coromandel Coast, 1518 A.D.

According to Nuniz, Krishna-Rāya prepared, after the conclusion of the peace with Pratāpa-Rudra and his marriage and the restoration of the territories beyond the river, for an attack on "Catuir" which he describes as "the land of a Lord who had been in revolt for fifty years." In describing its situation, he adds that "this land is on the Charamandel (*i.e.*, Coromandel) sides." Seeing that this campaign was undertaken after the conclusion of the peace with the Orissan and the marriage coupled with the restoration of his territories and looking to the situation of the country as described by Nuniz, "Catuir" cannot be identified with "Cuttack" as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. Cuttack is on the Orissa Coast, while the place mentioned by Nuniz is said to have been on the Coromandel Coast. Considering that Nuniz further states that "one of the principal cities" in that country where the lord of the land was laid siege to by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was "surrounded with water," Mr. Sewell suggested the identification of the latter place with "Vellore in North Arcot, the old fort at which place is surrounded with a deep moat," this place, according to tradition, having been "captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from a Reddy Chief." (*A Forgotten Empire*, 321, *f.n.* 1). If this was the place besieged by the King, then the country of "Catuir" may be modern "Chittoor," which is not far away from it. There is, however, no evidence so far that the chief of this "had been in revolt for fifty years," as narrated by Nuniz, unless he be identical with the chief Sāmbava-rāya, of Champakanagara (*i.e.*, modern Virinjipuram), not far away from Vellore. If the latter was the person, he had been subdued by prince Kampa and restored as long back as the middle of the 14th Century, *i.e.*, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. Vellore was, as a matter of fact, included in Padavur-kōttam, Padavur in the present Polur Taluk being Sāmbava-rāya's stronghold. (See *ante* under *Kampa*). No inscriptions of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya have, however, been found at Vellore, though his inscriptions have been found at Virinjipuram, one dated in *Saka* 1432 (expired), cyclic year *Pramōdūta* (*i.e.*, 1511 A.D.) and another in *Saka* 1435 (expired), cyclic year *Srīmukha* (current), or A.D. 1535. (See *M.E.R.* 1887, Nos. 51 and 52; also, *S.I.I.* I. Nos. 121 and 123, pages 132 and 133). Whether Vellore was the place besieged or not, there is no doubt that it was not Cuttack, as there was no need for a further expedition against it after the conclusion of peace with the Orissan King and as Nuniz specially adds that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya never again went to the Orissan country after he returned from it at the close of his third and final campaign which ended in the attack on Cuttack itself. Whichever the place indicated by "Catuir" (it may be, for instance, the Cuddalore country, where the town besieged may be Pālaiyamkōttai, which is near the great Virānam tank and there is a large mud fort near it [see *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, 276]), there is no doubt that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was bent on reducing it at any cost. Nuniz thus describes the siege:—

> "Now at the time Crisna Rao attacked this City it was winter, for which cause the river that surrounded it was so swollen, and carried down so much water, that the King could do no harm to the place. And King Crisna Rao, seeing this, and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal (river) which had opposed itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. And this was done in a short time, since he had many soldiers and after the (new) water-courses were finished and brought to where the water should go he opened mouths in the river, the water of which very soon flowed out so that the bottom could be seen, and it was left so shallow that it enabled him to reach the walls of the City; and the river was thus diverted into fifty different beds. Inside the City were one hundred thousand foot soldiers and three thousand cavalry, who defended themselves and fought very bravely, but this availed little to prevent Crisna Rao from entering in a few days and slaughtering all of them. He found large treasures in this City, amongst others in ready money a million and six hundred thousand golden *pardaos*, besides jewels, and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the

capture of this land Crisna Rao divided it amongst many of his captains giving to each one what was necessary for him; and the chief who lived in the City and who was lord of the land was taken away captive and carried to Bisnagar, where he died in the King's prison." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 321-22).

War against Bijapur, 1520 A.D.

By about the year 1520 A.D., Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had established peace at home and peace abroad. The rebellion at Seringapatam had been quelled; Pratāpa-Rudra had been humbled; and the Gōlkonda Sultān had been beaten and the country as far as the mouths of the Krishna retaken. A minor insurrection raised by the chief of Catuir had also been suppressed and his territory sequestered and divided among the nobles of the land. The Portuguese, on whom depended the supply of horses, had been befriended and they appear to have been as favourable to him as they were unfavourable to the hated "Moors." Internally, the large favours and gifts to temples and the abolition of unpopular taxation had won the good will of the people. Everything mentioned in the "testament" of Sāluva-Narasimha I had been fulfilled but the capture of Raichur and Mudkal, which still remained in the hands of the Bijapur Sultān. For forty long years they had been lost to Vijayanagar and even the efforts of Sāluva-Narasimha had not been attended with success. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had evidently set his heart on the reduction of these places and prepared for the campaign for at least a year since the subjugation of these places and when everything was ready, he was at a loss to find a ready reason for breaking the existing peace between the two countries. Sāluva-Timma, his astute minister, reminded him that as the subsisting treaty of peace had provided for the extradition of land-owners, debtors, revolutionary subordinates or criminals escaping into each other's countries and as there were many such land-owners and debtors, who were the king's subjects, and had sought refuge in the

Sultān's dominions, the king might demand their surrender, and on their not being delivered up by the Sultān, there would be good ground for breaking the peace.

Ostensible cause of the War. The affair of "Cide Mercar."

Now it so happened that one Cide Mercar (probably Siddi Marakkāyar), who had long enjoyed the confidence of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, had been entrusted by him with 40,000 *pagodas* for the purchase of horses at Goa, had left Vijayanagar, and failed to return to the capital within the expected period. It transpired that he had reached Pomda, within less than six miles of Goa, but from there had fled to Ādil Shāh, carrying with him the money he had brought. It was whispered that he had been sent for by Ismail Ādil Shāh, who had been induced, on the pretext that the Siddi was learned in the law and related to Muhammad, and put in charge of Dabull, to which place he repaired. On Krishna-Dēva-Rāya asking for his repatriation, Ādil Shāh protested he neither knew him nor had him near him. It was said that Siddi fled from the place, and had been murdered on the orders of Ādil Shāh, who had plundered him of the money. On learning this, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya showed great indignation and held that the peace had been broken. He summoned a council of his great lords, to whom Ādil Shāh's letter was read aloud. As the reading of it concluded, the king declared that "without more ado they should make ready, since he wes determined to take full vengeance." His councillors vainly advised that the amount was too petty for a war and that if even war was declared, the Siddi was sure "to keep well away from the army." On finding the king obdurate, they proposed that he should attack Raichur instead of Dabull, as the former had at one time belonged to Vijayanagar and had been lost to the Ādil Shāh and that if it was attacked, Ādil Shāh would be forced to defend it, and thus the king would get an opportunity to take vengeance jointly both "on one and the other," *i.e.*, on both Raichur and Ādil Shāh. The king considered this as sound advice and accepted it.

The true cause.

The affair of Siddi Marakkāyar was thus the proximate cause of the war against Ādil Shāh, though the true cause lay deeper. It was the desire to regain Raichur and Mudkal, which had originally belonged to Vijayanagar and had been lost to the Bijapur Sultān. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was thus not in possession of these two places when he went to war in 1520 A.D. This, at any rate, is the version of Nuniz, which seems both correct and natural. Ferishta, however, states that these two places were at the time in the possession of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and that Ismail Ādil Shāh moved his forces to "recover" them from him. As Mr. Sewell has justly remarked, Nuniz's version, which seems based on personal knowledge gained on the spot at the time the war took place, is entitled to greater weight than that of Ferishta, who wrote some sixty years later. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 151-154).

War notified to other Muhammadan Sultāns.

Simultaneously with his preparations for advancing on Raichur, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya took the precaution to notify his intended move to the Sultāns of Berar, Bidar, Golkonda and the Nizamshāh. This was done, says Nuniz, "out of great craftiness" and with a view "to reduce them to his side," for they hated Ismail Ādil Shāh as being "more powerful" than themselves. With whatever object done—it was doubtless a consummate political move—it had the desired effect, for they left Ismail to his fate. Some of these, indeed, even returned replies to the effect "that he was doing rightly and that they would assist him as far as they were able."

Advance of the army to Raichur.

Everything being, meanwhile, ready for the great advance, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya left his capital with an immense host in battle array. It was probably the month of February 1520, when the weather should have been intensely hot, while the route through the cotton plains to the battle-field was in the best of condition for the passage of troops, guns and baggage. Descriptions of the advance of his camp, of the great battle that followed at Raichur and how Krishna-Dēva-Rāya turned what seemed a defeat into a signal victory and how he next turned his attention to the siege of Raichur and how he took and spared it should be read in the picturesque and animated narrative of the *Chronicle of Nuniz*, which could have been written only by an eye-witness of the events, so detailed is the story and so personal is the touch by which it is vivified. Kāma-Nāyak, chief of the guard, led the advance with 30,000 cavalry—archers, men with shields, musqueteers and spearsmen—and a thousand horse and six elephants. After him went Trimbicāra (Triyambakarasa of Sivasamudram, Governor of Mālēnahalli-sīme) (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 25) with 50,000 foot and 2,000 horse and 20 elephants. After him went Timapanayque (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Timma, the Prime Minister) who had with him 60,000 foot, 3,500 horse and 30 elephants; and after him went Adapanayque (Adapanāyaningāru) with 100,000 foot, 5,000 horse and 50 elephants. Next came Condamara (Rāyasam Kondamarasayya, governor of Udayagiri province); next to him was Comara (Kumāra), who had 80,000 foot, 2,500 horse and 40 elephants; after him came Ogemdraho (Govinda-Rāja, the brother of Sāluva-Timma), governor of the capital city, with one of his captains, who had 30,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 10 elephants. Then came three favourites of the king who had 40,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 15 elephants. The page who served the King with betel had with him 15,000 foot, and 200 horse, while

Comarberca (*i.e.*, Kumāra Vīrayya of Seringapatam) had 8,000 foot, 400 horse and 20 elephants. The chiefs of Bankāpur and many other places made their way by other routes to the battle-field with 10 or 12 thousand men. The King had besides his guard of 6,000 horse, 40,000 foot, the pick of all his kingdom and 300 elephants. The army on the move should thus have numbered nearly a million men, including the camp-followers to be referred to below, the fighting men alone, numbering, according to Nuniz, at 736,000 with 550 elephants. The troops appear to have marched in eleven army corps, other troops from the interior districts joining them before Raichur. The troops were well accoutred, each after its fashion. The war elephants were fitted up with *howdahs* from which four men could fight on each side of them, the elephants being completely clothed and they having on their tusks knives fastened, well ground and sharpened, in order that they might do the utmost damage. Several cannon also were taken.

Nuniz's description of the camp followers.

The camp was well provided with every requirement. Describing the camp followers, Nuniz writes:—

"I do not speak here of the washermen, who are numberless here—they wash clothes—nor of the public women, who accompanied the army; there were twenty thousand of them with the king during his journey. Any one can imagine the amount of baggage that such a large number of people would take. In the rear with the king, but always on the road in front of him, some ten or twelve thousand men with water-skins go seeking water, and place themselves along the road to give water to those who have no one to bring it to them; this is done so that none of the people should die of thirst. Three or four leagues in front of all this multitude go some fifty thousand men who are like scouts; they have to spy out the country in front, and always keep that distance; and on their flanks there are two thousand horse of the cavalry of that country. These are all bowmen, and they always advance on the flanks of the scouts '............................' And with them a great number of merchants, besides many others who were already in advance with all supplies; so that wherever you may be you will at once find all you want. Every captain has his merchants who are compelled to give him all supplies requisite for all his people, and in the same way they carry all other necessaries."

Halt at Malliabad.

The army thus formed and supplied, reached Malliabad, close to Raichur, where the King pitched his camp for resting awhile. Here his other forces from the interior joined him and then, at the appointed hour, the advance of the combined army was recommenced and the investment of Raichur began with Kāma-Nāyak, the chief of the guard, pitching his tents under its very walls, though the investment was a close one. The besieged, however, gallantly held out, the 200 heavy pieces of artillery they had with them helping them materially in keeping off the besiegers. At the end of three months, news arrived that Ismail Ādil Shāh had arrived with reinforcements.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's camp described.

The King's camp lay to the east of the fort, where the fight was heaviest. The camp has been graphically described by Nuniz, who writes thus:—

"The tent of the king was surrounded by a great hedge of thorns with only one entrance, and with a gate at which stood his guards. Inside this hedge lodged the Brāhman who washes him and has charge of the idol that he always carries about with him, and also other persons who hold offices about the king's person, and eunuchs who are always to be found in his chamber. And outside this circle all around are his guards, who watch all night at fixed spots; with this guard are quartered the officers of the household; and from thence to the front were all the other captains in their appointed posts, according as each one was entrusted and ordered. Outside of all these people, in a camp by themselves, were the scouts of whom I have already spoken, whose duty it is to patrol all night through the camp and watch to see if they can catch any spies. On the other side the washermen (who are those that wash clothes) were in a camp by themselves, and they were near to the place where they could best wash clothes.

"All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain's division has its market, where you found all kinds of meat, such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance; so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Bisnaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grains, Indian-corn, vetches (*munguo*, probably *moong*, green gram) and other seeds that they eat. Besides these things, which are necessaries, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you wanted; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters. There were craftsmen also working in their streets, so that you saw they made their golden jewels and gewgaws, and you will find all kinds of rubies and diamonds and pearls, with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There were also to be seen sellers of cloths, and these were without number as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance. I do not know who could describe it so as to be believed, so barren a country is this Rachol and so sandy. It is a mystery how there should be an abundance of everything therein. Any one can imagine what grass and straw would be required each day for the consumption of thirty-two thousand four hundred horses and five hundred and fifty-one elephants, to say nothing of the sumpter-mules and asses, and the great number of oxen which carry all the supplies and many other burdens, such as tents and other things. Indeed no one who did not understand the meaning of what he saw would even dream that a war was going on, but would think that he was in a prosperous city. Then to see the numbers of drums and trumpets, and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike up their music as a sign that they are about to give battle it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and if it happened that a bird came flying along at the time when they made such a terrific noise it used to come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp, and so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites, of which they caught many.

"But I cease to speak more of this because I should never finish."

Arrival of Ismail Ādil Shāh with reinforcements.

Ismail Ādil Shāh arrived with 120,000 foot, 18,000 cavalry and 150 elephants and a considerable artillery, by the aid of which latter he sought "to defeat the Rao of Narsymga," *i.e.*, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Having reached the river at the northern side, he pitched his camp and rested his troops, to see if Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would attack him there in his camp. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, did not move; he did not even indicate what he was going to do. Ankus Khān, one of the generals of Ismail, said that Krishna-Dēva "was only waiting for them to cross the river to at once fall upon them." Others said that he was "afraid" and was dispirited because of the memory of former defeats that had been sustained by his predecessors. The advice of these latter was to push forward and pass the river and offer battle. Ismail, impressed apparently by this counsel, mustered his troops and ordered them to get ready, as he desired to cross the river at once and advance to the attack. Ismail believed that his best course was to halt on the farther side and thence to send his troops to charge Krishna-Dēva's camp. He thought by so doing he would not be beaten and would not lose Raichur. "In this greedy resolve," as Nuniz terms it, he passed the ford to within nine miles of Krishna-Dēva's camp and he caused his own camp to be strengthened by large trenches, and commanded his artillery to take post in front, and he arranged the order of his positions and the manner in which they should behave if they were attacked by the enemy. His camp extended along the length of the river for the sake of the water, so that he might not be cut off from it by Krishna-Dēva.

The two armies get engaged in battle.

Immediately Krishna-Dēva learned that Ismail had passed the river, he commanded all to make ready, but ordered that no movement should take place in his army till he should see how the enemy acted. When they brought him further news that the enemy had pitched his camp and strengthened his positions, he ordered a general advance of all his forces. He divided his army into seven wings. Kumāra-Vīrayya, the chief of Seringapatam, who was his father-in-law, begged the command of the van. He and his "thirty grown-up sons" were allowed to pitch their camp a league (3 miles) from the Ādil Shāh's tent. Krishna-Dēva next ordered all his troops to arm themselves, and at dawn of Saturday, the 20th May (1520), the day fixed for it "as a lucky day," he gave battle to the enemy. Nuniz describes the great battle in vivid language to which no summary could do adequate justice:—

Nuniz's description of the battle of Raichur.

"Seeing that the dawn of Saturday was now breaking, the drums and trumpets and other music in the king's camp began to sound and the men to shout, so that it seemed as if the sky would fall to the earth; then the neighing and excitement of the horses, and trumpeting of the elephants, it is impossible for any one to describe how it was. But even if I told in simple truth it would hardly be believed, the great fear and terror that struck those who heard it, so that even those very men that caused the noise were themselves frightened at it. And the enemy on their part made no less noise, so that if you asked anything you could not hear yourself speak and you had to ask by signs, since in no other manner could you make yourself understood. When all in the camp had gone to the front it was already two hours after sunrise, and the king ordered an advance of his two forward divisions, with command so as to strike home that they should leave not one of the enemy alive; and this was forthwith done. They attacked the enemy so hotly that many of the king's troops found themselves on the top of the trenches that the Moors had constructed in the fields. The Moors were disposed as if they expected that the king would engage them all at once with all his forces, and so it appeared to the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh) and to his officers; and for that reason he held ready all his artillery, waiting for the time when, owing to the adventurousness of their main body, his men must of necessity cause much slaughter in their ranks. Then he intended to bring up his artillery and destroy them. But as soon as he saw the manner of their attack, the Ydallcao had to abandon the plan that had seemed to him best for their safety, and he commanded the whole of the artillery at once to open fire; which discharge, as it was very great, did much damage to the enemy, killing many of the horse and foot and many elephants, and it compelled the king's troops to retire. As soon as the Moors saw their enemies beginning to leave the field, they charged all amongst them, so that there did not remain one man in the saddle nor one who kept his face to the foe; but all the king's troops began to fly, and the Moors after them, slaughtering them for about half a league. When the king saw the way in which the troops fled, he began to cry out that they were traitors, and that he would see who was on his side; and that since they all had to die they should meet their fate boldly according to the custom. "Who ranges himself with me?" he cried. Immediately there thronged about him all those lords and captains that were ready to side with him, and the king said that the day had arrived in which the Ydallcao would boast that he had slain in it the greatest lord in the world, but that he should never boast that he had vanquished him. Then he took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of his pages, so that he might show it to his queens in token of his death, that they might burn themselves according to custom. Then he mounted a horse and moved forward with all his remaining divisions, commanding to slay without mercy every man of those who had fled. As soon as these last saw what a reception they received at the hand of their fellows they felt compelled to turn and charge the enemy, and their attack was such that not one amongst Moors was found to face them; for the Moors met them as men engaged in a pursuit all in great disorder. The confusion was so great amongst the Moors and such havoc was wrought (in their ranks) that they did not even try to defend the camp they had made so strong and enclosed so well; but like lost men they leaped into the river to save themselves. Then after them came large numbers of the king's troops and elephants, which latter worked amongst them mischief without end, for they seized men with their trunks and tore them into small pieces, whilst those who rode in the castles (howdahs) killed countless numbers.

"The troops advanced thus, pursuing the foe, till the king reached the river, where, seeing the death of so many—for here you would see women and boys who had left the camp, their horses and men who through clinging one to another could not escape as there was so much water in the river—the king's troops stood on the bank, so that whenever a man appeared he was killed, and the horses that tried to clamber up by the bank of the river, unable to do so, fell back on the men, so that neither one nor the other escaped and the elephants went into the stream, and those that they could seize were cruelly killed by them. Seeing what passed, I say, the king out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains, so that each one withdrew all his forces." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 337-40).

End of the pursuit of the enemy.

Krishna-Dēva next advanced to the camp of Ismail Ādil Shāh and rested himself in his tent. His generals and commanders protesting against the taking of such repose, suggested the completion of the destruction of all his enemies. They suggested that, if he did not wish to pursue them himself, at least some of them might be allowed to do so. In any case, they urged that "it was not wise to cease from pursuit so long as day light should last." Krishna-Dēva, however, took a different view. He answered that many had died who were not to blame; and that if Ismail Ādil Shāh had done him wrong, he had already suffered enough; and moreover, it did not seem to him good, since Raichur yet remained to be taken, that they should go forward. They should rather, he urged, make themselves ready for its capture. He proposed that the siege had to be resumed and conducted henceforth in a new and better manner. Nuniz states that Krishna-Dēva had persuaded himself that since Ismail had lost so many men and so much honour, and had lost indeed all his power, he would not wish to live any longer and that he must be dead on the field. This, however, was a wholly unfounded belief.

Flight of Ismail Ādil Shāh on an elephant.

Ismail had not entered into the fight but had all the time remained with a select guard of 400 horse under Asada Khān. When Asada Khān saw how the soldiers fled and how completely they had been beaten, he cried out "Sire, if thou seekest to live, follow me!" and Ismail sought refuge on an elephant and escaped with him by a circuitous route, skirting the range of hills to the south. The whole of his camp and all that he possessed fell into the hands of Krishna-Dēva.

Salābat Khān's attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day.

Thus seizing the Shāh's camp, Krishna-Dēva commanded the spoil to be collected. It was found that five of the commanders of Ismail had been taken prisoners, those of the highest rank being found amongst the dead. Among the former was one Salābat Khān, who had been the commander-in-chief of the Shāh's forces. He had had for his body-guard 500 renegade Portuguese and with these he had made a valiant attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day. As soon as he saw that his army was defeated and was being furiously driven back towards the river, he strove to collect and form a body of men, but, so great was the onslaught and so terrific the slaughter, that he could not do it because "there was not one amongst them who thought of aught but to save himself." What followed is best told in Nuniz's own words:—

His defeat and annihilation of his troops.

"And thinking it worse to be conquered than to die, he threw himself amongst the king's troops, slaughtering them, and doing such wonderful deeds that ever after he and his Portuguese were remembered, so much were their terrible strokes feared, and the deeds they did; so that they let them pass on, and they penetrated so far amongst the troops that they found themselves close to the king's bodyguard. There the horse of Salabatacao was killed. In order to succour him the Portuguese did great deeds, and killed so many men that they left a broad road behind them which no one dared to enter, and they fought so well that they got another horse for Salabatacao. As soon as he was on its back he seemed like nothing but a furious wolf amongst sheep; but since already they were all so exhausted, so wounded all over, and so encircled by the enemy (for they were attacked on every point), Salabatacao was at length overthrown, and his horse with him. And as the Portuguese who tried to succour him were all killed, not one escaping, and he himself was wounded in many places, he was taken prisoner." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 342).

The spoils of the war.

The result was decisive and the spoil was immense. The latter included 4,000 horses of Ormuz, 100 elephants, 400 heavy cannon, besides small ones, and 900 gun-carriages, etc., many tents and pavilions; besides sumpter-mules and oxen and other beasts of burthen, for they were numberless and numbers of men and boys and some women even, "whom the King (Krishna-Dēva) ordered to be released." The losses on Krishna-Dēva's side numbered 16,000 and odd. He saw to the final disposal with "customary honours" of the dead, including the giving of much alms for the souls of those who had been killed in battle on his side, and then turned again upon Raichur, where he pitched his camp as before to prosecute the siege with vigour and determination.

Ferishta's account.

Ferishta's account of the battle is somewhat different. According to him, Ismail crossed the river, after a drinking bout, and risked the battle and lost it. He agrees that Ismail escaped on an elephant and that nearly half of his troops perished in the battle, being harassed beyond all power of opposition by cannon shot, musquetry, and rockets, while the survivors were lost in trying to escape through the river. (See Sewell, 301-02). Ferishta says that Sunjeet-Roy, the chief commander of the Vijayanagar forces, was among the slain on the King's side. The name is difficult to identify, but if it refers to Sāluva-Timma (Timma and Sanjiva are synonymous), then it is a mistake, for Sāluva-Timma was only one of the commanders in the battle, Krishna-Dēva leading the forces himself—and he survived the battle many years.

Siege of Raichur resumed.

The siege of Raichur was thus resumed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in person. The city was strongly fortified, with three walls of heavy masonry, each of these being packed with earth inside. On the highest point there was a fortress like a tower, very high and strong, at its top there being a spring of water which ran all the year round. The city was well supplied and there was no question of its being starved out. The defenders had no idea of yielding and had so far shown great spirit in foiling the attempts of the besiegers. When Krishna-Dēva-Rāya suspended the siege to advance against Ismail Ādil Shāh on his approach to the northern river, a sally had been made by the defenders with a small force, but it proved ineffectual, as the besiegers were as alert as the defenders. The siege promised to last long but the appearance on the spot of one Christovao de Figueiredo, a Portuguese dealer in horses, and his party of twenty musqueteers with their skill in the use of fire-arms, materially helped to shorten the period. Figueiredo had apparently just reached Vijayanagar with horses and having heard of Krishna-Dēva's advance on Raichur, hastened up with his little party to the latter place to meet the king. He was well received and accommodated in special tents, close to the King's own quarters. Krishna-Dēva appears to have taken "much pleasure in his company," and says "he was glad that he should see the war and his great power." Figueiredo expressed a desire to see the city that was being besieged, but Krishna-Dēva asked him to desist from such an idea lest any disaster should befall him. Figueiredo assured him saying that the whole business of the Portuguese was war and the greatest favour that the king could do him was to grant the requisite permission to him to go and see how the siege was going on. Leave granted,

> "Christovao de Figueiredo went close to the trench before the walls, keeping himself as much concealed as possible, and seeing how fearlessly the Moors exposed themselves on the wall, began, with the musqueteers whom he had brought, to open fire on them in such a way that he slew many, the Moors being careless and free from fear, as men who up to then had never seen men killed with fire-arms nor with other such weapons. So they began to forsake the wall (at this point), and the king's troops found an opportunity of coming in safety to it, and they began to destroy much of the masonry; and so many people collected on this side that all the camp was put in commotion, saying that Christovao de Figueiredo had entered the city with his Portuguese. This was told to the King. Those in the city could not understand what was going on, nor how these people came to be in the King's service, until they recollected how on the day of the other fight (*i.e.*, the battle of Raichur) the Portuguese had come, and then they considered themselves, lost. For by the aid of these men the King's people came without fear to the wall, where already it was damaged in many places, because the city had its cannon so high up that these could do no injury to the men who were at the foot of the wall. The wall was also filled up inside with earth, and there were no cannon in the breeches. The people of the city whom up to that time they had killed had been supplied with stones which they had flung on the besiegers from the top of the wall, and with musquets and arrows. so that even if the king's men were able to reach the wall at all they were at least wounded; but as Christovao de Figueiredo with the Portuguese prevented the enemy from appearing at all on the wall, the Hindus were unable to reach it at their ease.

"..................................The King's (Krishna-Dēva's) captains begged Christovao de Figueiredo to permit them one day to attack the Moors in his company, and he, in order to content the more honourable of them, went with them on those days. One day he divided his musqueteers into three companies and began to kill several amongst the Moors who showed themselves, in so much that none durst be seen; and then the King's troops began, in these three divisions, to attack the wall with many pickaxes and crowbars, and he sent to tell the rest that they should attack on their own account; and such was the result that the defenders of the city began to abandon the first line of fortification, and the women and children took refuge in the citadel. The captain of the City (*i.e.*, the officer in charge of the garrison and the defence), seeing the dismay that had spread amongst his people, began to turn them back with encouraging words, and with some of them betook himself to that part of the wall which he saw was most severely pressed, begging them that they would come back to the wall and not be afraid. He was answered by some that at that point were those Franks (*i.e.*, Portuguese musqueteers) who were helping, and that as soon as any one showed himself he was a dead man; and he, wishing to see for himself, where the Portuguese were, reached over with his body in front of one of the embrasures and was killed with a musquet-shot that struck him in the middle of his forehead. It was said by the Moors that Christovao de Figueiredo had killed him, and they took notice of him. As soon as the captain was thus killed, there was great lamentation in the City, and soon the wall was deserted, so that the men from the King's camp were left to do as they pleased with it, and they noticed the outcry that arose within and saw that there was no one defending the wall. They therefore retired to see what should happen, and left off fighting for that day." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 343-45).

The death of the Commander of the defending garrison filled it with dismay. On the morrow following his death, which was the twentieth after the great victory on the river bank, the City surrendered. The men carrying the white flag, begging for the king's mercy, were, at his direction, received by Sāluva-Timma, his minister. They were assured of safety of person and property and were asked to return to the City. Krishna-Dēva promised to enter the City the next day, but meanwhile bade one of his Generals to take possession of it on his behalf. Before withdrawing, the assembled Muhammadans, pointing to Figueiredo, whom they observed there, said that the capture of the City was due to him, for, they said, "he had slain their captain, and with his people had killed many Moors, which caused the City's destruction." The king, casting his eyes on Figueiredo, adds Nuniz, "nodded his head, and turned to the people telling them to observe what great things could be effected by one good man."

On the next day, Krishna-Dēva rode in state through the City. Arriving at the citadel, he called for the leading citizens and said to them that "he would spare all their property, that they might freely act as they wished regarding both that and their persons, and those who wished to stay in the City might remain in their old state as before; and as for those who wished to depart, they might do so at once with all that they possessed." They all thanked for such "gentle treatment." Meanwhile, news reached him that the troops were robbing the City. He not only took immediate steps to prevent this, but also saw to it that everything taken was restored to its owners. Those who perpetrated the robberies were also "soundly chastised."

The news of the fall of Raichur and the great victory won by Krishna-Dēva became well known all over India. The Deccan Sultāns, while glad at heart that Ismail Ādil Shāh had had the punishment he deserved, were afraid of their safety. They were not only astonished at the capture of so strong a city as Raichur but also surmised at the greatness of Krishna-Dēva's power and army.

They sent envoys with letters and these were duly presented to Krishna-Dēva at Raichur. In these, they suggested that he should content himself with having defeated Ismail and should not wage further war. They also proposed that he should return to Ismail what he had taken from him. If he did not agree to these proposals, they said they would be compelled to join Ismail and speedily recover that which had been lost. Krishna-Dēva returned a manly and spirited reply. After thanking them, he said :—

> " As regards the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh), what I have done to him and taken from him he has richly deserved ; as regards returning it to him, that does not seem to me to be reasonable, nor am I going to do it ; and as for your further statement that ye will all turn against me in aid of him if I do not do as ye ask, I pray you, do not take the trouble to come hither, for I will myself go to seek if ye dare to await me in your lands." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 349).

Krishna-Dēva stayed some more days in the City, making the necessary arrangements for its Government. After repairing its walls, he left sufficient troops to guard it, and as regards those who desired to leave the place but who had not the means to do so, he commanded that what was required for their journey should be given to them. He then departed to the capital, where, we are told, he was " received with great triumphs, and great feasts were made and he bestowed bountiful rewards on his troops."

Here, we may take leave of Figueiredo, who played so important a role in the reduction of Raichur. He was, according to one authority, a factor at Vijayanagar, with horses and elephants, in 1517 A.D. He was evidently already well known to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when he joined him in his camp at Raichur ; otherwise the friendliness displayed towards him, *even before he distinguished himself at Raichur*, would be inexplicable.

According to Paes, who wrote his *Chronicle* about 1520, he visited Krishna-Dēva at the new town of Nāgalāpuram with a number of his countrymen, who, Paes adds, were "all very handsomely dressed after our manner, with much finery." We also learn from him that "the king received him very well, and was complacent to him. The king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness. We were all so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us." The king also provided for the due reception and comfortable stay of Figueiredo and his friends at the capital, to which they were proceeding. Paes concludes with the remark: "The king said many kind and pleasant things to him, and asked him concerning the kind of state which the king of Portugual kept up; and having been told about it all, he seemed much pleased." It would seem that not long after the battle, Figueiredo was put in charge of the mainlands of Goa. He was several times in peril at the hands of the Muhammadans. In 1536, he was present at the battles which took place between the Portuguese and Asada Khān, the Governor of Belgaum, with whom he was on friendly relations. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 251, f.n. 1).

Ismail Ādil Shah's request for reparation and restoration of territories: visit of his ambassador at Nāgalāpur, 1520 A.D.

The festivities over, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya moved on to the new city, where he found awaiting him an ambassador from Ismail Ādil Shāh himself. After about a month's waiting, he was asked to present himself and was duly received in audience. Ismail charged Krishna-Dēva through him, with having broken the long standing peace between the two countries, invaded his country and devastated it and he demanded reparation thereof, together with a return of the spoils of war and the restitution of Raichur. Krishna-Dēva replied that be would restore everything to Ismail as desired by him and would even immediately release Salābat Khān provided he "would come and kiss his foot." Thus was repaid, one might say, the insult that Ahmed Shāh Bāhmani had offered—if Ferishta is to be believed—to Dēva-Rāya II, whose son he ignominiously paraded through the market and streets of his camp and whom he made to sit at the *foot* of his throne! (See *First Dynasty* under *Dēva-Rāya* II). And thus does disgrace rankle in human breasts and human memories, regardless of time and regardless of consequence. The ambassador retired, and sent word to Ismail of what had occurred. He, not long after, sent a reply, saying that though he was ready to do joyfully what Krishna-Dēva desired, he did not see how he could go to his capital. On hearing this, Krishna-Dēva, bent as he was on Ismail eating the humble-pie, asked him to meet him on the confines of his kingdom, to which, he said, he would soon repair. The ambassador departed to induce his sovereign to reach the boundary to meet Krishna-Dēva, who forthwith moved on and reached Mudkal, not far from it. Ismail's men kept saying he was coming, but he never came! The truth was clear that he dared not meet Krishna-Dēva, who next camped at Bijapur with the determination of seizing him there, or putting him to death, "to avenge the affront that had been put upon him." He stayed many days waiting for him, but the water failing him, Krishna-Dēva left it for Mudkal. But the troops practically destroyed the city, almost all the houses being ruined for the sake of firewood, which was hard to get there. Almost the only building left standing was Ismail's palace, which Krishna-Dēva himself had occupied.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's terms.

Ismail's reply and evasion.

Krishna-Dēva's march on Bijapur.

His return to Mudkal and Asada Khān's treachery; Salābat Khan's death.

As soon as Krishna-Dēva reached Mudkal, he found Ismail had returned to Bijapur. Here, his general, Asada Khān, pretended to go himself as envoy to

Krishna-Dēva and settle terms according to his wishes. He was, however, a cunning and selfish man, and was more bent on securing the death of his rival Salābat Khān, now prisoner of war at Vijayanagar. On reaching Mudkal, he deceived Krishna-Dēva into the belief that Ismail would have yielded long before but for the conduct of Salābat Khān who had advised him, by letter, not to do so, for Krishna-Dēva really desired to slay him. His mind being thus inflamed by this plausible infamous liar, Krishna-Dēva angrily ordered that Salābat Khān should be beheaded. This was done as soon as the message arrived. Immediately the deed was done, Asada Khān felt insecure, lest his treachery should be found out. He attempted to obtain leave to go to get his master meet Krishna-Dēva on the border, but he was kept on by the king on the plea that he had something more to show him and to speak to him. But his behaviour betrayed him and his treachery was found out. Thereupon Krishna-Dēva ordered him to be seized, but when they went to search for him, they found he was already gone! He had fled one night and had told Ismail that Salābat had been put to death and that they had tried to kill him also but had escaped and that Ismail ought not to trust Krishna-Dēva. He then escaped to Belgaum, where he strengthened his position and refused to come when summoned by Ismail, for his villainy had been found out.

Discovery of Asada Khān's plot and his flight.

Krishna-Dēva's fury knew no bounds, more especially as he found, when reaching the boundary of his kingdom, that neither Ismail nor his mother, as Asada Khān had told him, had arrived there. He now discovered that it had all been done to compass the death of Salābat Khān, who had charged Asada Khān with cowardice on the battle-field and had vowed vengeance on him if ever he obtained his liberty. Full of fury at what had

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's advance on Kulbarga and restoration of the Bāhmini prince to the throne, 1521 A.D.

happened, Krishna-Dēva advanced against Ismail's territory. Many places were taken and destroyed. At length, he reached Kulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bāhmini kings, which also he destroyed, and razed the fortress to the ground. The commander in charge was probably Ādil Khān, who is mentioned in the *Āmuktamālyada* (Verse 42). He was killed in the assault on the fortress and his head exhibited on a pole to his troops to induce their surrender. At Kulbarga, there resided the three sons of the house of Bāhmini, who had been held captives by the Ādil Shāhs. He proclaimed the eldest of these as king of the Deccan. The other two brothers he took with him, and gave each an annual allowance of 50,000 *pagodas* Apparently this was an attempt on Krishna-Dēva's part to subvert the independent sovereignty of the five Sultāns, which proved abortive. As remarked by Mr. Sewell, there is no mention in Ferishta of this attempt at restoration of the original Bāhmini Dynasty by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, though there is a lithic inscription (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1015, Ongole 71) dated in *Saka* 1421, cyclic year *Īsvara*, which seems to countenance it. In this record, two unusual titles are given to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and there are *Ashta-digrāya-manōbhayankara* and *Yāvanarājya-sthāpanāchārya*. The former suggests that he had, by his wars and conquests, inspired fear into the kings of the eight different corners, an obvious poetical exaggeration for saying that he had overcome his enemies near about, while the latter definitely states that he established on the throne (of his ancestors) the Yāvana prince, in this instance the Bāhmini King's eldest son. There is ample authority for the position that the Muhammadans were also known as Yāvanas in India. The date of the above record is, however, wrong, for the *Saka* and Cyclic year do not agree. Taking the cyclic year as the date intended, we see it corresponds to *Saka* 1440 current, or A.D. 1517-18.

If so, the date of the grant should be set down to early in 1518 A.D., in which case, the restoration may have to be set down to a date slightly at least anterior to it. As a matter of fact, we know that the Bāhmini Sultān Mahmud II died in 1518 A.D., leaving three sons Ahmad, Alā-ud-dīn and Wali-ullah, the first of whom became Sultān in 1517 A.D., the second in 1521, and the the third in the same year; though in all cases only nominally. It is possible that the restoration of the Bāhmini prince was one object of the invasion of Kulbarga and that the prince actually put on the throne in 1521 A.D. was the second prince Alā-ud-dīn, though Nuniz describes him as "the eldest." If this inference is well founded, then, it will have to be presumed it was the second attempt at king-making by Krishna-Dēva, the first attempt having been made about the end of 1517 A.D., when the "eldest" son of the late king should have already been enthroned, according to the Ongole record. This at least is the only way to reconcile Nuniz with what is stated in the inscription quoted above. Whether there was a war in 1517 A.D. against the Bijapur king, prior to 1521 A.D. in this connection, and whether there was a prior occupation of Kulbarga for the purpose of enthroning the first prince in 1517 A.D., are points difficult to determine, though the *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* seem to countenance it. However this may be, there can be no question whatever that the invasion of 1521 A.D., mentioned by Nuniz, did actually take place, for it is mentioned in at least three other authorities—the two Telugu works above-mentioned and in Krishna-Dēva's own production *Āmuktamālyada*. The *Rāyavāchakamu* definitely states that Krishna-Dēva was actually called away from a visit to Tirupati, in his own dominions, to Kulbarga, from where he had news of disturbances by *Mlēchchas* (*i.e.*, Muhammadans), that he turned back on it and quickly reduced it (it is said in 3¾ hours, an obvious exaggeration) capturing its commander and the entire garrison of 6,000 horse. He appointed, it is added, one Gujjari Kalyān Rāo as its Governor and then returned to Tirupati. (See *Sources*, original text, p. 127). The *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* also mentions the reduction of Kulbarga (*Ibid*, 132), while the *Āmukta-mālyada* yields the additional information that there was a bloody engagement at Kembāvi, situate on the way to Kulbarga and in the Raichur Doab area, (see *E.I.* XII, 291-2), with the Yāvanas, who were, it is said, entirely destroyed by Krishna-Dēva. (Canto V, colophon). With the return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya from Kulbarga in 1521 A.D., the campaign against Ismail Ādil Shāh may be taken to have been ended.

Political effects of Krishna-Rāya's victories.

Here it might be convenient to note some of the more far-reaching political effects of the victories gained by Krishna-Dēva at Raichur and elsewhere against Ismail Ādil Shāh. Mr. Sewell has suggested that they quenched for ever the ambition of Ismail for any conquest in the south. So far, indeed, had his prestige and power been weakened that he had to seek for alliances with the neighbouring Muhammadan chiefs to seek to maintain them. These Muhammadan chiefs saw that their cause would be lost if they did not combine. It was such a combination that led to the eventual invasion of Vijayanagar and its destruction in 1565 A.D. In the Vijayanagar Kings, a new sense of pride and arrogance became visible, from now, and it made them overbearing towards their neighbours, with the result that it engendered a spirit of bitter hostility against them on the part of their neighbours, which hastened their eventual downfall. The effects on the Portuguese were equally great. With the destruction of Vijayanagar, Goa fell, never to rise again. The interests of the Vijayanagar kings and the Portuguese were so far dependent on each other's well-being that it might well be said that Vijayanagar would have collapsed earlier than it did but for the Portuguese at Goa. The political prescience of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya irresistibly induced him to befriend them, and so delayed the onrush of the Muhammadans into the South of India and possibly Ceylon as well for another half of a century. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 155-156; Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 130-2).

Conquest of Ceylon, *Circa* 1522-3 A.D.

There is at least one inscription (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23; No. 146 of 1903), which claims for Krishna-Dēva-Rāya the conquest of Ceylon. The same feat is attributed, as will be seen below, to his successor Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya in an inscription found at Tanjore. (See *M.E.R.* 1899-1900, Para 70). How far this ascription of the conquest of Ceylon to Krishna-Dēva is true cannot be stated. There were disturbances about 1521 A.D., in Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu VII (1509-1521 A.D.) being at war with the Portuguese in the land. He had called in the help of the Zamorin of Calicut but the war ended in what is known as "the sucking of Vijaya Bāhu" by his son and nephews and his dethronement. The island was divided between the three brothers, the eldest of whom Bhuvanaika Bāhu becoming king at the end of the war (1521-1550). It is not known if, in connection with these disturbances, Krishna-Rāya's aid had been called in by Bhuvanaika Bāhu, who in the division had all the seaports reserved to himself. (See H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 96-7). Nuniz states that the king of Calecu (Calicut) was a subordinate of Achyuta. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 374). If so, probably the help the king of Calicut gave in 1521 A.D. to Vijaya Bāhu of Ceylon, was considered as having been given by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his suzerain. We also know that in the days of Dēva-Rāya II (1424-1446 A.D.), his minister had gone on an expedition to the coast of Ceylon and had put down a rebellion that had broken out there. Apparently, parts of the northern part of Ceylon were included in the Governorship of Madura and the Vijayanagar kings called themselves kings of the *Dakshina Samudra* as well as *Pūrva* and *Paschima Samudra* (*i.e.*, lords of the countries bordering on the Southern, Eastern and Western Seas).

Description of the capital by foreign travellers and merchants.

Of the magnificence of the capital, of its buildings, trade, etc., of the magnificence of the festivals celebrated therein, of the kingdom generally and its Government, we have interesting and detailed descriptions in the narratives of the Portuguese chroniclers, Paes and Nuniz, and in the account of Duarte Barbosa. Of these, Barbosa, who was a cousin of Magellan, the celebrated traveller, probably visited the city between 1504-1514, and finished his work in 1514. It was first published in 1524. Paes wrote his account about 1520 and records his personal experiences, while Nuniz, who stayed some years at Vijayanagar, as a dealer in horses, furnishes not only a history of the Vijayanagar kings up to about 1536 or 1537 A.D., when he wrote his *Chronicle*, but also has embodied in it his personal knowledge of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his successor Achyuta.

Duarte Barbosa's account, 1514 A.D.

Barbosa, in describing the kingdom, calls it the "Kingdom of Narasinga," after Sāluva Narasimha I, the name by which it was best known among the Portuguese since the days of that king. He writes:—

> "It is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships."

He appears to have reached Vijayanagar *via* Bhatkal, Dharwar and Nāgalāpūr, which appears to have been the usual route then for the travellers from the Coast to the capital. Bhatkal was evidently the chief seaport of the kingdom. He says it had a large trade, its chief exports being iron, spices, drugs and myrabolans, while horses and pearls formed its important imports. As regards the two imports, he remarks that "they now go to Goa, on account of the Portuguese," who evidently, since their capture of the place in 1510 A.D., had managed to divert the trade to that place and into their own hands. Goa too was beginning to rear its head as a rival to Bhatkal. The governor of Bhatkal was a nephew of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who, Barbosa notes, lived in great state and called himself king, though "in obedience to the king, his uncle." He describes "Bijanangar," as he calls the capital, as a "very populous" city, well built on "level ground." He states that the king always resided in this city. "He is," he adds, "a gentile and is called Raheni," which last word is probably a corruption of the Telugu word "Rāyani-vāru," which may be rendered into "His Majesty." Then follows the following description:—

> "He (the king) has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts...........There are also in this city many other palaces of great lords, who live there. And all the other houses of the place are covered with thatch, and the streets and squares are very wide. They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds.........There is an infinite trade in this city......In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Celani (*i.e.*, Ceylon), and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the kingdom of Narasinga and another in the kingdom of Decani (*i.e.*, Deccan). There are also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there, which are brought from Ormuz and Cael...........also silk-brocades, scarlet cloth, and coral...........The king constantly resides in the before-mentioned palaces, and very seldom goes out of them.........All the attendance on the king is done by women, who wait upon him within doors; and amongst them are all the employments of the king's house-hold; and all these women live and find room within these palaces, which

contain apartments for all...........This king has a house in which he meets with the governors and his officers in council upon the affairs of the realm. (This probably refers, as Mr. Sewell suggests, to the highly decorated building in the interior of a larger building which was surrounded by a lofty wall with watch-towers, which figures as "No. 29, Council Chamber" on the Madras Government plan of the Hampi ruins)... ......They come in very rich litters on men's shoulders......... Many litters and many horse-men always stand at the door of this palace, and the king keeps at all times nine-hundred elephants and more than twenty-thousand horses, all of which elephants and horses are bought with his own money......... This king has more than a hundred thousand men, both horse and foot, to whom he gives pay."

As Barbosa mentions the fact that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been at war with the Orissan king, it is possible, the time of his visit should have coincided with the return of the king to the capital after his conquests in the East Coast.

Paes' account, 1520 A.D.

Paes' account is a much more intimate one. His description shows a settled and orderly administration of the kingdom, despite the wars that the king had had to carry on against the Muhammadans across the northern frontier and on the East Coast and elsewhere, while the capital itself was, perhaps, at the height of its glory. His *Narrative* of the country, the people, and the king and his nobles, his palace and his methods of administration, and many other things should be read at length in the original, which, in its English version, forms part of Mr. Sewell's well-known work. According to him, the whole country was "thickly populated with cities and towns and villages" and "very well cultivated and very fertile." Rice, wheat, Indian corn, grains and "an infinity of cotton" are mentioned as its chiefs products. He notes that cows and oxen were held sacred, the former worshipped and the latter used as beasts of burden. The kingdom extended from Bhatkal on the West Coast to Orissa on the East, about 348 leagues; and had a coast line of about 600 leagues—an ordinary league being equal to a *graos*, apparently a corruption of the Kannada word *gāvada*. Of the chief ports of the kingdom, he mentions seven on the West Coast, Amcola, Mirgeo, Honor (Honnavar), Batecalla (Bhatkal), Mamgalor (Mangalore), Bracalore (Barcelore) and Bacanor. At all these places the Portuguese had factories. Of these, the foremost was Bhatkal, which served as an emporium for the commerce of the country. It was connected *direct*, through fairly even country, with the capital, and the road to it had "many streams of water by its side, and because of this, so much merchandise flows to Batecala that every year there come five or six thousand pack-oxen." Among the principal cities, he mentions one called "Darcha," identified with Dharwar. In it, according to him, was a great rock-cut temple which won his admiration. The figures in it were so well made "that they could not be better done." Inside the enclosure of this temple, "there is," he says, "a stone like the mast of a ship, with its pedestal four-sided and from thence to the top eight-sided, standing in the open air." He adds the remark: "I was not astonished at it, because I have seen the needle of St. Peter's at Rome, which is as high or more," a reference probably to the Egyptian obelisk at St. Peter's. If the identification "of Darcha" is correct, as the existence of a rock-cut temple there is unknown, the possibility of the reference being to Bādāmi, which is not far away from Dharwar and is famous for its rock-cut cave temples, is strengthened.

Describing the city of Vijayanagar, Paes writes:—

> "Before you arrive at the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other enclosures of the city, and this wall is a very strong one and of massive stone work...... At the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side,

which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside, there are two little temples;............ and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at. Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gate-ways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

"This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space than all the castle of Lisbon.

"Still going forward, passing to the other gate, you see two temples connected with it............

"Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants and there you will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair, where they sell many common horses and nags, and also many citrons and limes, and orange, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street. At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken in such sort that the city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things......... On every Friday, you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.

"The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes; and the king has close to his palace a palm-grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish quarter is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit-trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks.........outside the first enclosing wall.

"The people of the city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and the elephants. "This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, indian-corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, *moong* (green gram), pulses, horse-gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors...........The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or else have to go by another way. There is much poultry........... many partridges, though they are not of the same sort or quality as ours.........All these birds and game animals they sell alive and they are very cheap.........Of other birds they give more than you can count.........Then the sheep they kill every day are countless, one could not number them............Then to see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of Povos (near Lisbon) are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one. For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*, and pomegranates, ten for *fanam*."

Describing the king's palace, Paes writes thus :—

"The palace is on this fashion : it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many door-keepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its door-keepers and its guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corridor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates, there were two circles in which were the dancing women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of stair-case of stone beautifully wrought,—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of, is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

"Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*casa*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine; and in the other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of State made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the wood work of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (? *soajes*), and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) it has plates of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses, and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another State jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais, resting on a support, were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts."

Again, writing of a visit paid by himself and his friends into the interior of the palace, Paes says:—

"On entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted, they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

"As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say "gilded," but "lined" inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are the pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the crossbars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it, I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone; this room is all of ivory, as well as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better,—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such. On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains. Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, *i.e.*, underneath some arches, where is the entrance into the palace, there is a little door closed with some padlocks; they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings.

"As soon as we left this house, we entered a courtyard as large as an arena for beast-fights, very well plastered, and almost in the middle are some pillars of wood, with a cross beam at the top all covered with copper gilt, and in the middle four chains of silver links with hooks which are caught one into the other; this serves for a swing for the wives of the king. At the entrance of this courtyard on the right hand we mounted four or five steps and entered some beautiful houses made in the way I have already told you—for their houses are single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although there may be other houses on top; the plan is good, and they are like terraces. There is a building there, built on many pillars, which are of stone-work, and so also is all the work of the roof, with all the rest of wood (*maneria*), and all the pillars (with all the other work) are gilded so that they seem as if covered with gold.

"Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars, a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red color on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from the sculptures. You must know that they make no use of this building because it belongs to their idol and to the temple. At the end of this is a little closed door where the idol is. Whenever they celebrate any festival of this idol, they carry it on a golden throne and put it underneath that canopy which is made for that purpose; and then come the Brahmans to perform their ceremonies there, and the dancing girls come to dance.

"Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot, was a chamber, where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones and the cross bars were covered with gold. Above this chamber was another smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber along the same corridor in front, was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below as all the rest. Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end, three caldrons of gold, so large that in each one they could cook half a cow, and with them were others, very large ones of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones. Thence we went up by a large staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculptures on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; between one and another is an arm's length and a half, perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are great many beasts like elephants, and of other shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back, and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work, only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamines*), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms).

"The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of the dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

"At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen the bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing, more graceful. At the other end, on the right, is the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 284-289).

The buildings so graphically described by Paes are all utterly destroyed, though there is no doubt, as Mr. Sewell has remarked, that "careful and systematic excavation would disclose the whole plan of the palace and that in the ruins and debris would be found the remains of the beautiful sculptures described." He adds that close behind the great decorated pavilion, from which, according to Paes, the king and the court witnessed the feasts described by him, and therefore close to the gate alluded to by him, are to be seen, even to this day, half-buried in earth and debris, two large stone doors, each made of a single slab. The stone has been cut in panels to imitate wood-work, and has large staples carved from the same block.

Nuniz's description.

Nuniz's *Chronicle* is more historical than descriptive of the Empire or its capital. What he says of the administration of the former will be found in another section of this account. Though he does not describe the city of Vijayanagar as such, Nuniz's graphic narrative—especially of the camp that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya carried with him on his advance against Raichur—gives an indication of the highly magnificent style of living prevalent among the royalty in his time, and the conveniences that should have been easily procurable at the capital. It fully bears out Paes' remark that it was "the best provided city in the world."

Remission of taxation, 1510 and 1517.

One of the earliest acts of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, immediately after his coronation, was the remitting, in 1510 A.D., or so, of the marriage tax. (See *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64, also see *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 182, quoting *M.E.R.* 1893, App. A. No. 343 of 1892, which is an inscription dated in *Saka* 1429 in Vīra-Narasimha's reign). Sāluva-Timma and his brother Govinda seem to have had a good deal to do with the abolition of this tax. The two last quoted inscriptions mention Sāluva-Timma in this connection. The tax had had a wide vogue and it was remitted almost throughout the whole of the Empire in Ghanagiri-rājya (*i.e.*, Penukonda Province), Mulvāi-Mahārājya (*i.e.*, Mulbāgal province), Guttirājya, (Gooty province), Kandanavolu-rājya (*i.e.*, Kurnool province), Gāndikota-rājya, Siddhavatta, Siddāpura-sīma, Chandragiri-rājya, Nāgamangala-sīme, Maluvādu-Mahārājya, Rāyadurga, Melega-Bennur-sīme and other provinces and tracts. One record which registers this remission says that the tax was being paid from very early times, by both parties of all castes on the marriage of virgins. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 387 of 1904). Its abolition is also registered in a record which comes from Dodda-Malūru in the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64 dated in 1510 A.D.). Sāluva-Timma is in this record praised as "the great minister, the *tāntrā-nāyaka*," and as the person who remitted this tax. This would seem to indicate that he had had no mean hand in getting this odious tax removed when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was yet on the threshold of his career.

The next remission of taxation was made in 1517 A.D., when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya ordered it from Bezwada, on the eve of his conquest of the Kalinga country. This was not a general remission of taxation, but a remission in favour of certain temples (Vishnu and Siva) situate in the Chola country. The amount of taxation thus remitted amounted in each case to 10,000 *Varāhans*. The taxes remitted are specified to be those known as *jōdi, sūlavari, piravari, arasupēru* and other minor taxes which were payable to the King's palace. Apparently, the remission of taxes of the kings in the days of Sāluva-Narasimha I either had not been extended to all the temples in the Chola country which now received the remission, or there had been, since that time, re-imposition of these odious taxes once again during the interval. However this might have been, the remission, on the eve of the final expedition against the Kalinga king, shows that it was at least partly dictated by political motives. From whatever motives they were announced, they should have proved highly popular. The fact that the order was directed to be recorded on stone in all the temples benefited by it shows that the enforcement of these taxes so far in favour of the palace, particularly in the regions in which the temples were situated, had proved a source of trouble. The utmost publicity was therefore sought to be given to the royal order of their remission in favour of the temples in these areas. The inscription which records this remission at Sēndamangalam, in the South Arcot District, defines the boundaries with which the temples which had the benefit were situated. These included temples in the present South Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, including practically the whole country between the Gadilam and the Cauvery. (*M.E.R.* 1903, App. B. No. 74; *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23, and inscriptions quoted therein).

A thoroughly complete list of all the temples to which the remission was extended are mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917 and 167, 184, 226, 235 and 251 of 1925. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 32).

Several more temples, both Siva and Vishnu, which received the benefit of the remission, are mentioned in a number of inscriptions found in the Māyavaram Taluk. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 32; App. B. Nos. 167, 184, 226, 235 and 251 of 1925). These give the most complete list hitherto known. In one of these, found at Tirukkadaiyur, one Kariyamānikya Bhattar Āpatsahāyar, is mentioned as having waited on Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Vijayanagar and got the order of remission ratified by him. This Āpatsahāyar is known from certain inscriptions to have been a Brāhman and to have pleased Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by his warlike deeds at the battle of Raichur. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 47 of 1906 dated in *Vrisha*, corresponding to *Saka* 1444 or A.D. 1521-22; *M.E.R.* 1925, App. B. 246 of 1925 dated in 1443, Cyclic year *Vikrama*, or A.D. 1520-21).

As a builder of temples, etc.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was a patron of arts and literature. Among the great temples built by him, at least three are well known. These are the Krishnasvāmi, the Hazār Rāmasvāmi and the Vittalasvāmi temples at the capital. Both were built, according to inscriptions found in them, in 1513 A.D., after his conquest of Udayagiri and Kondavīdu. The Rāmasvāmi temple was probably close to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's palace and served as his private place of worship. Though begun in his reign, it seems to have been finished some years later. The interest of this temple lies chiefly in its sculpture, with which the outside of its outer walls and the outside walls of the *vimāna*, inside the court, are replete. Of even greater interest are the series of scenes from the *Rāmāyana* cut out on two of the inside walls of a *Mantapa*, which is to the north of the main entrance and upon the walls of the courtyard adjoining it. Some of the most popular scenes are depicted on these walls, one of the most spirited being Rāma's shooting his arrow through seven trees at once to prove to Sugrīva his greatness as a warrior. The Krishnasvāmi temple is sculpturally less interesting but is noteworthy as a structure specially built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya for housing an image of Srī-Krishna which he brought from a temple in the hill fortress of Udayagiri after its capture by him. A civil building of great interest erected by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the "House of Victory," as Paes calls it, the striking ruins of which lie to the east of the Rāmasvāmi temple. Paes states that it was built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, on his return home from his victory over the Orissan king. This structure may accordingly be set down to 1516 A.D. What now remains of it shows that it should have been a work of great sculptural merit, which, with the temples built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, must have added to the architectural glories of his capital. It should have been a square erection at the bottom, if the square platform, which still exists, is any indication of its original shape and this should have had another erection on it, of what shape there is no knowing. The series of carvings that run round the platform are, with the exception of what is to be seen in the Rāmasvāmi temple, above referred to, "the most spirited" now to be seen at Hampi. Elephants, camels and horses alternate with wrestlers and boxers; scenes representing black-buck(?) shooting and panther spearing and girls dancing with much *abandon* in very diaphanous skirt are to be seen here. As far as is known, these mural carvings are unique in Southern India, and they have been compared by Fergusson with some of Layard's discoveries in ancient Nineveh. (See Fergusson, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, 65-66 and W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, under *Hampi*). The sculptures may be taken to indicate at least to some extent the life led by the people of the time in the great Empire. The Vithalasvāmi temple was also begun by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1513 A.D., as his inscriptions in it show but the construction of this notable structure, though continued during the two succeeding reigns and even endowed by Krishna-Rāya and his queens, was neither finished nor consecrated. It exemplifies, accord-to Mr. Rea, " the extreme limit in florid magnificence " to which the Vijayanagar architecture advanced. Earlier in his reign, about the end of 1509 A.D., on the occasion of his coronation, he built in front of the Virūpāksha shrine, in the great temple at the capital, a large Assembly-Hall (*Ranga-mantapa*) and a *gōpura* (or tower) before it. At the same time, he repaired the great *gōpura* of the temple. These facts are duly recorded in an inscription at Hampi quoted above. An unique monument that belongs to this reign is the monolithic statue of Lakshmi-Narasimha in the capital city, which, at present, is one of the most striking objects of curious interest amongst its ruins. As an inscription on the stone in front of it states, it was hewn by a Brāhman from a single stone in 1528 A.D., when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the ruling sovereign, granted it an endowment. (*E.I.* I, 398; IV, 3, *f.n.* 4). It is fully 22 feet high and is finished in great artistic fashion, every detail being worked out with care. The Lakshmi part of the image, sad to state, is almost all gone except for part of the one arm she passed behind the back. In the printed illustrations of this statue, the arm being not visible, it has been often mistaken for a mere image of Narasimha, which, of course, is not correct. (See *Bellary District Gazetteer*, under *Hampi*). (For the additions made to the older temples at Kālāhasti, Tiruvannāmalai, Srīsaila, etc., by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, see below under *As a donor of gifts*).

Public works of utility.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, however, did not content himself by merely beautifying the city by architectural additions. He also appears to have busied himself in bringing into existence certain works of public utility. He is said to have constructed, in 1521, the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel, both in the present Bellary District and both still in use and of great value to the country. Another immense work of interest undertaken by him was the construction of a dammed-up lake at the capital, which he carried out with the aid of one Joao de la Ponte, a Portuguese Engineer, whose services he had obtained from the Governor-General of Goa. As Paes describes it as still under construction during his time, it might have been begun, as Mr. Sewell suggests, about 1520. Nuniz also mentions it. It burst once and was rebuilt by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, sixty human beings being offered to it by way of sacrifice. It was partly intended for purposes of irrigating lands below it and partly for supplying water to the new city of Nāgalāpura, built by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in honour of Chinnādēvi, one of his favourite wives. (See under *Domestic Life*). The revenue yielded by the lands irrigated by it, in Nuniz's time, *i.e.*, within fifteen years or so, was "20,000 pardaos" (*i e., pagodas*).

Construction of Nāgalā-pūra, 1520.

The construction of the new town of Nāgalāpura and its beautification are referred to by both Paes and Nuniz. The former says that it was built in two years and that the king delighted in it "because it was made and peopled by him." Nuniz furnishes the information that Chinnā-Dēvi, the courtezan in whose name it was built, had been known to the king long before his accession to the throne. Sāluva-Timma, the minister, observing one day, his going secretly to her house, rebuked him and brought him back to the palace. On Krishna-Dēva-Rāya confessing the great love he bore for her and the promise he had made her to marry her after he became king, Sāluva-Timma arranged for his marriage with a princess of the "house of Narasinga" and kept both the newly wedded royal lady and Chinnā-Dēvi in a house, to which he added a lofty tower, in which he lodged the latter. Though he married other ladies, adds Nuniz, "he loved this one better than any others." He then states :—

"This king built a city in honour of this woman, for the love he bore her, and called its name Nagalapur and surrounded it with a new wall which is one of the best works that he has in his kingdom, and he made in it a street very long and very large with houses all of masonry. In order to people this town he ordered all the chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did. This town has one principal street, of length four thousand and seven hundred paces (about a mile and a quarter), and of breadth forty, which is certainly the most beautiful street it is possible to see; and he made and finished this town without stinting any expense on it. It now yields (*i.e.*, about 1536 A.D.) forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for things which enter into it." (*Ibid* 363).

Nāgalāpūr, the above mentioned town, has been identified with modern Hospet, and if this identification is correct, the "beautiful" street mentioned by Nuniz, which should doubtless have led towards the capital, is no longer existent. (*Ibid*, 363). Paes mentions the interesting detail that the king repaired to the new town (in 1520) after the Maharnavami festival, of which he gives a graphic description, and was "received by the citizens with great feasts, and the streets were hung with rich cloths, and with many triumphal arches under which he passed." The king also held here on the occasion a review of his troops. He also received here Christovao de Figueiredo and his Portuguese friends, who were desirous of seeing the Palace at the capital. (*Ibid*, 251, 284). Nuniz's story of the town being named after the "courtezan" Chinnā-Dēvi (*Ibid*, 362) and Paes' statement that "it bears the name of his wife for love of whom he made it" (*Ibid*, 246) seem to be not above suspicion. Apparently, their informants should have given them the current tale identifying it with the "courtezan." As it was generally known as Nāgalāpūr, the probabilities are that it was intended by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as a memorial to his mother Nāgalā-Dēvi.

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The coupling of the "courtezan's" name which was Chinnādēvi and not Nāgalā-dēvi seems to have been a popular invention, which the two foreign travellers should have guilelessly believed in and recorded.

His Gifts.

The gifts which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made were extensive and in fact on a grand scale, beating probably all previous record in this connection. Grants to temples virtually began from the date of his coronation. In the year he was crowned, he built a *ranga-mantapa* (or Assembly Hall) in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpāksha temple and a *gōpura* (or tower) before it, besides repairing the great *gōpura* in front. On that occasion, he donated to god Virūpāksha a golden lotus, set with the nine kinds of gems and a snake ornament. Though the gifts were actually made and dated in *Saka* 1430 or 1509 A.D., the inscription recording their donation, which is to be seen on a tablet set up in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (see *E.I.* I. 361-71), is shown by the eulogy included in it to have been actually composed long after the conquests of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been completed. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, 175). After the capture of Udayagiri on 1574 A.D., he granted three villages to the different shrines there for providing offerings, etc., for them. (*M.E.R.* 1892, No. 203; also inscriptions of *Madras Presidency* Nos. 788-792). On his return from the capture of Udayagiri, in 1514, A.D., he visited the Tirumalai temple at Tirupati, and as a thank-offering, bathed the God there in gold with 30,000 gold pieces (*Kanakābhishēka* with 30,000 *Varāhas*) and presented a treble-stringed necklace and a pair of gold bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz. This is attested to by four inscriptions at the place in three different languages. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 53 to 55). On the consecration of the Krishnasvāmi temple at the capital in 1514 A.D., Krishna-Dēva-Rāya caused the image of the God Bālakrishna to be set upon a jewelled *mantapa* and presented valuable jewels set with the nine kinds of gems, together with gold and silver vessels, besides the gift of nine villages free of all taxes, for oblations and offerings to the new temple. (*M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 25 and 26). The two queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya seem to have made additional gifts of ornaments and villages to this and other temples at the capital. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, 176, *f.n.* 6). After the fall of Kondavīdu, considered impregnable at the time, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya visited with his two queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi, the famous shrine of Amarēsvara at Dharanikōta (Dhanakataka), and bestowed the munificent gifts of *tulāpurusha* (weighing himself against gold) and *ratnadhēnu* (the cow of gems, a gift made by his queen Chinnā-Dēvi) and *Sapta-Sāgara* (the seven seas, a gift made by his other queen Tirumala-Dēvi). On this occasion, he also presented to the temple the village of Pedda Maddur for the merit of his father Narasa and his mother Nāga-Dēvamma and two other villages free of all imposts to 106 Brāhmans proficient in the *Vēdas.* He also presented two villages in the conquered country to his own domestic priest Ranganātha Dīkshita. As all these gifts were made within a fortnight after the fall of the fortress of Kondavīdu in *Saka* 1437 (*i.e.*, 1515 A.D.), they may be taken as thank-offerings for the signal success that had attended his arms. (*M.E.R.* 1897, No. 272, see also *E.I.* VII, 17; and the Tiruvannāmalai record above referred to). On his advance against the Kalinga country, he visited Ahōbalam, on December 21, A.D. 1515. He then presented to God Ahōbala-Narasimha there, a necklace, a pendant set with diamonds and an emerald, wristlets set with rubies, a golden plate, and 1,000 *Varāhas.* One of his queens also gifted a pendant, while the king added the village of Madura for providing offerings to the God. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 64 of 1915). Next he visited, on the onward march, the temple of Āndhra Vishnu at Srikākulam. So far, no inscriptions of his, recording any of his grants or gifts at this temple, have been traced. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency II, 891-2*). At Simhāchalam, apparently after the fall of Potnūru and the flight of Pratāpa-Rudra, he and his two queens made gifts to God Narasimha. Two inscriptions dated in *Saka* 1438 (March-April 1517 A.D.) record these gifts, which included a number of jewels. Later, in 1519 A.D., two villages were granted to this temple in his name. (*M.E.R.* 1894, Nos. 243-45). The last of these grants was evidently made in his name, in 1519 A.D., by the Gajapati king after Krishna-Rāya himself had returned to his capital. On his return journey from Potnūru, he and his queens halted at Rājahmundry and distributed rich presents. At Kālahasti, in the Chittoor District, his charities took the permanent form of substantial additions to its temple in the shape of a hundred pillared *mantapa*, and a big *gōpura*, now known as the *Gāligōpura*. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 23; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 196). Similarly at Tiruvannāmalai, in the North Arcot District, the following additions were carried out:—at housand pillared *mantapa*; a sacred tank in front of the latter for celebrating the floating festival; a reservoir called after queen Tirumala Dēvi to supply water to this tank; a *gōpura* of eleven- storeys; a smaller *mantapa* for resting the image when taken in procession on the seventh day of the annual festival; a sacred car for Vināyaka; gilding with gold the door and door posts of the gate called *Uttama Sōlan* and others; gilding the cornices of the temple with solid gold as also the pinnacle; digging a well for the kitchen in the Goddess's temple; and construction apparently renovation) of the central shrine. Besides these, gold and silver jewels, images, etc., were also presented to this temple. (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 574). An inscription found in it dated in *Saka* 1438, Dhātu, corresponding to 1517 A.D., records these donations. At Chidambaram, he built the northern *gōpura*, said to be the best there. (*M.E.R.* 1892, Nos. 174 and 175. (Mr. Krishna Sastri has suggested that most of the big *gōpuras* of the more famous temples in Southern India must have been built in the time of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as also the additions generally known as 100 or 1,000 pillared *mantapas.* The *Rāya-Gōpuras* (or the tower of the Rāya, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya being pre-eminently the greatest of the kings entitled *Rāya*) at the different shrines of the south may thus be set down to his munificence. It might be presumed, accordingly, that his charity was extended to almost every temple throughout the south of India. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 181, *f.n.* 4). These gifts and grants do not, however, exhaust what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave away. They may be taken to be representative of the larger and more important of his gifts, made on memorable occasions, to commemorate his victories or as offerings made with a view to winning victories. His gifts to scholars, poets and religious teachers were probably equally generous. The Shimoga plates which record a gift dated in 1513 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1), refer to the kinds of gifts he gave away. These included, according to it, *Brahmāndam, Svarna-mēru,* and other like gifts. He is said to have made these gifts again and again at Kānchi, Srīsaila, Tiruvannāmalai, Chidambaram, Venkatādri and other places, so as to add greatly to his glory. The Shimoga plates themselves record the gift of a village in the Srīranga kingdom, to one Visvēsvara, a highly esteemed teacher well versed in the *Srauta* and *Smārtha,* ever performing the six rites, free of all imposts. One set of the Kallur *matha* plates, dated in 1527 A.D., record a grant in favour of one Nārāyana-Yatīndra of the Kūdali Ārya *matha* (*E.C. VII*, Shimoga 84) while another set from the same *matha*, record another grant in favour of Vyāsatīrta-Yatīndra of the Vyāsarāya-*matha.* The latter is also dated in 1527 A.D. (*Ibid*, Shimoga 85).

Vyāsarāya was a great scholar and logician and is known as the author of several works of outstanding merit on *Dwaita* philosophy. Another grant in his favour (Copper-Plate grant 13 of 1905) is dated in 1525 A.D. and records the gift of a village called Bettakonda, re-named Vyāsasamudram after the donee and Krishnarāyapuram, after the donor. With this village was given Kandakūru, close to which is the big tank Vyāsasamudram. Vyāsarāya also figures as the donee in another record dated in 1523 A.D. of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at Tirumalai, Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1887, No. 74). Apparently he was a great favourite with the king. A poet greatly honoured by him was Allasāni Peddana, who sings that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya gave him many villages and *agrahāras* in whatever province of the empire he desired. (See *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161-2). Krishna-Dēva's *guru* was one Gōvinda-Rāja (or Gōvinda-Dēsika), who was the recipient of a grant in 1516 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 115, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1907-8, para 68). Venkata-Tatārya, a Sri-Vaishnava teacher of great eminence, who was highly honoured and made the head of all Srī-Vaishnavas in the Empire and directed to be shown the first honours in every public assembly, was given a charter to that effect in 1523 A.D. (See *M.A.R.* 1918, para 110). He was given the power to punish delinquents in regard to religious and social matters. (*Ibid.*)

Another great religious teacher who is said to have visited Krishna-Dēva-Rāya at his Court was Vallabhāchārya. The statement is made by Muralidhara-Dāsa in his biography of the great teacher, who has been independently assigned to the early part of the 16th Century A.D. Thus, it is possible he might have visited Vijayanagar in his travels down south. Krishna-Dēva received him, as might be expected, with great kindness and honour and showered a golden rain on him, by performing the ceremony of *Kanakābhishēka*. (See *Sources*, 154-55).

Period of quiet rule, 1522-1524 A.D.

From about the end of the year 1521 to about 1524, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya appears to have engaged in no wars of any importance, which required his personal exertions. During these two years of quiet rule probably occurred his triumphal march through his Southern dominions, which are referred to in some detail in the *Rāya-vāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu.* By about this time, he probably had finished his *magnum opus* the *Āmuktamālyada,* which is referred to below. To this period too may, perhaps, be set down many of the literary and other colloquies that he is said to have held from time to time at his court, where probably assembled the principal wits and wags of the time. Of these last, despite the 400 years that have elapsed, popular tradition speaks even to this day in no uncertain voice in Southern India.

Triumphal march through his Dominions.

If the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu* are to be believed, Krishna-Dēva's grand tour through his dominions should have been in the nature of a great triumphal march through it, to commemorate as much his victories over his enemies as to come into direct contact with the people of the vast area he governed and incidentally to visit the sacred places and rivers and temples that lay in them. At Tirupati, he is said to have performed the famous sixteen great gifts and presented to the god there many valuable jewels and much gold. He also had copper statues of himself and his two favourite queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi cast and set before the God of the place so that they might signify their constant worship of that deity, to whom Krishna-Dēva was deeply devoted. He next moved on to Kālahasti, where also he made large grants to the temple and caused to be built may choultries for the use of pilgrims. He then visited Vandīsvara, a place not yet identified, and worshipped there. Next, going to the south he visited Alagar-Kōil, near Madura,

Madura itself, Srīvilliputtūr, Karuvanallur, Sankaranārāyanar Kōil, Tenkāsi, Trikūtāchalam (Kuttālam), Agastyaparvatam (Podiya Hill, famous in South Indian history), Gajēndramōksham (which has not yet been identified), Sālivatam (Tinnevelly), Tōtādri (Vānamāmalai), Tirukkurangudi, Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin), Srīkandur (Trichendūr), and Nava-Tirupati (near Ālvār Tiru-nagiri). He made specially valuable grants to God Sundarēsvarar and the Goddess Mīnākshi at Madura and to the Goddess Āndāl of Srīvilliputtūr, his great work *Āmuktamālyada* being closely connected with the latter deity. He caused to be built the big tank at Srīvilliputtūr and spent large sums in constructing the stone-*mantapa* at its centre. At Agastyaparvata, he built a new *gōpura* (tower) and at Tinnevelly the *Tāmra sabha*, a big stone-built assembly hall covered all over with sheets of copper. He also founded a village called Krishnarāya-Samudram, after himself, near Tinnevelly. He then went to Rāmēsvaram, and offered worship there. Crossing over in barges to Dhanushkōti, he is said to have washed the blood stains off his sword and performed thrice the ceremony of *tulābhāra*, or weighing oneself against gold and distributing it amongst those present. After a stay of three nights there, he turned back and is then said to have passed on to Gōkarnam. This place should be identified with the one of that name in the Shimoga District and not merely with the temple of Gōkarna on the Mahēndragiri, 33 miles south-west of Berhampore, in the Ganjam District, or the minor temples of that name in the Ongole and Tenāli taluks of Guntur or the temple of Tirugōkarnēsvara at Tirugōkurnan in the Pudukkōttai State. Here, he is said to have bathed in the river and offered worship to Gōkarnēsvara and Brihadāmba, the goddess and gifted to them many valuable jewels. He then reached Seringapatam, on the Cauvery, and there duly worshipped the Ādi-Ranganātha there. From this place, he, on an auspicious day, set out to his capital, which he reached after a long absence. Here, he offered worship in the temples of Vitthala and Virūpāksha and, at a great *durbar* he specially held on the occasion, at which all his relations and others were present, he publicly honoured Appāji (*i.e.*, Sāluva-Timma), his great minister, seating him on a costly carpet and performing on him *Svarnābhishēkam* and *Ratnābhishēkam* (poured from over the head pieces of gold and the seven kinds of precious stones by way of admiring love and veneration). He also presented Sāluva-Timma with many costly jewels and clothing which are duly chronicled in the *Rāyavāchakamu*. The other generals were also honoured on the occasion, each according to his merit. (See *Sources*, 117 and Text, 127-129).

There is scarcely any reason to doubt the general accuracy of this march through his territories and his visits to the holy places mentioned in connection with it. It is quite in keeping with Hindu custom and entirely at one with the spirit of the times. His honouring of Sāluva-Timma at the end of his grand tour, in a special public Durbar, shows the great esteem in which he held his services, both to himself and to the Empire. His tour through Southern India is referred to in several inscriptions at Conjeevaram (*M.E.R.* 1920, App. B. Nos. 478, 513 and 569), all dated in *Saka* 1436 or A.D. 1514. Halting at Kānchi, he visited the Varadarāja temple and presented the Punyakōti *Vimāna*, which he gilt with gold at a cost of 1,000 *varāhas*. The gift was made in the name of his parents and the fact is recorded in trilingual inscriptions.

Sāluva-Timma's attempt on the mainlands of Goa, 1523 A.D.

At about the close of this period of happy and quiet rule, Krishna-Dēva appears to have had news of Asada Khān's projected attempt on the mainlands near Goa and prepared to forestall him by taking possession of it. It is only on some such hypothesis that we have to explain

Krishna-Dēva's despatch of Sāluva-Timma about the close of 1523 A.D., on this adventure. This incident is mentioned by the Portuguese historian Barros, though there is no reference to it in Nuniz, whose account runs even into the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, the brother and successor of Krishna. At about this time and even afterwards, Krishna-Dēva was on the most cordial relations with the Portuguese and there was no reason why he should have risked a war with them, especially as we find him a few years after, in or about 1530 A.D., seeking their help against Asada Khān, who had played such a treacherous trick on him in canvassing the death of Salābat Khān, his rival. The probabilities seem to be that Krishna-Dēva, with a desire to foil Asada's attempt on the mainlands of Goa, sent his chief minister to attack them and recover possession, as they originally belonged to Vijayanagar. Sāluva-Timma, accordingly, advanced on Ponda, towards the close of 1523, with a small force, but was beaten back. Shortly afterwards, in April 1524, Asada Khān made an attempt and obtained possession of the mainlands. As has been stated above, Asada was in rebellion against Ismail Ādil Shāh and so he should have acted independently in this matter, perhaps in his own interest. It may be that it was intended to prevent Portuguese proving as helpful to Krishna-Dēva as they had been so far, the more so as he had reason to fear the effects of Krishna-Dēva's wrath on him for the vile treachery he had had the daring to play on him.

Installation of Tirumala-Dēva-Rāya, infant son of Krishna-Dēva Rāya, as his successor, 1524 A.D.

According to Nuniz, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, after his return from his expedition against Kulbarga, nominated his infant son, aged six years, as his successor and adds that "he abdicated his throne" in his favour and "did obeisance to him." From certain inscriptions, it is possible to infer that the son referred to was Tirumala-

Dēva-Mahārāya and that the installation should have taken place about 1524 A.D. (See below under *Domestic life*). He should have been installed formally as *Yuvarāja* and even co-ruler, with a view to his becoming successor to his father. This was possibly done to avoid any dispute as to the succession on Krishna-Dēva's death, the more so as there were still living, but in prison, the son of Vīra-Narasimha II and Achyuta-Dēva, the younger brother of Krishna. Shortly afterwards, in fact within eight months, the boy was poisoned, it is said, by Timmanna-Dannāyaka, a son of Sāluva-Timma. The king was evidently enraged and cast into prison Sāluva-Timma and his two sons, after formally addressing them in an open Assembly of his nobles. Nuniz says that in seizing them, he "called for aid from many Portuguese who were then in the country with horses," which testifies well enough to the esteem in which Sāluva-Timma should have been held at the time and the suspicion, if not fear, which he should have created in the king's mind as to the probable consequences of his act. Whether the great Sāluva-Timma deserved this fate, whether he was really involved in the treasonous act and whether the inquiries that the king, presumably, should have made before he decided to mete out this punishment and what followed it later, are questions that can only be raised but cannot be answered. Timmanna-Dannāyaka escaped from prison and raised, Nuniz says, a revolt against Krishna-Dēva. Krishna-Dēva sent Ajaboissa, his new Minister, against him. He was caught and brought before the king, who, ordering Sāluva-Timma and his other son Gōvinda-Rāja to his presence, directed that they should be led to the place of execution, and there blinded and put into prison again. This was done. Timmappa-Dannayāka died, shortly after, in prison and as to Sāluva-Timma, what became of him, is not known. The nature of the punishment inflicted on him would seem to indicate that the evidence against him cannot have been of the irresistible kind and that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya may after all have acted on the urge of a sudden impulse and in a fit of "anger," as Nuniz plainly tells us, at the murder of his darling son, on whom he appears to have built all his hopes for the future.

Curiously enough there are a couple of inscriptions in the Magadi taluk, both of which refer to prince Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya, the infant son of Krishna-Dēva, and Timmanna-Dannāyaka, the son of Sāluva-Timma. The latter was apparently governing over a part of the present Bangalore District. Both of these records register grants to temples, one at Magadi and the other at Kalnūr. The earlier of these (*E.C.* VIII, Magadi 6) is dated in *Saka* 1446, *Tārana*, *Vaisākha Suddha* 13, which would correspond to a day in May 1524 A.D., and mentions a grant by Timmanna-Dannāyaka himself in order that merit might be to Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya. Both were evidently alive then and apparently on the best of terms. The other record (*E.C.* VIII, Magadi 82) is dated in *Saka* 1446, *Tārana*, *Mārgasīra Suddha* 2, *Sanivāra* (Saturday). This would correspond to a day in December 1524 A.D. This record registers a grant by one Kōnappa Nāyaka, described as the bearer of the Ganges water to King Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, said to have been made by him in order that *dharma* might be to both Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāya and Timmanna-Dannāyaka. Apparently both of these should have died between the months of May and December 1524 A.D., which just covers the period of "eight months," during which, as mentioned by Nuniz, the great festivities following the installation of the prince took place; at the end of which, the prince "fell sick of a disease of which he died."

Ismail Ādil Shāh's attempt at Raichur, 1525-1526 A.D.

Not long after the blinding of Sāluva-Timma and his sons, Ismail Ādil Shāh made an attempt to retake Raichūr. Hearing of his advance, with his newly fittedup army, Krishna-Dēva, without even telling any one, ordered his men to saddle a horse and he rode at full speed in the direction of Raichur, which place Ismail had already reached. Immediately, however, he came to know that Krishna-Dēva had arrived, he incontinently fled. Krishna-Dēva sent word to Ismail that he had already twice broken his word and that he had not fulfilled his promise of making submission to him in person. He also threatened him with another invasion with a view to reduce him to subjection and to retake Belgaum, which had been long lost to Vijayanagar and was then in the hands of Asada Khān, Ismail's former general. (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 361-2).

Preparations for war against Ismail Ādil Shāh.

Death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, 1530 A.D.

In view of the projected invasion of Ismail's dominions and the arrival of the rainy season, Krishna-Dēva returned to the Capital. He forthwith ordered the preparation of a large force of artillery. He had come to appreciate its use at Raichur and was therefore determined to make it a special unit in his forces. On the way up to Raichur, he had also purchased 600 horses from the Portuguese and had thus strengthened his cavalry. He also sent an ambassador to Goa to ask for the help of the Portuguese Governor against Ismail, who had proved himself equally obnoxious to him. Krishna-Dēva promised the Portuguese Governor (Da Cunha, who had become Governor in 1529 A.D.) that after taking Belgaum, he would give him the mainland adjoining it, which the Portuguese had always coveted. But while thus getting ready for the war, he fell ill of pains in the groins like his ancestors, and died.

The state of the country during Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's period of rule.

During the regin of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the country seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Barring the one or two internal revolts, Ummattūr and "Catuir," which were probably put down by the king in person, there appears to have been, so far as is now known, no disturbances of the public peace. Paes bears testimony to the fact that the country was very fertile and well cultivated and that it was thickly populated. It appears to have been filled with tanks for conserving water for the use of man and beast. The big reservoir built by the king at Nāgalāpur, the new city erected by him, has been referred to above. It was both an irrigation tank and a tank for supplying potable water to the city. Cultivation was encouraged by the assignment of land, free of assessment, for the first nine years. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 244-5, and 363-6). Paes also notes that the country had a coast line of nearly 1,000 miles (three-hundred *graos* of coast, a *grao* being equal to about 3 miles) up to the Coromandel coast, from which it had a further coast line of another 600 miles. There were at least seven ports on the west coast alone; of these, Bhatkal was the most important. On the East Coast, though we have no definite information, the old-time ports of Kayal (Caullim of Nuniz), Devipatnam (Dapatao of Nuniz), etc., appear to have served the needs of that part of the country.

For administrative purposes, the kingdom was divided into a number of provinces, as in the preceding reigns, over which were chiefs, who held office either hereditarily or served as Governors sent out by the sovereign. Among subordinate chiefs who pretended to be "Kings" were those of Bankāpur, Gersoppa, Barcalur (Bucanor of Nuniz), Calicut (Calecu of Nuniz) and Bhatkal. A great many of the Governors appear to have been Brāhmans. They held their offices on a feudalistic basis. Nuniz gives a list of the more important of these as they existed in the time of Krishna-Dēva's successor. There is scarcely any doubt whatever that like Governors and chiefs existed in Krishna-Dēva's time as well, as we know they did so exist during the time of his predecessors. Some of the more important of these held charge of one or more provinces, to which they nominated their own agents. Thus, Sāluva-Timma, his premier, held at one time so widely scattered provinces as the whole of Coromandel and of the cities of Negapatam, Tanjore, Bomgarin (probably Bhuvanagiri in South Arcot District), Dapatao (probably Devipatnam), Truguel (*i.e.*, Tirukōil, which is an old name of Chidambaram, the temple-town), and Caullim (*i.e.*, Kayal). His territories were large and they bordered on Ceylon. To these, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya added Kondavīdu, when it was taken, and appointed his son-in-law, Nādindla Appa, to it. Sāluva-Timma's revenue was 1,100,000 gold *pagōdas* of which he gave one-third to the king; from the balance he maintained himself and his force of 36,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 30 elephants, which could not have been impossible as he never maintained, as Nuniz notes, the whole force required of him. There were over two hundred Governors like him over the whole kingdom. They rendered their dues in September of each year, at the time of the Dasara, when they visited the capital. The king settled the revenue to be paid and the forces to be maintained by each Governor. The total land revenue was 120 lakhs, of which half was paid over to the king and the other half utilized for maintaining their troops. For this reason, Nuniz states, "the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical." Of the sixty lakhs of *pagōdas* received by the king, he did not spend more than twenty-five lakhs, the balance being "spent on the horses, elephants and foot soldiers and cavalry he himself maintained." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 373-4). If any of the chiefs or Governors did not pay in their dues at the appointed time, they were "generally punished and their estates confiscated." (*Ibid*). The Chiefs and Governors used litters and palanquins for purposes of travel. Nuniz furnishes the interesting information that litters could be used by those who were "cavaliers of the highest rank" while the Governors and principal persons used palanquins. At the king's court, there were always 20,000 litters and palanquins. The officers of the king included first, the minister; then the treasurer; then came those who dealt with the King's private lands, the chief treasurer and commander of the Palace Guards, the treasurer of the jewels and the chief master of the horse. The king had his own Secretaries, who kept a diary of all that he said or gifted. Favours bestowed were sealed from aring of the king, which was usually with his minister. (*Ibid*, 375). Each chief or Governor had a representative of his own at the capital and he regularly transmitted for his information all that took place.

Criminal justice was administered in a rough and ready manner. The punishments were heavy and though in keeping, perhaps, with the spirit of the times, they look to modern eyes as somewhat primitive. In this respect, there appears to have been a falling off from the standards set up by the local assemblies of Chōla times. Nuniz's account of what he heard and probably saw is of curious interest:—

> " For a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if theft be a great one, he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin, he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence, his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who became traitors are said to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they may commit, he (the King) forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murderer unless the death was the result of a duel. For great honour is done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishment but they have

others more fanciful; for when the king so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him (*i.e.*, the King), that if you told a man on the part of the king that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on the back all day till you released him, he would do it." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 383-4).

It would seem from what Nuniz states that Brāhmans were altogether exempt from capital punishment. In extreme cases, they were blinded and imprisoned at the pleasure of the king. (See *Ibid*, 361).

The military consisted of foot-soldiers, cavalry, elephants, and artillery. There is no mention of chariots, so frequenty referred to in the *Purānas*. The foot-soldiers, cavalry and elephants were maintained by the feudal chiefs and governors from their income and brought up for service as required. The *quota* to be maintained by each chief or governor was apparently settled by the king in person, probably in consulation with his Prime Minister. The king, accordingly, could assemble large forces whenever he required them. Seeing that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was able to put on the field nearly a million for the subjugation of Raichur, the statement of Nuniz that his successor maintained six lakhs of foot-soldiers and 24,000 horse, both paid for by his chiefs and governors, cannot be any exaggeration. The king had on his own account many horses in his stables, as many as eight or nine hundred, and four or five hundred elephants. These and the servants who had work to look after them ate up a good part of his revenue. Nuniz states that the king spent 2,000 *pagōdas* a day on the animals and the attendants together. Of the latter, there were in Achyuta's time, he adds, 6,000, some of whom received 1,000, 500, 300 and 100 or less *pagōdas* a year. This shows that they were paid salaries ranging from about Rs. 300 to Rs. 30 a month in modern currency. Of course, the purchasing power of money was considerably higher than what it is to day. These 6,000 apparently formed the Palace guard, for, elsewhere Nuniz states that the king had "continually fifty thousand paid soldiers amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belonged to the palace guard," which latter included two hundred horsemen who daily rode with the king. (*Ibid*, 381). He had also 20,000 spearmen and shield-bearers, 3,000 men to look after the elephants, 1,600 grooms to attend to the horses, 300 horse trainers, and 200 artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and washermen, who wash clothes. He paid these "daily," giving them the allowance at the gate of the palace. "To his six thousand horsemen, the king supplied the horses and the provisions required for their upkeep; and horses with the king's mark were replaced, at the king's cost, by the chief master of the horse, on production of the skin of the dead horse containing the mark. The king, to meet replacement requirements, annually bought 13,000 horses of Ormuz and country breed. After taking the best Persian horses, he sold the country breeds to his governors and chiefs at five per 1,000 pagodas, whereas he himself bought at 12 or 15 per 1,000 pagodas. The transaction, which was put through during the Dasara, when the chiefs paid their dues, thus always ended in a profit to the king, who never took out anything for the purpose from his own treasury.

Though his primary strength lay in his infantry, Krishna-Rāya appears to have taken infinite pains to improve the cavalry by a system of continual purchases of superior Persian (*i.e.*, Arab) horses through the Portuguese. In view of their superior strength in infantry, Vijayanagar Kings called themselves "*Narapatis*," *i.e.*, lords of men; called the Orissyan king "Gajapati," he being strong in elephants, while the Muhammadans were styled, "Asvapatis," because they were superior in cavalry. In an inscription dated in 1515 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 25), Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is, for instance, described as a "thunderbolt weapon in crushing the mountains of his enemies, *Gajapati*, *Asvapati*, Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya."

The use of elephants in warfare continued practically unchanged. Nuniz's description shows that each war elephant carried a *howdah* providing seats for four persons, who fought from above, while the elephant made itself formidable by reason of the sword that was tied up to its tusks.

The use of artillery at the battles of Kondavīdu and Raichur shows that it had been adopted by about this time as a useful weapon of war. The siege guns employed at these places indicate some acquaintance with their utility. In preparing for the invasion of Belgaum, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had commanded the getting up of a large artillery force, which shows that the use made of it at Raichur had carried conviction to his mind. It is probable that the quick reduction of Kulbarga was due to this weapon of warfare.

Apart from siege guns and like implements, the only weapons used at the time by soldiers were arrows, swords, muskets, daggers and spears, with all of which, according to Nuniz's description, they were thoroughly conversant. (For an interesting poetic description of the use of horses, elephants and infantry in warfare and the enormous dust, raised by them, see Allasāni Peddana's *Manucharitramu*, I, 42; see also for further references, I, 43-44; IV, 120 and V, 106 and 107 for the enormous number of elephants possessed and used by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in warfare).

Condition of the peasantry.

Nuniz paints a rather distressing picture of the state of the peasantry in Krishna-Rāya's time. He suggests that the land being rented, "the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical." Elsewhere he writes:—

> "All the land belongs to the king, and from his hand the captains (*i.e.*, governors and chiefs) hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord; and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the King."

Apparently Nuniz could not have been correctly informed, for "nine-tenths," the figure mentioned, would have meant very much more than the customary portion, one-sixth part, and such an exaction, we know, would have meant not merely the ruination of the peasantry but also trouble to the King. (See under *Sāluva Narasimha I* and the causes that led to his revolution). Nor is the statement that the King owned the land even theoretically correct. Kings in India never asserted ownership over land; they only claimed a fixed share of the produce, apparently as a return for the services rendered by them to the State. They had, besides, their own private dominions which they owned like their subjects. The revenue from these lands helped them to restrict their demands on the lands owned by their subjects. Apart from this, there is reason to believe that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would have been the last to tolerate oppression of the peasantry. He abolished, as we have seen above, the marriage tax throughout his dominions. Vīrabhadra abolished it in the Lingadahalli country, in the Male-Bennur Province, "for the merit" of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his own father Pratāpa-Rudra. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 107 dated in 1516 A.D.; see also *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 79). In a record dated in 1515 A.D., Chāmarasa, who belonged to Krishna-Dēva's revenue department and remitted the same tax, is highly praised for the concession shown. The prayer goes forth, may he obtain "the reward of giving away a thousand cows, a crore of virgins (in marriage, a meritorious deed), performing a crore of horse sacrifices, and with eight sons and abundant wealth rule all the Empire." The remission of this tax extended to all classes in the Empire and was apparently felt to be one of the most vexatious ever imposed. (See *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 64, dated in 1510 A.D.) Sāluva-Timma, the chief minister, was apparently responsible for this remission in the very beginning of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign. He is praised in the last mentioned record as a great minister, "*Tantra-Nāyaka*," skilled in listening to instruction. It is evident he was not merely approachable but also amendable to public opinion, in matters affecting the welfare of the people at large.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's personal appearance.

Paes, who writes "we were so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us" and so should have seen him from very near, describes him thus:—

> The king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage." (*Narrative of Pass* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 247.).

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is represented by Paes as having lived by himself inside his Palace, visiting the queens only on occasions. Commands to the royal ladies were communicated through Chamber-women, through the eunuchs, some of whom were great favourites. One of these, the latter, slept not far away from the king and received large salaries. (*Ibid*, 249).

Allasāni Peddana, the Court Poet, describes Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as a great athlete, who by regular physical exercise had a well-built body set with firm limbs and firm joints. (*Manucharitramu* VI, 121). This is confirmed by Paes' description of his daily routine of duties:—

"This king is accustomed everyday to drink a quartilho (three-quarter pint) of oil of gingelly before daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil; he covers his loins with a small cloth, and takes in his arms great weights made of earthenware, and then, taking a sword, he exercises himself with it till he has sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestles with one of his wrestlers. After this labour he mounts a horse and gallops about the plain in one direction and another till dawn, for he does all this before daybreak. Then he goes to wash himself, and a Brāhman washes him whom he holds sacred, and he is a great favourite of his and is a man of great wealth: and after he is washed he goes to where his pagoda is inside the palace, and makes his orisons and ceremonies, according to custom. Thence he goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths right up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted; it has on each side two figures of women very well made. In such a building he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom, and govern his cities, and his favourites talk with them. The greatest favourite is an old man called Temerseah (Sāluva-Timma); he commands the whole household, and to him all the great lords act as to the king. After the king has talked with these men on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another; nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabayas*) and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he, to whom the king desires to speak, raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them, is that they put their hands joined above their head as high as they can. Every day they go to make the salaam to the King." (*Narrative of Paes*, 249).

His sitting in state at the palace, on the occasion of the great *Dasara* festival, is thus pourtrayed by Paes:—

> "There (on the dais of the throne in the Palace) the king sits, dressed in white cloths all covered with (embroidery of) golden roses and wearing his jewels—he wears a quantity of white garments, and I always saw him so dressed—and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of State. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes, coloured, the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them." (*Ibid*, 269-70).

His enormous wealth and treasury.

Paes states that annually, on the occasion of the *Dasara*, his feudal subordinates brought and paid him a million and five hundred thousand gold pardaos (pagodas). He also mentions the great treasury maintained by the Vijayanagar Kings of old and how Krishna-Dēva daily added to it in his own time. He writes:—

> "The previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos*, without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives................; from this you will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed." (*Narrative of Paes*, 282).

The existence of secret treasuries of the kind mentioned by Paes are well known in other parts of India, as for example, in Kashmir, to which reference has been made by Sir Walter Lawrence in his recently published book of memories. (See *The India We Served*, Messrs. Cassel & Co., 1928).

His hunting excursions.

A vivid description of the royal hunt as it should frequently have been followed in the days of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is to be found in Peddana's great work. (*Manucharitramu* IV, 14-64). Apparently it was a well-organized affair, assisted by foresters and others. Evidently the hunting grounds were filled with preserved game. Those joining the hunt were evidently well dressed and arrayed and there were well-caparisoned horses, the many parts of their saddlery and other equipment coming from such widely distant parts as Ormuz, Shiraz, Gujerat, Paitale, etc. (*Ibid* IV, 28). The animals pursued included, among others, the wild boar, described as "tuskless elephants." The hunting dogs used, seem to have been called after fond and familiar names, but with a rustic air about them. Some of these names were :—Puliyadu (Tiger), Būchigōdu (Frightener), Asura-Pōtula-Rāju (King of Demons), Janumantigādu (Hanumanta), Changaluva (Chengalva), Sivangi Bhairavudu (Bhairava, a name of Siva), Kaththera (Scissors), Sampagi (Sampangi), Vendigundu (Silver Bullet), Mallela-gudi (Floral Poker), Vāyu-Vēgi (Swift-as-Air), Chitilingadu (Little-Linga), Sālavadu (Sāluvudu), Vatsanābhi, Yēkalamula-Mitti, Gabbi, etc. (*Ibid* IV, 32). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was followed (see *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayamu*) by Allasāni Peddana and other court poets on his excursions and invasions. What Peddana describes in his work of the hunt may accordingly be taken as depicted from real life. He shows a close knowledge of the characteristic qualities of horses and the animals pursued in the hunt. The very life-like scene he paints for us indicates that it cannot be a mere poetic invention. Only an actual eye-witness could, in any case, have described so effectively the hunters partaking or packing of the results of the chase. (See K. Venkataramana Rao's *Introduction* to *Manucharitramu*, XI, Ananda Press edition).

Police and redress of grievances.

Complaints for redress were preferred to the king either at the royal chamber or while he was out riding. Nuniz states that on the latter occasion, the complainant took the shaft of a spear and tied a branch to it and going along (the road) cried out. He then adds:—

> "Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain (*i.e.*, general or provincial ruler as the case may be), one of those who go with him, to do at once what the suppliant wants. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at Court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thieves be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land."

Whether the wizards were "powerful" or not, there can be no doubt that there were "very few thieves in the land." That speaks as well of the people of the country as of the government to which they were subject. The punishments being exemplary, they should have proved more than deterrent in the few cases they were inflicted.

Religion and society.

The division of society into castes was in full vigour, though its occupational basis was never felt or allowed to be of a binding character. Thus, the Brāhmin followed not only his traditional occupation of teacher and priest, but also those of the soldier and the administrator. Paes, indeed, writing about 1520 A.D., states that there were among Brāhmins, not only priests and lettered men, but also officers of the towns and cities in the service of the king attending to government work; others were merchants and still others lived "by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds." (See *Narrative of Paes* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 245). He describes them as vegetarians. "They are all married," he adds, "and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brāhmins are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few." (*Ibid*, 246). Nuniz writes in nearly the same vein. "The most of them," he says, "never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake, the kingdom is carried on." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotton Empire*, 390). The only other class of people mentioned by Nuniz are "Telumgalle," of whom he says that "when these die, their wives are buried alive with them." He must be referring to the caste known as Telaga, which in Madras Presidency to-day numbers about 4 lakhs of people, commonly classed under Kamma. Allasāni Peddana mentions the four castes under the names of *Viprulu* (Brāhmins), *Rājulu* (Kshatriyas), *Mōtikirātulu* (Vaisyas) and *Nālavajātivaru* (Sūdras). (See *Manucharitramu*, Canto I, 50). The cow was greatly venerated. "These people," remarks Nuniz, "have such devotion to cows that they kiss them every day." Paes, likewise, adds, "you must know that in this land they do not slaughter oxen or cows.............. They worship the cows, and have them in their pagodas made in stone, and also bulls; they have many bulls that they present to those pagodas and these bulls go about the city without any one causing them any harm or loss." Srī-Vaishnavism was in the ascendant, the king himself apparently being a follower of it, though by no means a bigot. His court poet Allasāni Peddana was also of the same persuasion. From the encouragement given to Vyāsa-Rāya of the *matha* of the same name, Sad-Vaishnavism of the Madhwa's school should have also received an impetus during this reign. In the temples, the system of attaching sets of dancing girls to them was in common vogue. They were the debased descendants of the *devar-adiyāl* of the early Chōla times. (See under *Chōlas*). According to Paes, they followed the processional gods with music to the temple and they were summoned for all the festivals at the king's palace. (*Narrative of Paes* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 262). At this place, they performed dances, before the assembled audience and the king sitting in state. "Who can describe to you the great riches," he exclaims, "these women carry on their persons?—"collars of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on their feet. The marvel should be otherwise, that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city (Vijayanagar) who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos* (pagodas), and I believe this from what I have seen of them." (*Ibid*, 270). Allasāni Peddana in describing them says that they excelled in learning and dancing. (I. 50). The rite of *sati* appears to have been common and is well testified to both by Nuniz and by the finding of *sati* stones, raised as memorials to those who had practised it. Nuniz, indeed, gives a long and detailed description, which, in the main, is quite correct and he starts it by saying, "the women have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 391-93). This was the custom, he adds, throughout all the country, including kings, "except with that caste of people called Telugas, amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his (or her) own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband." (*Ibid*, 393). With this evidence, there is little reason to doubt the existence of this rite in Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time. (See, however, J. Ramayya Pantulu, in *J. A. H. R. S.*, II, 217). Animal sacrifices were common while human sacrifices seem to have been not unkown. Both Paes and Nuniz mention that for the large reservoir built near the town of Nāgalāpur by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, "the heads of sixty men" and "of certain horses and buffaloes" were cut off. (See *Narrative of Paes* in *Ibid*, 245). Nuniz states that the men were "his prisoners" who "deserved death." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *Ibid*, 365).

Enquiries into temple affairs.

The king enquired into the grievances of worshippers against temple servants. A rather interesting story of how Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's attention was directed to the irregularities committed in the temple at Tiruvalur and how those responsible for them were dismissed by him is told in the Tamil *Nāvalar Charitai*, which, though not old in itself, perhaps, sets down a tradition which might be old in itself. One at least of the verses ascribed to one Kumāra Sarasvati professes to have been sung on the king's successes over Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa, and his marriage with the latter's daughter, while three others narrate the story of the mischief wrought by temple servants and the misery they had reduced themselves to. The unique part of the story is that the people who complained against delinquents trained a parrot to recite the poem to the surprise of the king. (See *Sources*, 155-56).

Fighting quality of the troops.

As regards the fighting quality of the troops, Paes speaks very highly. "These troops are always ready," he says, "for duty, whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains (*i.e.*, provincial chiefs or governors) labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries." In the grand annual review of troops he witnessed, "there were," he says, "the finest young men possible to be seen or that could ever be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward." Paes also mentions the fact that the King had "continually a million fighting troops," of which, he says, 35,000 were cavalry in armour. He saw the king march from the capital, to a place on the East Coast, with "fifty captains (chiefs) with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry." "To terrify his neighbours, he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which, he is the most feared king of any in these parts." Despite this, the kingdom was not, he adds, depleted of its men; "it is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man." (*Narrative of Paes* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 280).

Paes gives a long description of the accoutrement and clothing of the King's troops as he saw in Krishna-Dēva's reign. It is far too lengthly to quote here. He also mentions the Muhammadan contingent that was part of the army of the time. Of them, he says specially that "one must not forget them." They had, he says, "their shields, javelines, and Turkish bows with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles and I was much astonished to find amongst them, men who knew so well how to work these weapons." (See *Narrative of Paes*, 277-8).

Festivals and amusements.

There could have been no lack of amusements in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The grand panoramic description furnished to us of the *Navarātri* (nine-days' festival as he calls it) at the capital by Paes, the Portuguese trader, should have made life pleasant and cheerful for the common people, who should have thronged to it annually to witness the displays held on the occasion. (*Narrative of Paes*, 265-279). The spectacle of the grand *durbar* held by the king in the palace, the wrestlers' matches, the dancing of the women, the torch-light displays in the evenings, mock-battles on horse-back, the throwing up of rockets and other different sorts of fires, the march past of triumphal cars belonging to the provincial governors in the order of their status, of horses, the rear being brought up by the State horse, of the younger maids of the palace quaintly dressed with gold vessels containing little lamps in them, and of elephants trained to make their obeisance to the king—all these should have added to the gaiety of the occasion. Of course, the festival gave ample opportunity for the sacrifices of numerous buffaloes and sheep, the last day of the festival being marked by the slaughter of "two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep." The close of the festival was marked by a grand military review by the king, which was evidently the grandest spectacle of the season. Paes again and again testifies to its unique impressiveness and grandeur. He writes:—

> "Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me by the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost."

Then, again, he writes, lower down:—

> "Thus accompanied, the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world were collected there."

Describing the return journey of the king, reviewing the troops, he writes:—

> "Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision and that I was in a dream." (See *Narrative of Paes*, 277-9).

Paes was a much travelled man and one who could be presumed, from his *Narrative*, to have seen much of the world. His account of the spectacle he saw before him would seem to show that he could not have seen anything like it in his own native country, perhaps then reckoned one of the most advanced in Western Europe.

The drama and the comic opera (*prahasana*) appear to have continued as favorites with the masses. These were in great requisition in spring time (*Chaitra*). Thus, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself is credited with the writing of a drama, called *Jāmbavatikalyānam*, from the prologue to which we learn that it was enacted before those assembled to witness the *Chaitra* festival of god Virūpāksha at the capital. (See *Sources*, 142-3). From a lithic inscription from the Kurnool District, dated in 1514 A.D., we learn of the staging of a drama called the *Tāyikunda-nātaka*, the chief female part being taken by a dancing girl. They were rewarded for the labours by the grant of a piece of land. (*M.E.R.* 1916, 66; App. B. No. 558 of 1915).

Position of women.

Women appear to have not merely been learned in some cases, but also proficient in arms. Nuniz states that there were 4,000 women in the king's palace. Some were dancers, others were palanquin-bearers of the queens and others again were domestic servants. Communication with the queens was entirely through these maid-servants. There were also among women, those who could wrestle; besides astrologers and soothsayers. The king had also women in his service who wrote "all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the (Palace) gates, and others whose duty it is to note all the affairs and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the king are well versed in music." (*Chronicle of Nuniz*, 382). The king's cooks were all women and they prepared food "for no one save for the king alone." He concludes by adding: "It is said that he (the King) has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women." Though this description occurs in connection with the account of the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, there is little doubt that it is applicable to the reign of his predecessor as well. (*Ibid*, 383). Evidently, then, there were women servants, musicians, dancers, soldiers, accountants, judges and historiographers. Apparently, they pervaded almost every department of activity in the life of the nation.

The chamber maids of the Palace appear to have taken a prominent part in the nine-days' festival of which Paes gives a graphic description in his *Narrative.* (*A Forgotten Empire*, 273-4). Their rich dress and heavy jewellery, the latter so heavy indeed that many of them could not support them and women had to accompany them "assisting them by supporting their arms," are set out in great detail by him. A peculiarity mentioned by him is that these maids appeared on the occasion of the festival in male head-gear. (*Ibid*).

As a patron of literature.

A distinguishing feature in the character of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was his love of literature and patronage for poets. Himself a man of great learning, there is little surprise that he was a warm friend of the learned. His knowledge of Sanskrit was, perhaps, as profound as that of Telugu, while probably he knew Kannada well enough to encourage writers in that sweet tongue. At his court gathered the greatest poets and wits of the time. Whether the particular *ashtadikgajas* (or eight great poets) usually mentioned flourished at his court or not, there is no reason to doubt that the most celebrated of the period received his personal encouragement. Among the galaxy of stars of the first magnitude that surrounded him, Allasāni Peddana was undoubtedly the greatest. He was not a mere scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu; he was something more. He was that more rare bird, a true poet gifted with imagination. He struck a new vein in Telugu poetry. He brought into existence the romantic school—a school unknown to the ancients. Hence the title of *Āndhra Kavitā-pitāmaha* "Brahma to Telugu Poetry" (see *Manucharitramu* I, 15 or) "Father of Telugu poetry." Though he derived the elements of his plot from the *Mārkandēya-Purāna*, he did not slavishly follow it out to the end or content himself with a mere translation of it. He diverged [from it as none else had dared before and treated his subject in a manner at once pleasing to the ear and satisfying to the heart. Even what he borrowed, he forged afresh in the mint of his own imagination. He outrivalled his master Srīnātha, himself a poet of great merit and power of delineation. Though not a dramatic piece, his work, the *Manucharitramu*, may be easily (and has been) dramatised very easily. His poetry is suffused with brilliant epigram, graceful descriptions, and wonderful music. It has become, so to speak, the touchstone of all poetry since his time. He was the author of another work *Harikathāsāramu*, which is known only in a fragmentary form. His work bears internal evidence that it could not have been written before the war against Kulburga (about 1518 A.D.) and the reinstatement by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya of the Bāhmani prince to the throne of his ancestors. The latter event is referred to by Peddana in his work in a verse (Canto III. 141) in which he praises Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as one who carried out with determination the restoration to the throne of the Yāvana King. (*Yāvana Kshōnīthava-sthāpanānāmandībhūta-Krupākatāksha*). The title of *Yāvanasthāpanāchārya* is given to him in a lithic record dated in *Saka* 1421, Cyclic year *Īsvara* (which do not agree, as *Īsvara* falls in *Saka* 1440). Taking the Cyclic year as the one intended, the restoration, which is historically a fact—as it is mentioned by Nuniz—ought to have taken place before 1518 A.D. (See above). In another verse he calls Krishna-Dēva the "Saviour of Kulburgi and Cuttack" (*Katburgi-Kataka-Khitirakshaka*) because he restored the territories of both these kings. (*Manuchartiramu*, Canto II, 81). Peddana also refers to the conquest of Udayagiri, Kondavīdu, and Pottunūru and to the sack of Cuttack; also to the defeat of Vīra-Rudra, the Gajapati king; to the capture of Kāsavapātra; the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru; to his infantry, cavalry and elephant forces; to the capture of the queens of king Pratāpa-Rudra; to his queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi; to his immense riches; to his greatness as a donor of gifts; to his unrivalled knowledge of the arts; to his patronage of learned people; to his untarnished fame; to his titles of *Rājādhirāja Vīra Pratāpa* and *Rājaparamēsa, Mūrurāyaraganda*, etc.; to his being the lord of the Kannadarājya; to his bearing the burden of the Hindurājya (as opposed to Muhammadan kings of the north); to his great learning, in which he is compared to Bhōja of ancient fame; to his ardent faith in Vishnu (*i.e.*, Vaishnavism); to the great beauty of his personal appearance, etc. (See Introductory verses in *Manucharitramu* in Canto I, 11-42 and Colophons at the end of Cantos I and VI). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya seems to have been deeply attached to this poet. If a stray verse attributed to the latter is to be believed, Krishna-Dēva not only accepted the dedication of this work to himself but also he carried on his shoulders the palanquin containing the poet through the streets of the capital city before the dedication ceremony took place in the Palace in open Durbar; then wherever he saw the poet on the street, he stopped his elephant and assisted him with his own hand to a seat in the *howdah*; he presented him with villages and *agrahāras* in whatever province the poet wanted; he put on to his legs the poet's anklet of merit, saying to him, "you alone deserve it"; and he called him with the fond title of "Father of Telugu Poetry." This verse has always been accepted as a genuine one uttered by the poet himself, and what is stated in it has been confirmed from independent sources. Thus the grant of villages and *agrahāras* to him whereever he sought for them has been proved to be correct by certain records. We learn from a lithic record found at Anniyur, in the Villupuram taluk of the present South Arcot District, dated in 1520-21 A.D., that he had been appointed Governor of Karivāchisīma. (*M.E.R.* 1916, para 66; App. B. No. 623). The inscription registers the gift of a village and land by *Āndhra-Kavita-pitāmaha* Peddirāja, son of Allasāni-Chokkarāja, to the temple of Varadarāja-Perumāl, which was completed and consecrated by himself at Annūru, the present Anniyūr, where the inscription is still to be seen. Annūr apparently seems to have been named after himself. As Annūr is described in the record as being situated in Karivāchi-sīma, which had been bestowed on the poet as a *nāyankara* (fief) by the king, it might be inferred that Karivāchi-sīma included the country round about it, which would be identical with a good part of the present Villupuram Taluk. This record adds a little more to the information we have about Peddana. While his Colophons merely state that he belonged to the sect of Nandavarīka Brāhmins and that he was the son of Chokkayāmātya and a disciple of Sathakōpayati, it is mentioned here that he was of the Vasishta *gōtra*, Āsvalāyana-*sūtra*, and Rik-*sākha*. He claims to have composed the four different classes of poetry known to Telugu—*āsu*, *chitra*, *garbha* and *bandha*. Examples of the first two classes are known, though of the last two, none have come down to us. He was apparently a devoted Srī-Vaishnava in religion and the founding of the Varadarāja temple fully confirms this statement. Sathakōpa-yati, through whose blessings he claims to have obtained the poetic gift, was evidently a Vaishnava teacher of the times, named after the famous *guru* who bore that appellation. This Satagōpa-yati may be the Srī-Vaishnava *guru* mentioned in a record dated in *Saka* 1482, *Kālayukta* (1560 A.D.), coming from Dayyamdinne, Adoni Taluk, Bellary District. This registers a gift of tolls from the *agrahāra* of Dayyandinne (*alias* Krishnāpura) in favour of the *matha* of Parānkusa Srī-Satagōpajīyamgaru, a Srī-Vaishnava teacher who held the titles of *Sarvatantra-svatantra* and *Ubhayavēdāntāchārya*. The donor was Srīrangarāja, who is spoken of as a relation of *mahāmandalēsvara* Srīrangadēva Srī-Venkatādri-rājayya-dēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1916; App. B. No. 534). If this Satagōpa-yati was not the identical *guru* of Peddana, his predecessor may have been his *guru*. The *agrahāra*, which bore the alternative of Krishnāpura, was probably a grant by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the patron of Peddana. Another gift of a village to Peddana by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned in a record from Melpādi in the Chittoor District. It is dated in *Saka* 1441, or 1519 A.D., and describes the poet with the title of *Andhra Kavipitāmaha*, a mistake for *Āndhrakavitā-pitāmaha*. His father's name is given and he is spoken of as of Nandāpuri, *i.e.*, of the family of Nandavarīkas, who are, according to tradition, supposed to have radiated from a place called Nandāpuri in the Bellary District. Three-fourths of the village of Tanaippūndi gifted to him was reserved by him to the God of the place and was subsequently given away by Peddana and converted into jewels and articles of service for the Goddess. (*M.E.R.* 1921, para 50; App. C. No. 105). Two other inscriptions mentioning gifts to and by Peddana, which come from the Kokatam in the Cuddapah District, are both dated in *Saka* 1440, *Bahudhānya*, or A.D. 1518. They do not materially add to our information about him beyond registering the fact that the village of Kokatam had been granted to him as a *Sarvamānya* and he had in his turn granted different pieces of land in it to the Gods Sakala-nātha and Chennakēsava Svāmi in that village in the presence of God Mallikārjuna on the banks of the Krishna at Bezwada. Apparently he should have done this in or about 1518 A.D., the date when the gifts were registered. (*M.E.R.* 1927, Para 82; App. B. Nos. 715 and 716). It will have thus been seen that at least four records are so far known recording gifts by Krishna-Dēva to Peddana and by him, in his turn, to certain temples. These gifts pertain to lands in the present South Arcot, Chittoor and the Cuddapah Districts. Of these, the Cuddapah ones are dated in 1518 A.D., the Chittoor one in 1519 A.D. and the Anniyur one in 1520-1, the last being the latest in date. The Cuddapah records do not mention the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha*, while the two others do. Both Krishna-Dēva and Peddana lived ten years longer and it is possible that there were other grants to him and by him which may yet see the light of day. Much is not known of Peddana, not even his birth-place. But that he was well versed in Sanskrit lore and in Telugu and that he was held in high respect (much as a *guru*) by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is conceded on all hands. His poetry is mellifluous to a degree and it was until recently, in the absence of other authentic records like the inscriptions that are being daily unearthed now, the sole means of keeping green the memory of, perhaps, the greatest Hindu Emperor the South of India has known. From every point of view, the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha* bestowed on him by the king was well deserved; he was not a mere innovator but an enricher of the Telugu language and literature. His place has been permanently fixed with those who have been styled the *Kavithrayamu-vāru*, the great trio to whom the language owes its existence as a literary dialect.

Another poet who flourished at Krishna-Dēva's Court was Nandi-Timmayya, the author of *Pārijātāpaharanamu*, who dedicated that poem to Krishna-Dēva. His work affords glimpses into the history of the period. Sāluva-Timma, the Chief Minister of the king, added to his other eminent qualities, the one of a commentator.

He was evidently a *homo multarum literarum* and his work leaves the impression that he knew much more than the evidence he has left us of his scholarship. His work, called by himself *Bāla-Bhārata-Vyākhya,* is a commentary on Agastya's *Champu Bhārata.* In the colophon, he describes himself as *Pradhāna-Sakalāgama-pārāvāra-dandanāyaka, i.e.,* Chief Minister and Commander-in-chief and one who had dived deep into the *Āgamas.* His two nephews Nādindla Appa and Nādindla Gōpa were both interested in literature, the former as a patron and the latter as a scholar. To Appa, was dedicated *Rājasēkhara-Charitramu* by Mādayyagāri-Mallana. In this work, we have a very full and interesting account of the genealogy of Appa, from which it would seem that his ancestors, like himself, had taken a prominent part in the administration of the country, since the time of Sāluva-Narasimha I. Appa was married to Tirumalāmba, a daughter of Sāluva-Timma. Mallana's work is written in a simple and chaste style and is of great interest from a historical point of view. Appa's brother, Gōpa, wrote both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He was the author of a commentary (*Vyākhya*) called *Chandrika* on Krishna Misra's famous drama, the *Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya.* In the colophon to this work, Gōpa describes himself as the son of the elder *sister* of *Dandanāyaka* Sāluva-Timma, in the place where authors usually mention their father's name. This would seem to indicate the reverence and respect he paid to his maternal uncle. From the philosophical and historical points of view, the *Chandrika* is a work of more than ordinary value. In the *Krishnārjunasamvādam,* a Telugu poem in the *Dvipada* metre, Gōpa shows what he could accomplish in the popular tongue. He describes himself in this poem as the son of Timma-Dandanātha, brother-in-law of Sāluva-Timma. Apparently, his father was a Commander of forces. Sāluva-Timma himself is spoken of as *Sāmrājya Dhurandhara,* a title well befitting one, who, more than any other person, was the guide and friend of Krishna-Dēva in his acts, civil and military. From this poem, we learn that Gōpa, when Governor of Kondavīdu, built the enclosure walls, the tower, and palatial buildings for god Rāghava (*i.e.*, Rāma) at that place. He also claims to have covered the temple with paintings and presented to the God there the good village of Maidavōlu, with processional images for the celebration of the festivals. These statements are confirmed by the bilingual inscription found on a pillar in the Kondavīdu temple dated in *Saka* 1442, or A.D. 1520. (*E.I.* VI, 230-39; *M.E.R.* 242 of 1892; also 255 of 1892 found at Kaza and 257 of 1892, at Mangalagiri, both inscriptions on pillars and in Sanskrit and dated in *Saka* 1443 or A.D. 1521. All these give a list of the gifts of Gōpa to the temples concerned.). An assistant of Gōpa, and one who appears to have walked in his footsteps in the matter of endowing the Siva temple at Kondavīdu, was Dēsayāmātya, the author of *Panchika*, a commentary on the *Mahimnastuti*. He was a student of Lolla-Lakshmīdhara, a profound and versatile scholar and voluminous writer of the time. Lakshmīdhara was the author of the Kaza and Kondavīdu inscriptions referred to above. (See *E.I.* VI, 117 and 233). He has also several works bearing on Astronomy, Astrology, Mantrasāstra, the *Shaddarsanas* and law. He appears to have been the real author of the legal work *Sarasvati-Vilāsa*, usually attributed to Pratāpa-Rudra, the King of Orissa, against whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya carried on successive campaigns. Lolla, indeed, claims it as his own work in the colophon to his commentary on Sankara's *Saundaryalahari*. He was also part author of the encyclopædic work known as *Jyotish-Darpana*. (See *Sources*, 151-2).

Many poets are spoken of in current tradition to have frequented Krishna-Dēva's court and to have been duly rewarded by him. But the rewards were usually preceded by tests, some of them provided by the king himself. These tests involved the carrying out of feats in which he heartily joined and took a prominent part. A favorite method of his was to set down a half-finished verse and to ask the poet to complete it in a particular manner. One of these stories—they are many—relates that Krishna-Dēva was so taken up with the cleverness of a poetaster who was also a consummate player of the game of chess, that he gifted to him Koppalu, a village which he renamed Krishnarāyapuram. The story is told in stray verses which are still popular. Quite a number of little poems praising Krishna-Dēva and his many qualities of head and heart have come down to us and these are repeated with great fervour to this day. (See V. Prabhakara Sastry, *Chātupadya-Manimanjary*, 150-62, for a collection of these verses). Among the many other Telugu and Sanskrit poets who are said to have flourished at his Court, but who might really have lived later, are Tenāli Rāmakrishna-Kavi, Bhattu-mūrti, Appalāchārya, Pregada Rāju-Narasa-Rāju, Rādhā-Mādhavakavi, etc. The dates of these are doubtful but there are grounds for believing that Krishna-Dēva encouraged *literati* generally at his Court and the reputation he left behind him in this respect is something far too remarkable for words. Verses on verses in Sanskrit and Telugu by different unknown authors could be easily quoted to show the esteem, regard and affection in which his memory was held by poets long after he ceased to live. Such praise and such glorification bespeak the vivid realities of a bygone age. (*Ibid*, 159-160).

A Kannada poet who received considerable encouragement from Krishna-Dēva was Timmanna-kavi, who wrote the latter half of the *Bhārata* in Kannada. He was the son of one Bhāskara-kavi and undertook the work at the instance of the King. As already stated, he has given an account of Krishna-Dēva's ancestry in his work and the fact that it is dedicated to god Venkatēsa and Krishna-Dēva shows that the poet was really patronised by the King. Timmanna adds in his colophon that it was specially composed to "render permanent the great fame of Krishna-Rāya, the son of King Narasa. (See R. Narasimhachārya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, II, 189). This work is known also as *Krishna-rāja-Bhārata* and in the colophon it is called *Karnātaka-Krishnarāya-Bhārata-Kathāmanjari*). Among other Kannada poets of this period were Gubbiya Mallanna, the famous author of *Vīra Saivāmrutha-Purāna*, and *Bhāva-chintāratna*; Virūparāja, author of *Tribhuvanatilaka*, which relates the story of a Saiva devotee called Chēramānka; Nanjunda, identified with the Chengalva; and Nanja-rāja, who wrote the work known as *Kumāra-Rāmanakathe*, which is devoted to narrating the life of Kumāra-Rāma, the son of Prince Kampa of the first Vijayanagar Dynasty, though the particular Kampa referred to in this poem is not known. He may be a son of Kompa II, of whom not much is known. (See *ante* under *First Vijayanagar Dynasty*; also *Pedigree* at the end of that Section). Vyāsa-Rāya, Ōduva-Girīya, Chēramānka, Murigiya-Sāntavīra, and Lingamantri, the author of *Kabbigara Kypidi* were other poets who flourished in this reign, though the last seems to have actually lived through some part of the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. (*Ibid*, 215). Of these, Vyāsa-Rāya was an eminent logician and Vēdāntin and author of a number of philosophical works bearing on the controversial parts of the *Dwaita* system as expounded by Srī Madhwāchārya. He was evidently a great favourite of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, whom he is said to have relieved of the necessity of occupying the throne, by himself occupying it at a specially evil moment, and vacating it, afterwards, for the King. The story will be found told elsewhere in this work. (See *Vol. V*). He was also the author of many hymns which are highly popular to this day. These bear the dedication "Krishna," being sung in this god's name. Krishna-Dēva is known to have repeatedly honoured this saint. Among the grants made to him, at least three are known, dated in 1511, 1523 and 1527 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920, para 45; App. B. No. 370 dated *Saka* 1433, or 1511 A.D.; *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 153, dated in 1523 A.D.; and *E.C.* VII, 85, dated 1527 A.D.). His religious *Guru* was Brahmanya-tīrtha and his educational preceptor was Sripādarāya of the *math* of the same name at Mulbāgal. He was the head of the Vyāsarāya *math* at Sōsale and his life by a contemporary poet Sōmanātha-kavi by name, has been just published. (See *Vol.* I of this work, chapter on *Religion*). Other grants to Vyāsa-tīrtha by the King include one dated in 1516 A.D., granting 3 villages in the Chennapatna sīme. (*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 90). Another village was granted to him in 1520 A.D. This village (Jakkaranjanhalli) was renamed Krishnarāyapura and was situate in the Perinkōte-rājya while another village, called Kamērmedigu, gifted in the Kundkagiri-rājya. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 107). Another great religious teacher who was honoured by Krishna-Dēva was Visvēsvara, son of Mādhavārādhya, to whom he made a grant of the village of Yedatore, renamed Krishnarāyapura, between the Tunga and the Bhadra, S.-W. of Benkipura (modern Bhadravati). The king is said to have made the grant "surrounded with all manner of men and officials." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, dated in 1513 A.D.). In this record, Krishna-Dēva is described as a "King whose wealth was praised by the needy throughout the world, whose gifts are the support of the company of great poets." In another record, we are told that "his generosity (was) praised by the learned." (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 94, dated in 1511 A.D.).

A poet of some eminence and the official composer of the grants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time was Sabhāpati, who lived through the reign of Achyuta as well. He belonged to the famous Dindima family of Mullandram, near Arni, in the present North Arcot District, and produced without stint the uniformly florid descriptions, we meet with in copper-plates, of his patron's reign (*e.g.*, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 1, 84 and 85; *E.C.* V, Hassan 6; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 30; *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 132; *E.C.* III, Mandya 55; *M.E.R.* 1923, App. B. No. 683, etc.). He was evidently the Court Poet in Sanskrit as Peddana was in Telugu. His son and grandson successively occupied the position after him (*e.g.*, *E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 39 and Shimoga 83; and *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60, etc.). Another member of the family was Rājanāthakavi, who produced the two works *Sāluvābhyudayam* and *Achyutarāyābhyudayam.* Arunagirinātha, who was a nephew of Sabhāpati and father of Rājanātha, was the author of a comic interlude called *Sōmavalliyōgānandaprahasana.* (See *M.E.R.* 1923, para 78; also *I.A.* XLVII, 134; *Sources*, 108 and 53).

Krishna-Dēva could not have been so great an admirer and patron of poets and done so much to influence literature and literary excellence but for the fact that he was himself something of a true poet. He appears to have been a finished Sanskrit and Telugu scholar, and if even a tittle of the stories told of his literary judgment is true, he should have been both a wit and a poet of high order. In the introductory part of his poem *Āmuktamālyada*, he states, without any reserve whatever, that he had already written in Sanskrit the following works:—*Madālasā-charitram*, *Satyāvadūprīnanam*, *Sakalakathāsāra-Sangraham*, *Sūktinaipunī-gnāna-chintāmani* and *Rasa-manjari.* While on a visit, on the eve of his march on the Kalinga king, to the temple of Āndhramadusūdana at Srikākulam, near Masulipatam, he had a dream in which he was commanded by the God in that temple that he should write a poem in Telugu. He had so far written many delicious poems in Sanskrit, and so there could be no difficulty in composing one in Telugu. That would be to the delight of the God, the subject set for the purpose being the wedding of Āndāl, a well-known one in Srī-Vaishnava religious history. Telugu was chosen by the God because He himself presided over the Telugu country; the country itself was Telugu; the King who ruled over it was a Telugu, *i.e.*, because he ruled over Telugu people; his subordinate chiefs were of Telugu origin; and of all the languages (of the south), Telugu was the best. Krishna-Dēva states that he undertook the writing of the work in accordance with the command and as directed, he dedicated it to God Venkatēsvara of the Tirumalai hill at Tirupati. The poem in question afterwards came to be known as *Āmuktamālyada* or *Vishnu-Chittīyamu*, a work in five cantos. It narrates the story of Periyālvār or Vishnu-Chitta, the sixth Ālvār, who is said to have initiated the king of Madura in the Srī-Vaishnava faith. Vishnu-Chitta found a damsel in a *tulasi* (*osimum sanctum*) bush and named her Sudikuduta, adopted her as his daughter and married her to God Srīranganātha at Srīrangam. In canto IV of the work, the story of Periyālvār's success over the Saivas at the Pāndyan capital is concluded, while as subsidiary to it, the life of Yamunāchārya, another Vaishnava hero who had also won victories over the Saivas at the same Court, is also graphically painted. This canto in fact may be said to be devoted more to Yamunāchārya's story than to Vishnu-Chitta, who, rather anachronistically, is described as having come after Yamunāchārya. Both according to Srī-Vaishnava tradition and history, as ascertained from epigraphic and other data, Vishnu-Chitta probably belonged to the middle of the 9th century A.D., whereas Nāthamuni, the grandfather of Yamunāchārya and a disciple of Nammālvār, lived probably in the 10th century A.D., so that Yamunāchārya himself should have lived still later. This apart, the stories are told in an impressive manner, the scenes being laid partly in Madura and partly in Srīvilliputtūr, in the Tinnevelly District. Yamunāchārya is represented as a Brāhman youth, who, after his conversion of the Pāndyan king, married the latter's sister, and ruled over a part of the kingdom that was transferred over to him. He is then represented as a *Brahma-Kshatriya* and rescued from the kingly position by Srī-Rāma-Misra, a disciple of Pundarīkāksha, who himself was a disciple of Nāthamuni, the grand-father of Yamunāchārya. How Yamunāchārya hands over the kingdom to his youthful son and with what words of political wisdom, is told by the royal author in a manner that is particularly interesting, as the political wisdom attributed by him to Yamunāchārya may, in part at any rate, be set down to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself, as this part of the work seems more autobiographical than biographical (see Canto IV). This aspect of the work is considered separately below. The poem has been sometimes described as that of Allasāni Peddana, written by him in the name of the king. (See Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 281). But recent opinion is decidedly against this view, which seems to have been at one time held on grounds which will not bear critical examination. There are many tangible reasons why it cannot have been written by Allasāni Peddana but only by the King, whose name it bears. They are the following:—(1) Allasāni Peddana does not claim it as his own, while Krishna-Dēva-Rāya actually does so. We know that in certain cases, where a poem is called after a certain king, the poet who actually composed it has, in some other work of his, actually claimed it as his own. This has not been done in the present instance. (2) The assertion that

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was a scholar neither in Telugu nor in Sanskrit is one that has never been made by any one acquainted with the history or tradition of the times during which he lived. (3) The fact of his having been the author of several Sanskrit works, most of which unfortunately have not so far come down to us, has not been denied. (4) No competent critic conversant with the writings of Peddana would bring himself to subscribe to the theory that he could have been the author of the *Āmuktamālyada* as well. The style of *Manucharitramu* is entirely different from that of *Āmuktamālyada*. There is in the *Manucharitramu* a musical flow of language, though often intermixed with Sanskrit *samāsas*, which is missed in the *Āmuktamālyada*. On the other hand, there is in the *Āmuktamālyada*, a simplicity and elegance of language, mainly derived through use of homely Telugu words, which we do not usually associate with the poetry of Peddana. Peddana's descriptions are short, crisp, suggestive, and onomatopœic; whereas what we find in *Āmuktamālyada* is something different. The description of rain as appearing, for instance, in the *Manucharitramu* (IV, 11-12) has only to be compared with the one as we find it in the *Āmuktamālyada* (Canto IV, 76-136) to make sure of the difference in the authorship of these two poems. Unlike *Āmuktamālyada*, what little is known of *Harikathāsāramu*, the other undated work of Peddana, makes it clear from its very diction that it can only be Peddana's. Apart from these reasons, there is a certain humility displayed in the reproduction of the verses of other poets in the introductory part of the *Āmuktamālyada* which is noteworthy. Here, those descriptive of the king's meritorious and martial deeds and his genealogy and royal qualities are taken from the poems of contemporary authors and not written by himself. Such a departure from well-established usage would be meaningless in the case of an author other than a royal poet and would not have suggested itself to a person who wrote for the king. Similarly, there is observable a certain dignity in the concluding colophon verses which, quite unlike what we find in other authors, are in metrical form and give us barely the name of the author and his royal position with a bare, but pointed, reference to some martial deed of his. A far greater reason in support of the position that the work could have been written only by the king is the existence of nearly 80 verses in Canto IV (205 to 286) dealing with *Rāja-nīti* (Politics) which is too practical to have been written by any one else. The poem, accordingly, has to be treated as a genuine work of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself and not that of his Court poet Peddana.

The historical value of this work has been referred to above. Its merits as a literary production are equally great. It would take too much space to refer to these here and it ought to suffice if it is stated that it is not only an elegant poem but it also well fulfils the conditions laid down by classical writers for a real *Prabhanda*. While the moral it teaches is beyond dispute, the altruism of its hero is brought out in inimitable style when the royal author makes him revert to his humble occupation of garland-maker to the God, on his return to Srīvilliputtur, after his great victory at the Pāndyan capital. And this, despite the wonderful tempting golden mansion into which his humble cottage has been converted by Divine command! (See Canto IV, verses 35-38).

The story of Āndāl, the daughter of Vishnu Chitta, to which Krishna-Dēva's poem is devoted, is one of the most entrancing in the whole of Srī-Vaishnava literature. Her original name was Kodai, and though described sometimes as the daughter of Periyālvār (*i.e.*, Vishnu-Chittan), she was probably a fondling brought up by the saint. She is said to have been in her short life a *virgin* ministering to the temple at Srīrangam and Tirumalirum-Solai. Her contributions to the *Nālāyiraprabandham* consist of 173 stanzas, of which the *Tiruppāvai* has been considered her finest poem. Her poems are devoted to the exposition of the life story of Srī-Krishna, the epic hero. In her *Varanamayiram*, she describes the dreams of her marriage with Vishnu, and this song is now regularly recited at the marriages held among the Srī-Vaishnava Brāhmans. She is so popular with the masses that her worship has eclipsed that of the local deity at Srivilliputtur, all the more important festivals there being celebrated in her honour. (See M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, 323-4). A curious inscription on her shrine at this place, dated in 1453 A.D., records a grant by a local Bāna chieftain called Uranga-villi-Dāsan. The record, however, registers the gift of a village in the name of the God Ranganātha himself, who is represented to be making the gift of a village for festivals while seated on his cot at Srīrangam (or Vadepungovil at Srīvilliputtur), being pleased with her devoted love for him. The peculiarity of this record is that most of the preliminary portion is in the words of her own songs (*Tiruppāvai* and *Nāchchiyār-Tirumoli*), which describe her love for her divine lord. (*M.E.R.* 1927, para 89; App. B. No. 577 of 1926.)

Āndāl was also known by the names of Gōda-Dēvi and *Sūdikkodutta-nāchchiyār*. The latter name means "the lady who gave garlands of flowers after wearing them" and is thus accounted for :—Periyālvār used to prepare garlands of flowers for the god Vatapatrasāyi of Srīvilliputtūr, but in his absence, Āndāl, his daughter, used to take up the wreaths of flowers intended for the god, wear them in her locks and placing herself before a mirror, admire herself with a view to make sure if she would, in that decorated condition, be a proper match to the Lord whom she always regarded as her would-be husband and master, taking care, however, to put them back in their place afterwards. One day, Periyālvār, noticing this desecration of the holy garlands, scolded the girl and refrained from taking them to the temple as usual. But the god appeared to him in a dream and told him that the garlands which, according to him, were polluted, were all the more acceptable to him by reason of the sincere devotion of the wearer. On account of this, she is called *Sūdikkodutta-nāchchiyār* in Tamil and *Āmuktamālyada* in Telugu. The latter has been chosen by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya for the name of his poem.

His views on Politics.

The greatest interest, however, of the work lies in the glimpse it affords us into the Science of Politics which guided Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in the governance of his vast Empire. The concluding part of the IV Canto deals with this subject (IV, 205-286). It is distinctly autobiographical in character. It ostensibly professes to set out the political advice that Yamunāchārya gave to his young son, when he abdicated in his favour. As remarked already, Yamunāchārya came long after Nādamuni (10th century), being his disciple's disciple, though Krishna-Dēva-Rāya makes him posterior in date to Periyālvār. The importance of his date will be seen when it is stated that the politics he is said to have taught to his son is far too advanced for his age. Krishna-Dēva's practical knowledge of administration,—civil and military,—is seen to great advantage in almost every verse of this part of the poem. It covers almost every aspect of royal duties and has to be taken, in certain parts, as setting out the prevailing practices and notions of the time. It might be taken as what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would himself have wished his own son—the youth who was so cruelly put to death in his eighth year—to learn from his practical experience and knowledge. The following is a short summary of the teaching put into the mouth of Yamunāchārya for the benefit of his son :—

(1) "Unceasingly labour at all times (of the day and

night) to protect the people. Redress the grievances of those who come and complain of the troubles they have been put to.

(2) The prosperity of the king who bears at his heart the welfare of his subjects will be wished for by them. You should not say, "Of what use is such a wish of his subjects for his own prosperity?" "For, if all his subjects unanimously wish for the prosperity of their sovereign, will not the God who is in them all bless the attainment of their desire?" The sovereignty of the king should be obeyed throughout his realm, just as the shepherd or the forester is able by the mere show of a stick to command respect.

(3) To the commands of forts, only well-bred and well-disposed Brāhmans should be appointed (for they alone can defend it against odds).

(4) If you appoint a man to a high post and then lower him in dignity, he will not think of his previous low position (and reconcile himself to his lowered status) but will think ill of the sovereign. So, you should raise people step by step according as they deserve such preferment.

(5) If you have a mind to appoint the following among Brāhmans to any offices (of trust and responsibility), give up the idea:—those of a low order; those who live amidst out-castes (outside the village); those who are unlettered (or unproficient); cowards; liars; cheats; those who are not afraid of notoriety; foreigners and those destitute of virtue.

(6) Do not employ those Brāhmans who have entirely given up their traditional avocation, and have been brought up at the doors of Sabaras (*i.e.*, foresters). Did not, in ancient days, one such impure Brāhman, for a single meal, show his (petulant) temper against his protector? (The story of this is told in the *Rājadharma* section of the *Sānti-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*).

(7) Would not the (seven) limbs of Government be strengthened if a king obtained, at his own request, the services of a learned Brāhman, with knowledge of the science of politics, and aged between 50 and 70 years, free from disease and passions and descended from a family which had already seen service under the ancestors of that king? (It is suggested that only such a Brāhman is fit to be appointed as Minister).

(8) A king under the sway of a Minister, destitute of good qualities, is like a person who finds it impossible to wear on

his body a pearl as big as the *cucubris maxima*. Being unable to control him, and overcome by mental anxiety, that king will find himself in the hands of such a Minister. In circumstances of this nature, it is best for the king, having regard to the aid he can derive from his army and his wealth, to think out matters for himself and act, with due regard to propriety, whether he eventually succeeds in the work or not.

(9) Instead of entrusting a big work to one person, if it is given to many, they would, one beside the other, work at it and quickly accomplish. If, on the other hand, a task that requires many to accomplish it, is allotted to few people, its achievement would be impeded and the attendant difficulties manifolded.

(10) Wealth alone cannot accomplish anything for a king. He primarily requires the active friendship of great and good employees; to secure them he should be generous, merciful, and truthful and always show a genuine regard for friendship.

(11) A well-filled treasury and cavalry and other troops will prove of no avail to a king who has no good men to serve him. On the other hand, have you not heard that they will prove useful to your enemy, on the destruction of your own kingdom, for the absorption of other kingdoms into his own?

(12) Though the co-operation of Kshatriyas, Anghrijas (Sudras) and the rest should be sought (by a king), he will find it helpful to seek out those Brāhmans, who, from time immemorial, served under kings and made such service their means of livelihood, and employ them under him; for such Brāhmans will, with due regard to their customary duties, stand by the king even on critical occasions, though the odds may be tremendously against them.

(13) Do not employ a collector of revenue for the management of (charities) given over to temples, Brāhmans, and the like. If you do so, you would be tempting him to make up the losses in the collections from these sources, which would mean your own ruin (for money given away ought not to be taken back.) It would be best to have a single man told off for looking after these charities, for even if he misappropriated a little from the revenue resulting from them, he alone would suffer for it.

(14) A king who means business should, in the first instance, like the cultivator who runs up the hedge and then prepares the soil by turning upside down the roots in it, either by pretended friendship for the enemy or by the use of force, make the country his own and then think of driving out from it the enemies within it.

(15) Speak not harshly to the aboriginal across the frontier, for you are likely to turn him away from you (and thus lose the opportunity of knowing valuable secrets); think ten times before you speak to him. Even if you suspect him to be a liar, leave him alone in the opinion that you have not understood him.

(16) The Yerukulas (a forest tribe) have made their haunts on hills and in dense forests in various parts of the kingdom and are giving trouble to people round about. It would be mutually advantageous to allot the country adjoining their abodes to those chiefs who have been driven away from their strongholds and have immigrated into this kingdom. (The suggestion is that it would not be bad if the power of the immigrant chiefs was broken in their attempts to subdue these dangerous Yerukulas; nor would it be bad, if the power of the Yerukulas were broken up by the immigrant chiefs. Either result would prove advantageous to the State.)

(17) If the aboriginals across the border are many and strong, they are likely to prove irksome to the people in the kingdom. They should, accordingly, anyhow be brought under control, their fear being laid at rest. Being ill-cultivated people, with them disbelief, belief, anger, half-heartedness, extreme unfriendliness and unbounded co-operation are possible, even by reason of very insignificant causes. You ask, "How is that?" (Here is an example).

(18) When a Bōya came to another Bōya with the bow in his hand, he was conducted into the dining hall and there provided with milk and rice. There, espying the boiling jute in the pot on the oven and mistaking it for boiling meat, which had not been served to him, he said unto himself that he had been deceived and that therefore he would upset it all and when his host turned up to show him the way out, he would kill him. If the host, however, while taking leave of him said unto him, "Would the jute on the oven be spoiled, if I tarried further with you," would not the guest, understanding his mistake, allow him to go?

(19) These aboriginal tribes, because they ate milk and rice, would not thereafter go against the truth they had uttered to you; similarly, if they mistook a thing, they would not think of the pettiness of the thing, but would think harshly of you.

(20) To subdue the aboriginal tribes, truth is the best weapon (*i.e.*, speaking the truth will prevail with them); to win over enemy kings, their ambassadors should be rewarded; to keep the infantry in a friendly spirit, the regular payment of their salaries should be ensured; to keep contented the cavalry forces, service should be enlivened with gifts.

(21) Never entrust the protection of precious horses and elephants in their respective stables to the lords (who are accustomed to ride and enjoy them and are not likely to know their sufferings) but only to a good and tried horseman or elephant-keeper.

(22) In an assembly, when a great personage propounds a proposition, it is usual for another, out of jealousy, to say "No" and hotly controvert it; you (*i.e.*, the king) should feel the position, and see to the propriety of things, and conduct the assembly to its successful end, without disputing the position taken up by either of them. Afterwards, if you ponder the matter well, you will find that adopting the suggestion of the person, who at first spoke *bona fide*, will be attended with success.

(23) As some ministers, looking to the nature of the enemies outside and to the helplessness of the king, dependent as he was on themselves, would, in carrying out their royal duties, encourage those inside the kingdom, and openly endeavour with the aid of a few, to enmesh him in their own net, he should try and rule without seeking the assistance of such wicked ministers.

(24) Such wicked ministers would see to it that those under their control got what they wanted while others failed to secure what they desired. They will falsify the king's promises, and declare, "Though told a thousand times, the King is like this, a promise-breaker," and make others neither trust him nor come near him.

(25) As when the inner heat has been lessened by the effect of cold, and the human body goes down in vitality, a strong doze of good medicine applied from without restores

strength to it, so if a new and powerful minister is appointed, he will nullify the mischief of such wicked ministers.

(26) Will not a wise and brave king who has at his command a well-filled Treasury, and well-equipped cavalry and elephants standing ready for his aid in his stables, shake off the evil influences of wicked ministers?

(27) If one morsel of food is lessened in the case of even one man (employee), they are ready to curse the king for it. Is there a single friend to the King? Yet the King ought not to say to any one, "I will not provide for you." Though he may not believe in some people (or in their faithfulness), he should act sympathetically towards them.

(28) If you show that you do not feel distressed at the ill-deed of one man, you will learn the behaviour of many. Have you not heard that when King Pānchāla showed to a great Muni, numerous cows for a painful sacrifice, that Muni declared that his elder brother would not feel distressed at the sin involved in the deed but would go on with the sacrifice—just as though I passed by a fruit, seeing it lying on an unclean ground, my elder brother (*i.e.*, a typical person anxious to grab at anything) without the slightest touch of feeling, devoured it? This is how we should learn (*i.e.*, by way of inference). Is it (humanly) possible to examine every thing that occurs (in this world)?

(29) When you have skilfully won success over an enemy who had intended evil against you at a moment critical to you, you would shine well if you spared his life. What fear is there from a cobra whose fangs have been removed? Such an enemy (whose life has been spared) would trust in you (*i.e.*, not forget your kindness).

(30) For developing the financial resources of the State, an increase in its area is necessary. But if its area is found to be too small and it is impossible to increase it, then if the tanks and channels in it are increased, and the poor cultivating raiyat is assisted by concessions, both as to cultivation and as to division of the produce, in developing his resources, it would help to augment both the prosperity and the wealth of the State.

(31) There is no chance of prosperity to a king, even though he had the territories composing the seven islands, who is served by officials, who, when his subjects are, out of disgust,

leaving his territory, do not recall them (by wise words) but, like the jackal in the field, say that it is best to annex their cattle and grain and treat (the materials in) their houses as so much desirable firewood.

(32) A King should divide his income into four parts (and use it as follows):—One part, he should use for the double purpose of gifts and for meeting his personal needs; two parts he should use for maintaining his fear-inspiring forces; and the fourth he should divert into his over-flowing Treasury. When the income is so utilized, this (mode of finance) would help him to look through the eyes of his spies, in the direction of enemy kings, his own ministers and other subordinates, and put an end to thieves in his own dominions.

(33) If a king's well-paid Police force does not with celerity bring to justice a thief, but allows him to escape from the prison, and on his escape, substitutes for him another (in the fear that it might be punished), would it not, as in the story of the stout merchant who was sent to the gallows, bring discredit to the king?

(34) A king should learn three out of four parts of a matter by the exercise of his own talents; the fourth part, which has been hid from him, he may learn from his (any of his numerous affectionate) friends. A wise king, who acts thus with good sense and without passion, is never likely to impose cruel punishments for any evil that might befall him and is sure to reign long.

(35) Like the Bhallooka (bear), at the top of the tree, which, while it has one eye shut and sleeping, has the other open and wide awake, a king should, while he is enjoying life or wandering away (from his kingdom), have his eye on his enemies.

(36) Because of their indestructible learning (learning is always held to be indestructible) or because of the indestructible faith he has in them, the King who gifts away cash and villages to *Sanyāsins* (ascetics) and *jatadhāris* (mendicants) and the like, will only make them, in their variety, to break the rules of their respective orders. By such breaches in their respective orders, the kingdom would be overrun by famine, pestilential diseases, and increase in infantile mortality. Towards these, (*i.e.*, ascetics and mendicants), veneration ought to suffice. The sin resulting from not gifting

(cash and villages) to these ascetics and mendicants would do no harm to the king. He need have no fears in this respect.

(37) Listen! towards offenders, you should show clemency thrice. In the case of an offender whose liberation would mean trouble to you, before sending one to catch him, prepare the means (lit. arms) which should end him. (This is to suggest that in the case of a miscreant whose liberation would mean mischief to the State, any show of clemency would be misplaced.)

(38) Though the king is himself a great hero, he ought to put up with the valorous words of other heroes. If he does so, he will find that their enthusiasm (in his service) will increase (to his benefit). In this (practical) world, true heroes will find it meet to tolerate true heroism in their equals.

(39) A king should so rule his kingdom that he develops the increase of trade at his ports in horses, elephants, precious stones, sandal-wood and other sweet-smelling substances, pearls and the like. He should afford protection, with due regard to the propriety of their racial or caste scruples, to those immigrating into his kingdom owing to (the prevalence of) famine, pestilence, and wars in other countries. He should appoint only those who wish him well (*i.e.*, those in whom he has implicit confidence) for supervising pleasure gardens, cattle-pens and mines.

(40) Until the opportunity arrives for it, a king should keep his anger against the offender (offending enemy) under control; but like the bowman who observes his prey and then draws his bow with all his might and lets it go on it, he should, when the moment for attack offers itself, swoop down on him, and crush him.

(41) Against a wicked enemy, a king should lead his forces for some days in a slow (and cautious) manner—he should march like the waters, which flow down slowly until they gather volume from behind and then discharge themselves with great velocity—move slowly until his contingents join him on his advance (against the enemy). If that enemy is strong, he is bound to flee back (for his life) by the (warm) reception he receives from the King's forces; if he is found, through (the agency of) spies, that he is a weakling, the king

should (boldly continue his) advance against him (and his forces) and surround (or encircle) him.

(42) When, without regard to their prior friendliness, the enemy king displays distrust in his own feudatories, and they are smarting under such suspicion, the king (who is anxious to improve his own position) should secretly send a word of encouragement to them, together with precious stones and jewellery and by the use of *Bhēda* (sowing of dissensions, one of the four modes of giving effect to foreign policy) make the enemy king to collect oppressive taxes from his subjects, take counsel with worthless fellows, and cede portions of his territories (to his neighbours). He (the king who is anxious to improve his own position) should, at the same time, avoid these (prevent these evils taking root in his own soil).

(43) When a king is in danger of losing his kingship (by reason of internal dissensions), he would do well, even by ceding half of his dominions, if he desired it, to an enemy-king, and by the aid of his unfailing (or everlasting) friendship, prevent danger to his own sceptre. Is not the fear of the loss of one's (kingly) authority greater than that inspired by the serpent?

(44) Why say a thousand words! a king must, by every means possible, ferret out the secret enemies in his kingdom and suppress them and move about as freely in his territories as he would in a bevy of ladies. If he cannot achieve this much, what is his kingdom for? Is not his kingship then but for the acquisition of sorrow? (The suggestion is that it is a king's duty, if he has regard for his own welfare, that he should make short work of his internal enemies).

(45) For seizing hold of the strong enemy king, who, out of fear, refuses to set his feet on your soil, it is no good exerting too much when it is more meet to induce him to slip himself into your hands. Is not the fisherman on the banks who has caught his big prey and is trying to gently draw it off by alternate loosening and dragging the rod the best example of this (policy)?

(46) A king should not possess the following qualities:—the inflicting of incommensurate punishment (on offenders); unskilful examination of fortifications; failing to afford an enemy scope for further negotiations; ruining a foreigner who, thinking of the ill done to him in his own country, is on a

visit to him trusting in him; discussing things with an amiable minister in a manner ill-understood by him; associating with people bearing ill-will towards him; treating trustworthy people as untrustworthy; yielding to flattery, freely to admit such people as are unworthy of being so admitted in circles where counsel is being taken; forgetting to punish a person who has freely divulged (State) secrets; sleeping over serious happenings though they are occurring before his very eyes; inconstancy towards those deserving of respect; associating with low and wicked people; being slave to lust, gambling and the like; and obstinacy.

(47) When a king is overcome by the three (well-known) kinds of evils, he should expend large sums of money (for their propitiations) on feeding, sacrifices and offerings, (through the agency of Brāhmans, Gods, and Fire in which oblations are offered). (The three kinds of evils referred to are mentioned by Vriddha Vasishta to be those sent down by the gods, those which have their origin in the earth, and those which are related with the heaven).

(48) A king should see that high dignitaries of the State and their subordinates are increasingly antagonistic to each other. By so doing, he would make it impossible for them to hide their good and bad qualities. Friendship between them would be the cause of sorrow (to the king). Being liked by the king, as celebrities, as those of equal status, and as those getting interested in being known as the upholders of the kingdom, those (higher dignitaries) would never wish ill to the king (if they were kept away from their subordinates). (The suggestion is that it is the duty of the king to make the higher officials of the State to look to him as the fountain of everything and thus keep them away from conspiracies and the like which might be attended with ill unto himself).

(49) A king should never go on a mission by himself. (To achieve his object), it would be meet if he ennobled another and sent him on it. A strong enemy is never overcome by a weak king. If the person thus ennobled (for being sent on the intended mission) is not endowed with treasure, territory (for governance), elephants, horses, and good sense, he would prove useless. If so ennobled, a person belonging to a caste other than the Kshatriya and the orders following it, would hold fast. (But) such a person should be one devoted to the king;

(and if he is so), he should be given the governance of a fortified territory with (the requisite) troops (to defend it). (The suggestion seems to be that only Brāhmans should be appointed as Governors of provinces and not Kshatriyas and others as the latter are likely, at a convenient opportunity, to subvert the king's authority).

(50) You should grow thick the forests on your frontiers, but in the middle of your own kingdom, you should cut them down to pieces so that you may not be troubled by thieves (who might likely find shelter in them).

(51) To look at a critical eye on the actions of petty (frontier) hill (or forest) chiefs is like trying to wash the dust off an earthen wall. If you display anger against them, you never hope even to get into contact with them. If they are won over (as they can and ought to be) by means of honest words and gifts, they would prove useful for invading the territories of the enemy (who is beyond the frontier). They would prove also useful for plundering the frontier territories (if they are kept in good humour). To a king, to think of looking after every (conceivable) matter, to think of taking into consideration every (conceivable) fault of his (countless) subjects and to think of punishing an innumerable number of his subjects (for such alleged faults) is illogical (*i.e.*, impolitic and unwise).

(52) You should honour those merchants and others who come from distant islands (*i.e.*, countries) to trade in valuable elephants and horses with gifts of villages (in your territories) and at your capital with well-built houses, so that they (might be induced to settle in them) and daily wait on you. By such gifts and by offering them surcharged prices (*i.e.*, prices which would cover their profit over their cost and expenses), you should see that they (*i.e.*, elephants and horses) do not reach your enemy and that you make these (importing merchants) your own good friends. (This doubtless reflects the policy followed by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya with the Portuguese merchants who usually supplied Arab mounts to him in preference to his northern Muhammadan enemies).

(53) A king should converse with good humour with the envoys and ambassadors from countries beyond his frontiers while they are being received in audience by him. He should speak of (civil) matters on hand and matters relating to the

forces (literally, sword) with precision so that those near him might understand him clearly (so that they might act on the instructions given). He should realize that speaking like that (clearly and precisely) in a friendly spirit to his own subordinates is not a mistake (*i.e.*, not against his dignity as a king).

(54) A king should not soon take into his confidence for purposes of consultation one whom he has but recently ennobled (and appointed to high office). If he did so, such a new man, enthusing over the successful manner in which he had won the confidence of the king, would, with great pride, speak of it to his friends, with the result that though the work in hand has been accomplished, it would end in disaster. Not only that; that newly made dignitary (who could not keep the secret) would also be ruined. Therefore such newly ennobled dignitaries should not be soon taken into the king's confidence.

(55) That King will sleep with his hands on his chest (*i.e.*, soundly and at ease) if he appoints to fortified places rightly disposed, well-read, good-mannered, brave, and prosperous Brāhmans of ancient descent and takes the necessary measures for keeping them in their places for their lives and through them obtain rare and valuable articles (for his use); if he, without deviating as much as an ant's space (*i.e.*, to the smallest extent) from his spoken word, grants to his feudatories the territories he has promised them; if he, without unduly burdening his subjects, raises a good revenue and puts into his Treasury the difference between his receipts and his moderate expenditure; and if he with the aid of such treasure, by the knowledge he has gained, learning through the agency of his spies, of the weakness of a neighbouring prince, swoops down at the right moment on his territories, as the eagle does on its prey, and enters and occupies it, without getting himself or his forces injured but inflicting heart-rending injuries on the bodies of the forces of his enemies.

(56) Whenever the King's receipts are spent on the purchase of elephants and horses, on their feeding, on the salaries of well-trained forces, on the worship of Brāhmans and gods and on the maintenance of his own dignities and upkeep, such expenditure shall not be considered as waste.

(57) At no time should a king offer a challenge to his enemy. When he goes on a war, he may not be able to

accomplish his object within the time fixed for it. Such an object might be realized by him at a later opportunity. Such a king (who puts forth a challenge), is he a man of action or a man of wisdom (literally, propriety)?

(58) If a king attacks his enemy in such a manner as to force him into a difficult position (so as to make retreat impossible for him) and beats him on the field of battle, his strength would be lessened, and his forces would be compelled to seek rest in heaven (*i.e.*, die in large numbers) and their forts and other places would be reduced by the use of different kinds of armaments and occupied.

(59) When a king has taken into his confidence a person and obtains his advice once or twice, it is likely that he will be sent for again and again because he has given friendly advice to him; but such a man, fattening himself on the wealth and other things of which he becomes the recipient (from the King), might begin to do things which might not prove in the public interests. It is the duty of the King to inquire through his reporters about the private character of such a person.

(60) When a chief on the frontier proves unfriendly to the king but friendly to the enemy (across the border), if it is possible to put him down by an attack it would be well to lead such an attack against him and finish with him. If it seem that it would be difficult to put him down by such an attack, then it would be advantageous to convert him into a friendly chief. When a chief across the frontier is found to be unfriendly and becomes an implement for use by the enemy beyond the borders, then, of what use can he prove to the King, except that he would be guarding the fort (across the frontier) in his own interests? (The suggestion is that a buffer State should be used in a manner useful to the King and not without regard to his own interests).

(61) You should conquer the territories and forts of your enemy; if their women fall into your hands, you should treat them as if they were born in your own family (*i.e.*, as your own daughters); and utter not harsh words to their envoys and ambassadors for negotiations for peace may have to be undertaken (through them).

(62) Even if you are tempted with the gift of gold as high as the Himālayas, you should only send your troops to occupy

and not personally proceed against the territories of Mlēchchas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) which are inhabited by people addicted to dissonant customs, which abound in waters poisonous to life, which are full of impenetrable hills and thick forests infested with diseases.

(63) A wicked but clever man will converse sweetly (with the king) and attain his personal ends; he will serve the king when he is enthusing over his own happiness. When he discovers even slightly that the power of the King is slipping away from him, he will desert him. A King who is desirous of distinguishing the good from the bad should be like an indifferent person.

(64) (*a*) The King should bring together the physicians and after getting tested his seven pulses, should obtain (from them) medicines compounded of gold and the like substances agreeable to his system and with moderate food and drink, with good physical exercise, and with (recurring) oil-baths put down (subdue) the evil humours in the body and nourish it. He should also by these means put the nervous system in good order, drive away evil symptoms in it, strengthen the different organs and limbs, protect its mid-regions with great care and thus so improve it by the testing of the pulses (as required) as to enhance without fear (of death) his life-time. By this means, he will be enabled to live a steady and uniform life (of happiness) and rule over his State associated with its seven limbs (*Saptāngas*).

The above verse bears a double interpretation: one personal to the King's health and another to his kingdom and its prosperity. The first has been given above and the other is given below :—

(64) (*b*) The King should bring together the wise of the kingdom and with their aid, and with the discriminate use of treasure, train them in such a manner that the strong enemy can be put down with ease. He should examine the irregularities appearing in the different castes of the people and set them right. By means like these (reform of the individual citizen and the caste to which he belongs), the King will be helped to strengthen the fortresses in his territory and the forests in its mid-portions, so that he might be enabled happily to rule for ever the State, embellished with the seven limbs (*Saptāngas*).

(65) The King would excel if he devoted the morning to the company of those who come to wish him good health, physicians and astrologers; a little later to the company of ministers, feudatories, collectors of revenue, *kayathas* (those in charge of royal work); the after-noon, to the company of *Jettis* (who engage in carrying out massage), cooks and kitchen attendants, hunters (who usually supply animal food to the royal household); the third part of the noon, to the worship of the family gods, to the reception of revered persons, *dharmādhikāris* (who are in charge of public and religious charities), ascetics (in charge of religious foundations) and to the company of such others; after meals, to (the frolicksome fun) of buffoons, to *Paurānikas* (*i.e.*, expounders of religious works), poets, and such others; the evening, to the company of reporters (or spies) and songsters, and the night to sleep and to the company of his beloved queen.

(66) There are (usually) three kinds of persons about the King—well-wishers, those who are neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers, and those who are ill-wishers. These will be described below.

(67) Physicians, astrologers, learned people, poets and *Purōhitas* (family priests) are well-wishers; those who are engaged in the duties of the collection of State revenue and the like are neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers; and those who endeavour to get back from the Treasury the amounts they have had to pay into it (as justly due to it) are gross ill-wishers. These (last) being as described, it is the duty of the King to remember what they are endeavouring to do and act accordingly (*i.e.*, in a manner adapted to the neutralization of their endeavours).

(68) It would be in keeping with the dignity of a King to amaze a fit donee, after careful examination (of his suitability), by presenting him with numerous gifts at the same time, as you see everything (you want) together in a dream or as the jack tree brings down its fruits simultaneously, and that even before he asks for them or others, seek to make mention of him.

(69) As the ceremonies to be performed for the satisfaction of one's ancestors and the Gods are matters worthy of careful inquiry at the hands of those proficient in them, you should, as imbued with filial piety, see that your ancestors reach the highest heavens by gifting what they desire to those

who are learned in the Sāstras, who are of good habits and suitable age, and are deeply devoted to Vishnu.

(70) (As the protection of Brāhmans is the duty of Kshatriyas), the gifts that the King gives are for the protection of the Brāhmans; and as the knowledge that everything has its origin in God Nārāyana and that everything one has is a gift from Him, is for one's own protection, you should most earnestly seek salvation at His feet. You should recall (the saying) that at the end of his reign, a king avoids the hell. As it is impossible to attain salvation otherwise, you should seek this only way to it.

(71) Oh! King, remember that it is only the fear of punishment that makes the wife respect her lord, keeps the sexes apart, each in its own line, that compels people to repress their passions (for the public good), that induces the lower orders to obediently work in unison with those above them and that secures to the king himself the services of a dutiful and loyal servant. (This would seem to suggest that it is the prime duty of a king to provide for meting out suitable punishment to delinquents in his kingdom).

(72) Like the man, who, wonderful to relate, after killing, becomes a dispenser of justice; after commingling with his wedded wife, a bachelor; after uttering falsehood for other's good, a votary of truth; after partaking of food (only twice as prescribed in the *Sāstras*), an observer of the fast; after turning away from the linguist (agreeably to the directions of elders), a hero; and after gifting profusely (to the deserving), a rich man: you should learn to realize the subtleties of the *Dharma*.

(73) The spy, a (foreigner) resident at the King's capital, the reporter who is in touch with foreign spies, and the man who has no sign whatever (*i.e.*, of nationality, religion or race) on him, would never enter such a profession (the profession of a spy) without the certain idea (in his head) that he would get more than he desired from the King and thus (help himself to) become rich.

(74) The King can win the merit acquired by the (prescribed) fasts only by the unlimited use of gift. He should take seasonal massages, baths, meals, sandal and other pastes (for the body), clothing and flowers.

(75) The King's dinner should ever be replete with sweet

and agreeable dishes; a short time after mid-day or at any time after that, dinner should prove healthy to a King.

(76) When the King has equal regard to *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, it would be a matter for satisfaction if *Dharma* preponderates over the other two kinds of duties, as it would be like the water, which had been obstructed from going to the paddy-field, being allowed to flow freely into it.

(77) You should (ever) wear on your body a shining precious stone; and (not only that), a King should have for each of the seven days in the week an appropriate ornament set with precious stones.

(78) No King should (ever) say (or think), "They say that this is kingship; after what length of time are we going to have salvation from it?" The *Vēdas* declare that one should do what is possible and not attempt what is impossible. (The suggestion seems to be that if a King, following, according to the knowledge vouchsafed to him, the *Dharma*, acts (in the public interests), and in the discharge of his duties inflicts punishments on offenders, he does not incur any sin whatever).

(79) Manu, Yama and others attained celebrity as persons imbued with *Dharma* only by reason of their having found out and punished many offences. For the sake of guarding over the people Brahma, gives birth, in the phase (*amsa*) of Indra and the other protectors of the eight corners of the world, to Kings, who, being trained agreeably to what is stated in the ancient *Vēdas* about *Virāt* and *Samrāt* and rendering themselves thus the equal of Indra and the other (great) Gods, endeavour to bear the burden of the sovereignty of the world and redress the grievances (or sorrows) to which it is subjected. If they do not do this much, would they be living justifiable lives? Are not even those thievish lords also loving their lives who enrich themselves by levying exactions, by the use of force, from imprisoned women and numerous others belonging to foreign princes? (That is, there are Kings and Kings, but he is a King who has regard to the *Dharma* and maintains it, irrespective of whether it shall benefit him individually or not).

No king should feel (or say), "Why all this fatiguing differentiation" about his (primary) duty of protecting the kingdom (according to *Dharma*). If you ask "How is this?", I shall tell you. Formerly, in the *Krita* Age (*i.e.*, in the Age of Truth), Sahasrabāhu, the son of Kritha-Vīrya, in ruling this world which he had conquered by the force of his own arms, used to divine there and then and present himself, fully accoutred in his arms and armour, before every person, whoever he might be, in every island or other part forming his kingdom in the very town where he was, at the very street corner he was standing, on the very day, at the very moment he was thinking of doing it and give the requisite command as to it (literally, punish him). But you will see that this (omniscience) is not possible, in this last (or Kali) Age, (*i.e.*, in this Age of Evil), for Kings who are mere mortals, and who are blessed with but limited strength (literally, troops). Why say that this (observation) is applicable only to the Rājanyas (*i.e.*, Kshatriyas only)? Are the Brāhmans of this Age blessed with the capacity which their ancients possessed? One Brāhman (*i.e.*, Agastya of yore) kept down in the palm of his one hand all the waters of the ocean? One Brāhman, (again), created another world as an answer to Brahma's (creation)? (The reference here is to Visvāmitra). One (other) Brāhman (again) overcame by the use of his (simple) *Brahmadandam* (the ascetic's stick) the Brahmāstra (the weapon so-called the most powerful of its class) of Brahma. "Such ascetic virtues are not to be seen (to-day, in this Age) amongst us (mortals). What is the use of any effort on our part (when we are such incapables)?" So saying, could Brāhmans give up, as far as may be possible for them, to live up to their standards of action? Are these Brāhmans (of to-day), though they are of capacity inferior, when compared to their ancestors (of ages ago), not exemplars (in life) and (thus) fit for reverence to Kshatriyas and the orders coming after them? This being so, you should, as a man of prudence, agreeably to the judgment vouchsafed to you and without disregarding what you have heard (from the tales told in the *Itihāsas* and *Purānas*) and seen (in your daily life), protect the virtuous and punish the wicked. If you, without pride, do this much, leaving the burden of the impossible on God Nārāyana, all the objects you have in view will be as being in the palm of your hand (*i.e.*, attained). "How is that?" you might ask. (Here is the answer). A King who has been anointed to the throne should fix his eye on the *Dharma* and rule (leaving the consequences to themselves). Even the births of Varuna, Kubēra, Agni, Dhananjaya, Indra and other Gods have been the results of action (sacrificial and other) begun in their many recurring births. (The suggestion is, even such Gods had to go through the process of rebirths as the result of their imperfect acts before they could attain perfection and be transformed into Gods). As the (mortal) world depends for its existence on the practice of *Dharma*, you should resolve on carrying it out, and pay off the debts you owe to the Rishis, the Gods and your ancestors and attain celebrity among your equals (of being a follower of the *Dharma*) and rule the Kingdom. So saying, Yamunāchārya anointed his son to the throne.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's application of *Rājanīthi.*

The above exposition of *Rājanīthi* is put by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya into the mouth of Yamunāchārya at the time the latter installed him on the throne. It might be taken to represent his own opinions, *mutatis mutandis,* in regard to the politics of his own time and there is not a little in it to confirm this view. It might be suggested that this might be taken as what he would have advised his own youthful son, the unhappy Tirumalaiya-Dēva-Mahārāya, when he crowned him Yuvarāja. However this may be, this part of his great work is interesting, first because it indicates Krishna-Dēva's political ideas and secondly because it shows the changes that the science of politics, as applied in actual practice, had undergone in his time in the south of India. The ground covered by Krishna-Dēva is large. It might, however, be remarked that it deals with the king and his duties under certain well-recognized heads :—

(*a*) The King's primary duties of affording protection to all his subjects and redressing their grievances are first stressed as all important.

(*b*) The mutual dependence of sovereign and subjects is then pointed out. The remark is added that this mutuality should not be spoken of lightly.

(*c*) The principle of obedience on the part of subjects is spoken of as all important.

(*d*) At various points is set down as a matter of practical precept that only well-disposed Brāhmans should be appointed as Governors of forts, while those of the impure variety should be discarded. The policy underlying it is stated to be that if Kshatriyas are appointed to them, they might think of subverting the King himself. (This is entirely in accordance with what we know from the inscriptional records of Krishna-Dēva and from the *Chronicles* of the Portuguese writers. His Provincial Governors and nominees to forts taken from the Kalinga King were invariably well-tried Brāhmans who kept to a high standard of conduct in their own community, such as Sāluva-Timma and his brother Gōvinda, Kondamarasayya, etc).

(*e*) In the selection of the Premier, he insists on the selection of a Brāhman between the ages of 50 and 70 years. Among other qualifications required are said to be learning and worthy knowledge. A minister who cannot be controlled is described as a danger to the King; he is compared to a pearl of the size of a *cucubris maxima*, too big to wear, though a pearl. Though full of learning and otherwise excellent, he might prove impossible from a practical point of view. Ministers should, he adds, be well supported by others to help them to carry out expeditiously their duties. Elsewhere it is added that the King should speak to those around them (such as ministers) in a manner that could be clearly understood by them. A competent staff is thus considered a *desideratum*. It is suggested that mere wealth can do little for a King unless he has, by its discriminate use, secured the help of others for carrying out his work. So important are good men that even a well-filled treasury and unlimited forces are said to be useless in their absence. Indeed, it is remarked that they might prove useful to the enemy!

(*f*) The separation of the administration of religious and public charities from that pertaining to ordinary revenue work is said to be a great necessity as otherwise missapplication of funds relating to such charities might result from their combination.

(*g*) The suggestion is made that the conquest of a country should be completed before the secret enemies resident in it are dealt with and exterminated. Conquest is thus divided into external and internal, the former being the reduction of the enemy king and the complete occupation of his country and the latter, the suppression of stray secret followers of the conquered enemy, who might be a fresh source of trouble if they were not exterminated from it. Such extermination should, according to Krishna-Dēva, follow the complete conquest of the country.

(*h*) Friendly dealings are adumbrated in the case of forest, aboriginal and frontier tribes, as their help would mean much in knowing of the designs of the enemy beyond them.

(*i*) The chief of the buffer State is to be dealt with as a friend in case he is strong; if he is weak, he is to be conquered.

(*j*) The settlement of immigrant chiefs on territories contiguous to those occupied by aboriginal chiefs is recommended, as they are likely to neutralize each other's power and thus leave the king alone. It is suggested that such aboriginal tribes should not be allowed to be too strong, as they are likely to be moved by trivial things to take serious steps, to the disadvantage of the king. But he insists that the only correct policy with them is absolute truthfulness in all dealings with them. Enemy kings are easily won to friendship by honourable treatment of their envoys and ambassadors. Elsewhere it is added that the latter should always be spoken to in sweet accents.

(*k*) The charge of elephants and horses should, he says, be given only to soldiers and not to lords, who take pleasure in them only to ride them.

(*l*) It is said that as every one is apt to blame the King for any deficiency, the King has really none whom he can call his friend. The suggestion is that the King should not allow any discontent to exist--in the army or elsewhere.

(*m*) As regards administration, it is remarked that a large territorial extent is necessary for obtaining good revenue. If, however, the extent is small, even that small extent of territory should be artificially developed by increasing the works of public utility in it such as tanks, channels, etc., in it, so that the poorer cultivator may maintain himself and thus be the means of enriching the State. (This was actually the policy of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as indicated in excavating the tank at Nāgalāpur and opening up channels even in his distant provinces, as Kondamarasayya did in the distant Madura Province). If cultivators leave the State in despair, there is, it is urged, no hope for a King, even if he conquered the seven islands mentioned in the *Purānas* if he does not in a friendly spirit try and bring them back into his State. (The abolition of taxation sanctioned by Krishna-Dēva is in keeping with this view).

(*n*) A division of the revenue is next suggested. Divided into four parts, one should be set apart, he says, for charities and personal expenditure of the King; another, for the maintenance of horses; and two more should be lodged in the Treasury for undertaking conquests, etc. Elsewhere it is mentioned that money spent for the purchase of elephants and horses and their upkeep, on Brāhmans and the Gods and on himself for the maintenance of his dignity, is not wasted.

(*o*) The qualities to be possessed by a King are thus described :—a personal knowledge of affairs; a desire to know from those around him that which he does not know already about affairs; a quiet demeanour and a good temper; merciful in meting out punishment; wakefulness, while asleep or otherwise; sparing in giving gifts to ascetics and the like; readiness to forgive his subjects, at least thrice before he punishes them; readiness alike to put an end to an obstinate enemy when once he has been caught; and turning the glad eye to the boastful enthusiasm of his own soldiers.

(*p*) Special mention is made of the duty of the King in regard to the development of ports, wherefrom elephants, horses, pearls, precious stones, sandal-wood and the like are imported or exported. Such development, it is said, should enhance the trade of the State.

(*q*) The King is also to provide suitable facilities for the settlement of foreign immigrants who reach his territory on account of famines, epidemics, wars, and the like in their own countries.

(*r*) The charge of public gardens, mines, cattle-pens and the like ought to be given to his personal friends.

(*s*) As regards the mode of conducting warfare, it is suggested that nothing should be attempted until the opportunity offers itself, and immediately it does, he is asked to crush his enemy down. In conducting a campaign, the army, it is said, should slowly march down, being joined by contingents and then, with the army thus strengthened, the king may swoop down on the enemy. It is elsewhere stated that before he does this, he should have learnt of the enemy's condition from his "reporters." If the enemy is strong and shows a disposition to attack, he will be induced to turn back by the reception he receives from the forces; if he is weak, it is best to encircle him and finish him off. In another part of the work, it is suggested that if the enemy is found to be weak, his territory should be invaded suddenly as a hawk does on its prey and capture in one advance. When an enemy is beaten, if his ladies fall into the King's hands, they should be treated as daughters born in his own family; and their ambassadors should be treated with mellifluous words, so that negotiations for peace may not be impeded. If the enemy's feudatories seem to be against him, they should be won over by the secret despatch of presents, etc., by which *Bhēda* (or differences) would be created between the King and themselves. (This was done by Krishna-Dēva at Pottunūru in his war against the Kalinga King). But if the King is, on the other hand, troubled by internal enemies, he would do well to make peace with the enemy outside, even by ceding half of his territory to him, so that a good ally might be secured and trouble from outside vanishing, he might be enabled to deal freely with the enemies inside. He should so put down these latter, that he is able to breathe freely in his own territories, just as he would in a group of ladies. A strong enemy is best caught by skilful management, as a good fisherman catches a big fish by the movement of his rod. (This would seem to typify the steps taken by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to secure the person of Ismail Ādil Shāh). The enemy should be so beaten that he is left no escape and his territories and forts should be captured, it is said, by all kinds of implements of war. (This was what Krishna-Dēva-Rāya actually did at Raichur). It is, however, suggested that, except in the one case suggested, no surrender of territory by cession should be allowed to the enemy; nor the levy of oppressive taxes on the subjects; nor even the taking of advice from men of straw. (This was actually the policy of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself. The most oppressive taxes, like the marriage and other taxes, were abolished under his orders and his ministers were men of eminence and learning). The King is warned against advancing *personally* into territories poisonous to his health. He is advised to send only his forces against them. He is not to send challenges to his enemies, for their conquest may take time and may not be capable of accomplishment as desired by him. He is to conserve the forest on his borders, while reducing them in the middle parts of his territory. He is not to deal harshly with frontier chiefs—it would prove like washing the dust off a mud wall. They are better kept as friends by the king keeping up to his words with them, by presents of vehicles, etc. He should not take a new feudatory into his counsel, as he is likely, out of mere vanity, to betray his secrets. He should keep an eye on adventurers and prevent them from making capital out of him for their own personal ends. With such he is to pretend as if he were an ignorant rustic. As regards spies, it is said that they should be paid well as they are not likely to take up that work without the ambition of making riches out of it. He should keep his superior and subordinate staffs at antagonism with each other, so that he might not be allowed to hide their good and bad qualities. He is to treat with special care those who import and sell elephants and horses for the King's use. He is to provide good houses for them to reside in at the capital so that they might be induced to wait on the King. The prices paid to them should be such as to allow them a profit. These steps, if taken, would enable the king to divert the sale of these valuable animals from his enemy to himself. (This policy was actually in force in Krishna-Dēva's time. He gave special treatment to Portuguese horse-dealers in his time. Figueiredo lived in a special house and he and his friends were received by the King at Nāgalāpur under special conditions and the purchases of horses from Nuniz and others appear to have been both frequent and profitable to them. See Paes' Narrative in *A Forgotten Empire*, 251-2).

(*t*) Detailed instructions are given as to the care of his body and the manner in which he should spend his time from morning till night, the kind and the quantity of food he should take and the jewels he should wear which are sufficiently indicated in the text as translated above. The King's environment is then described under the heads of well-wishers, ill-wishers and neither well-wishers nor ill-wishers and he is recommended to deal skilfully with each of these in the appropriate manner. Gifts should, it is said, be made spontaneously and handsomely to a fitting person, without request or suggestion from the outside. The worship of the Gods and ancestors should be provided according to the *Sāstras* while gifts are intended to protect Brāhmans; the need for self-realization—that his own redemption depends on God Nārāyana—should be understood by the King. The proverb that "At the end of his rule, there is Hell," for a King is quoted to drive home the lesson that the King should not forget his dependence on God for his own protection.

(*u*) The King, it is added, should not draw back to use *Danda* (*i.e.*, punishment), for the coherence of Society depends upon its use. The keeping of the sexes apart from each other, the good feeling of the wife towards the husband, the control of the passions (on the part of the subjects), the co-operation of the lower orders with those above them, and the obedience of the King's servants depend on the fear it (*Danda*) generates in each of these. The King, however, though seemingly replete with contrary qualities—merciful while killing, commingling with his queen at the prescribed time and living a bachelor during the rest of the time, etc., (see above)—has to conduct himself in a manner to strike wonder in the hearts of his subjects.

(*v*) Finally, it is remarked that *Dharma* should predominate in his actions, though he should have regard to all the three kinds of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. No King should think that Kingship is a means of acquiring sin and as such, to be shunned. For, it is added that the *Vēdas* declare that the King should attempt only what is possible and not that which might prove impossible. Punishment does not mean sin; it is a necessary evil. Manu and others attained to fame by its use. Unless Kings are born and do their duties efficiently, would mankind survive the evils that overtake them? They are, therefore, in the *amsa* of the governors of the eight directions and discharge their duties for the good of mankind. Why all this argument; have there not been even wicked kings who have made money out of imprisoned wives and others and lived their lives at ease and gone? If you say so, it involves the argument of turning back on your primary duties. Did not in olden days Sahasrabāhu, the son of Kritavīrya, come down with punishment on every one simultaneously, wherever they might be, where they tried to do an evil deed and put them down? This may not be possible for the Kings of to-day with their limited means. Then, again, in ancient days, one Brāhman held in the palm of his hand the waters of the oceans, another created a new world equal to that of Brahma and a third overthrew the Brahmāstra by the use of his ascetic rod. Such miracles are not possible to-day for Brāhmans, but, on account of lack of such ability, can they give up their duties or what they can accomplish within their limited means? On account of such lack of ability, have they ceased to be teachers to Kshatriyas and others? Therefore, according to your abilities, you should carry out your duty of protecting the good and punishing the wicked, leaving the rest of the burden on God Nārāyana. If you do so, you will gain all that you might desire. You should, however, remember that the crowned king should always bear in mind that he should fix his eye on *Dharma* as an end in itself and carry out his duties. The worlds depend upon *Dharma* for their existence and as such, it is incumbent on a King to have always regard for it.

The ideal of Kingship.

The poet Allasāni Peddana in describing the rule of Svārōchishamanu has summed up the ideal of Kingship of his time in the single aphorism: "that king ruled over his subjects with kindness as if they were his own children." (*Prajalam Prajalatla-aresam Kripā-matin*) (*Manucharitramu*, VI. 117). That is nearly what Asōka did as set down in the Borderers' Edict:—"All men are my children, and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and in the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity." Both in the Edict and in the *Manucharitramu*, there is the identical play on the word *Praja* (*Prākrit*, *Paja*) which means both "Subjects" as well as "Children." That was the ancient Indian ideal aimed at by kings, wherever monarchy prevailed, and the doctrine survived into the middle ages and even later. The very first verse in the *Rājanīti* as propounded by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in his own work is confirmatory of this view, though he stresses the duty of protection a little more. "You should," he says, "ever prove an untiring protector of your subjects; when they complain, listen to them and redress their grievances."

Its practical attainment.

The ideal was the same, and it appears to have been practised through the ages in this country, north and south. The test of a successful rule is set down by Peddana and it shows what the ideal meant if reduced to practical terms. A virtuous rule would mean: timely rains; unfailing and increasing crops meaning plenty and prosperity to the subjects; a happy life for all the five classes of people who lived a hundred years with their sons and grandsons; women looking upon their husbands as their Gods (*i.e.*, so devoted and so faithful); suppression of all fear from fire, thieves and epidemics of every kind; abundance of delicious fruits, sweet milk and scented flowers; disappearance of the six kinds of evils and of untimely deaths; and the growth of relationships amongst people like the spreading lotus (intertwining) indicating peace and prosperity all round. (*Manucharitramu*, VI, 118). Though somewhat poetic in characterization, the ideal should not have been altogether impossible of attainment judging from what even modern administrations aim at.

An estimate of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's rule.

No estimate of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign can be considered just if it did not take account of the environments from which he sprang: His father, a great and famous soldier, all but a king, and his brother, both a soldier and a king, indifferent in the former capacity and in the latter charitable but wicked. Rescued from an untimely murder by a kindly minister, whom he revered as his father almost to the end of his life, he lived to see a Kingdom wide in extent, great in prosperity, high in reputation, and foremost of all, the most eminently respected by the rulers of the time. Great in war, he put down the aggressive Orissan Kings, and not only beat in the open field Ismail Ādil Shāh but performed the greater feat of becoming a king-maker setting up rulers in opposition to him. No wonder he got the title of

"Yāvanasthāpanāchārya." Though we know he would have valued the existence of a buffer-State and even tried to create one with the resuscitation of the defunct Bāhmani kingdom, the northern Muhammadan kings had not the political instinct to form a buffer-empire. Instead, the five States fought against each other and their mutual jealousies were so great that Krishna-Dēva got his opportunity to beat Ismail as he had never known before. The defeat left a lasting impression on him, indeed cowed him down so far as to make him run incontinently when the very name of his adversary was mentioned. Though Krishna-Dēva showed brilliant sparks of statesmanship, his treatment of Ismail's ambassadors—if Nuniz is to be believed—was wholly dangerous, apart from being discourteous, and worse still his final demand for Ismail's attending on him to kiss his feet. It meant the eventual doom of his Kingdom. Such a treatment could not but earn its own reward. Curiously enough, what he did as king is hardly reconcilable with what he recommends in his *Rājanīti* in regard to ambassadors, though as to the treatment of an enemy, both his writings and action agree in no uncertain manner. His overbearing attitude bore a deadly fruit within less than half-a-century.

Another phase of the environment amid which Krishna-Dēva-Rāya pursued his policy of wars and expansion was the coming of the Portuguese and the emergence of the first European power in India. He was friendly towards them, made use of them and accorded special treatment to them. His political instinct was so strongly developed in certain matters that there can be no mistaking of the soundness of his attitude towards these foreigners. The reception he accorded to them was so warm, and so different indeed from what they received from their hereditary enemies the Muhammadans, that they sold all their horses to him and built up a brisk trade in it, with permanent head-quarters at his capital. But for their help, he could not have waged his wars so successfully, nor indeed could he so easily have reduced Raichur in 1520 A.D. His conception of warfare was grand. The great preparations he made for the reduction of the frontier forts show the care he bestowed on them and the importance he attached to its absolute success. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was merciful to Ismail for he allowed him to escape and would not follow him, though keenly pressed to do so by his generals. He was more practical and desired to gather the fruits of his victory. Not only the whole camp of his adversary but also Raichur and what it contained was the reward. His reduction of the Orissan King and the repeated campaigns it meant show his iron will and determination to reduce a stubborn foe who had not thought ill of combining with the Muhammadans against him and his forbears. The greatness of his success seems to have impressed his contemporaries, though we are even yet unable to visualize it. He was no doubt a strong man; strong physically and personally; and strong as a leader of men and as a ruler. But he lacked constructive genius in the political field. The many years of warfare consumed his time; he denied himself the time required for re-orienting his forces for meeting the inevitable breaking out of enmity between himself or his successors and the Muhammadan princes beyond the border. As a retaliation for similar injuries in the past, it might have been an answer but it was not policy. He could not think out a polity nor construct one that could stand the test of time. Probably we know less of him as a statesman than as a military general. Death—sudden and unexpected—forbade him from completing his conquest of Ismail and from the recapturing of lost Belgaum. After that, probably, he might have turned his attention to internal re-organization, though we have no signs of it in what we know of him from his inscriptional records and from his poem and from the writings of the foreign chroniclers. He had the material to his hand and he had only to transform it. But he evidently was no Roman and he appears to have lacked the insight to grasp the position before him.

As a general, he should have been the beloved of his feudatories and forces. He chose his time rightly; he believed in a combination of arms; he understood pursuit but grasped its limitations and would not blindly use it, against his own interests; and he implicitly trusted in "march divided, fight united." In this last principle, he was almost Alexandrian in habit: what he prescribed in his *Rājanīti* is this respect he acted on before Raichur. His advance on Raichur shows equal genius—the organization being perfect to the smallest detail, including the supply of water to the troops *en route* and the pitching of the tents and the supply of luxuries as much as necessaries in the camp. He prescribes physical exercise for Kings and himself practised it, if Nuniz and Peddana may be believed. The manner in which he so quickly restored the *morale* of his troops at Raichur shows the perfect personal control he had over them. The truth seems to be that his success over Ismail was complete; it was undoubtedly as great over him as over Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Such success looks undoubtedly easy; but had a lesser man attempted it and failed in it, many reasons would have been easily forthcoming as to why it failed. Did not so many of his distinguished predecessors—from the great Sāluva-Narasimha downwards—try their hand against these two redoubtable enemies and did they find the invasion of their territories easy? The answer to these questions involves the appraisement of Krishna-Dēva's genius as a military organizer and commander.

He was the greatest builder of his Dynasty. He was also the most charitable—he was quite princely in his generosity. He gave unasked, and unprompted, everything and all at once "as you saw things in a dream" and "as the jack tree drops all its fruits together," as he puts it in his great poem. He was greater even as a civil builder but the glories of his palaces and chapels, alas! can only be read now in the old Portuguese *Chronicles* and the cryptic verses of contemporary poets. So complete has been the devastation and so crushing the ravages of time! He founded innumerable hamlets, villages, and townships, after his name and gave them away. Though he seems—judging from his poem—to have distrusted religious mendicants and ascetics as a class, he made exceptions in the case of really great men, as is evidenced in the case of one or two, notably in that of that prince of debaters and controversialists Vyāsa-Raja. He did not spurn the humanism of his forbears and it is a real pleasure to know the workings of his mind from the great poem he has left us. It shows not only that he could write correct verses but a perfect mastery of technique, which makes us realise the loss that literature has sustained by the disappearance of his many other works. Hardly was he dead, than romance was busy about him and his great minister. Many a story that is still current goes back to his days and is witness to the wit of the one or the wisdom of the other. The man was certainly greater than what legend describes him to have been. He was not only great but also good, for he endeavoured to lift the burden off the backs of the people.

There are, however, one or two events connected with his reign which seem to darken his portrait. One is his alleged harsh treatment of Vīra-Bhadra, the son of Pratāpa Rudra, who, Nuniz states, as the result of the discourtesy shown to him, committed suicide. This luckily has been proved from inscriptions to be wholly false. Vīra-Bhadra was appointed to a Governorship in the Mysore country and made grants, as we have seen, for the merit not only of Krishna-Dēva but also of his own father.

The second charge against him has reference to his treatment of Sāluva-Timma in connection with the murder of his own youthful son. The provocation was undoubtedly grave and much may be forgiven to a sovereign of Krishna-Dēva's type, who had shown his filial regard so far towards Timma. He had to choose between his feelings as a father and as a man who had been befriended, saved from murder, and put on the throne. Filial affection overcame gratitude and that may be justified by some at least as natural. But Krishna-Dēva was too much imbued in the spirit of the *Sāstras* he rigidly believed in, to order his death. The only doubt is whether he was dealt *on suspicion* of complicity or *for* complicity in the murder. Nuniz suggests the latter, though it is not free from all doubt.

Whatever future researches may show, there can be no doubt that from what we do know of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to-day, we can say of him that as king, soldier, and humanist he stands high indeed among the kings of South India. He merits the distinction of "Great" that has been bestowed on him.

Causes of his great success against his enemies.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had thus succeeded in every war he had undertaken. The main causes of his wonderful success were two-fold :—

(1) Improving on the lessons he had learnt in the art of war, he had armed, equipped and trained his forces till they were, both in their morale and in their appliances, decidedly superior to the troops of any State in the south of India. Paes' description of his troops bears out this fact in unmistakable fashion. This idea of rendering his troops invincible on the field was entirely his. He does not appear to have been content with excellence with one arm of the service. He evidently bestowed equal care and thought on every branch of his army. Each was brought into a state nearly approaching

perfection. His infantry, his cavalry, his archers, his elephants, were the best of their kind. His artillery was evidently effective and after the battle of Raichur, perhaps, also in more numbers; his commissariat service (*pace* Nuniz's account of his advance on Raichur and of his camp at that place), perhaps the best arranged in the India of his days.

(2) Like Phillip of Macedon, he was at the same time "a master of finesse." The manner in which he began his quarrel against Alī Ādil Shāh shows that he was a past-master in the art of seeking artifices and strategems for gaining his ulterior ends. He certainly took full advantage of the divided condition of the States across his northern border and played off one against the other. In this, he was greatly seconded by his Minister, Sāluva-Timma, whose instinct for diplomacy is seen in the manner in which he contrived to create differences between the Orissan king and his feudatories. Though the ministers gets the praise for all these timely hints and suggestions to his master, the latter cannot be reckoned a mere tool in the hands of his subordinates. He evidently had an infinite fund of artifice from which to draw and scarcely ever recoursed to means which he had once used before. To these two main causes must be added :—

(3) The extraordinary vigour, activity and avidity to fight evinced by the man who scarcely ever—again like Philip of Macedon in this matter as well—rested for a moment and who seemed almost to possess the uncanny power of being in several places at once; and

(4) A decline in the fighting power of his northern enemies due to their plundering habit, which, at least temporarily, depraved their morals.

Domestic life.

According to Paes, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had "twelve lawful wives," of whom three were the principal wives. One of these three, he says, was "the daughter of the king of Orya (*i.e.*, Orissa), and others, daughters of a king, his vassal, who is king of Seringapatao" (*i.e.*, Seringapatam).

One of these two queens was, according to Paes, the daughter of "Cumarvirya" (Kumāra-Vīrayya), the king of Seringapatam and all the territory bordering on

Malabar, who, Paes adds, was held in high esteem by the king. Mr. Sewell has identified this "Cumarvirya" with Bettada-Chāma-Rāya, who ruled Mysore from 1513 to 1532 A.D. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 169 *f.n.* 1.). But this seems impossible, for Seringapatam came under the Mysore kings only in the reign of Rāja-Wodeyar (1578-1617). (See below under *Mysore Kings*). Another queen appears to have been "a very beautiful woman of the family of the kings of Narsinga," who was, according to Nuniz, married to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Sāluva-Timma, his minister. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 363). These two may be the queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi metioned by Allasāni Peddana, the Court Poet of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, as his two lawfully wedded queens. (*Manucharitramu*, Canto I. 33). Their names appear in certain grants (at the Simhāchalam and the Amarēsvara temples) as the queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who had accompanied him in his East Coast expeditions and made gifts to temples with him. They also figure in certain grants at Vijayanagar. When their names thus appear in public grants, there is ground for inferring that they were the king's lawful queens. This being so, the statement of Nuniz that Chinna-Dēvi (he calls her Chinadēvidy) was his courtezan must be taken to be a mistake. Peddana is likely to have known matters of this kind more correctly than Nuniz. Chinnā-Dēvi must be the other wife, who, Paes says, was "a courtezan whom in his youth he had for mistress before he became king, and she made him promise that if he came to be king, he would take her to wife, and thus it came to pass that this courtezan became his wife. For love of her, he built this new city," *i.e.*, Nāgalapūr, now Hospet, seven miles from the ruined city of Hampi. It is possible too, that Chinnā-dēvi's marriage was ratified by what Sāluva-Timma is said to have done, before removing her to a big castle built by him for her residence in the City. (See below). Paes adds that each of the three principal wives had "the same, one as much as the other, so that there may never be any discord or ill-feeling between them; all of them are great friends and each one lives by herself." Each had her own costly jewellery and had a special bevy of 60 maidens to attend on her. Jaganmōhini, the daughter of the Gajapati King of Orissa, who was given in marriage to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, to ratify the treaty of peace concluded at the end of the war on the East Coast, was the third wife, "the daughter of the king of Orya." The marriage is mentioned by Nuniz, though, according to him, it came off after the return of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to his own capital. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 320). But according to the *Rāya-Vāchakamu*, it would, as we have seen, appear to have followed immediately after the fight was over, while the king was still on the Coast. Whenever it took place, there seems no doubt that it did take place, the dowry being all the country lately in the occupation of the Gajapati King to the south of the Krishna. The marriage is also mentioned in the *Krishnarāja-Vijayamu* of Kumāra Dūrjati and *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya Vyākhya*, a work by Nādindla Gōpa-mantri, a nephew of Sāluva-Timma. This marriage, however, did not prove a happy one, if five Sanskrit verses ascribed by tradition to her (called *Tukkā-Panchakam*, so-called after her alternative name of Tukka) are to be believed. In these verses, she bemoans her fate and the neglect she had suffered at the hands of her royal husband. She seems to have lived by herself at Kamban, in the present Cuddapah District, where the large irrigation tank, constructed at her instance, serves as a memorial of her stay there. (See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 116, 132, 143, 144). As will be seen from what has been stated above, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's arrangements left no room for jealousy between his queens; moreover, all the three lawfully wedded queens appear to have lived in the king's own palace at the capital. If there was estrangement—and the *Tukkā-Panchakam* is witness to it—it should have come long after 1520, probably towards the latter part of the king's reign. It is remarkable that there is no mention made of this queen of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya by Allasāni-Peddana in his poem *Manucharitramu,* which, as we have seen above, names only Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi as his lawfully wedded and affectionate queens. (The original text has *Kurchudēverulu* which means *affectionate queens-consorts.*) When it is remembered that the *Manucharitramu* bears internal evidence of the fact that it was written *after* the whole of the East Coast warfare was over, this omission of all mention of Kríshna-Rāya's marrying the Orissan princess is inexplicable.

According to the *Āmuktamālyada,* his two queens were Tirumalāmba and Annapūrnā-dēvi. (See *Sources,* 135). It would seem to follow from this that the fourth lawfully wedded queen, mentioned but not named by Nuniz, was Annapūrnā-dēvi.

His two sons: Tirumalaiya-Dēva and his unnamed infant brother.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had two sons, by which of these three queens, it is not quite certain. It is, however, possible, Tirumalāmba was the daughter of Tirumala-dēvi, and later married (Aliya) Rāma-Rāja, the famous minister of Sadāsiva-Rāya; and Vēngalāmba was the daughter of Chinnā-dēvi and married Rāma-Rāja's younger brother, Tirumala. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's first son, Tirumalaiya-Dēva, was probably the son of Tirumala-dēvi, and the second son, who was eighteen months old when Krishna-Dēva-Rāya died, was probably the son of Annapūrnā-dēvi, the fourth wife of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Both of these sons are mentioned by Nuniz, though he fails to mention their names. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* 359 and 367). The elder of these two was crowned king by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya himself during his life-time, because, Nuniz adds, "the boy being six years old, and the king not knowing what would happen after his death." Nuniz further states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, for this reason—that is, the uncertainty of what might happen after his own death, for he had his half-brother and nephews alive to dispute the throne—"abdicated his throne and all his power and name, and gave it all to his son, and himself became his minister," Sāluva-Timma, who had held that office, becoming his counsellor, and one of the latter's sons being made "a great lord among them," *i.e.*, a noble of the State. And so far did king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya go "that after he had given the kingdom to his son, he himself did obeisance to him." With these changes, "the king made," adds Nuniz, "great festivals which lasted eight months, during which time the son of the king fell sick of a disease of which he died." After his death, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya learnt that he had died by poison given him by the son of Sāluva-Timma. The king, in his anger, sent for Sāluva-Timma, his sons and his brother Gōvinda-Rāja and put them into prison. One of the sons of Sāluva-Timma, named Timmanna-Dannāyaka (the *Timadanayque* of Nuniz), escaped to a hill fortress, from where he made such war that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had to send his new minister against him. He was eventually defeated and was brought a prisoner before the king. He, his father, the aged Sāluva-Timma, and the latter's second son (named Gōvinda, who is not to be confused with Gōvinda-Rāja, Sāluva-Timma's brother), were ordered to be blinded and cast into prison, where Timmanna-Dannāyaka died. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* 359-61). Whether Sāluva-Timma survived Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or not, and what became of him, if he did survive Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, are questions difficult to answer at present, for there are no materials available to base any suggestion upon. Such at least is the story told by Nuniz, and there seems nothing inherently impossible of belief in it. According to inscriptional records, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's son who was anointed king—probably *Yuvarāja*—was Tirumalaiya-dēva-Mahārāya, whom one record describes as "the moon to the ocean, the belly of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya." (See *E.C.* IX, Magadi 82). This inscription is dated in 1524 A.D., and records a grant for the merit of Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya and Timmanna-Dannāyaka, in the province which was, it states, under the latter's governance. Another record, dated in the same year, and coming from the same province, mentions a grant by Timmanna-Dannāyaka himself for the merit of Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 6). There is another record, also dated in 1524 A.D., but which comes from Dāmal, in the present Chingleput District, which also refers to Tirumalaiya-dēva as the son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (*M.E.R.* 1896, App. B. No. 139). These records sufficiently indicate that Tirumalaiya-dēva should have been anointed *Yuvarāja* (and even co-ruler with his father) somewhere about 1524 A.D., as there are no earlier records mentioning him. As Nuniz states that at the time of his crowning, the boy was only "six years old," he must have been born about 1518 A.D., a couple of years before the capture of Raichur. Another son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is mentioned by Nuniz but is not so far known to inscriptions. He was, according to Nuniz, at the time of Krishna-Dēva's death, not "of fit age for the throne" being "only one of the age of eighteen months." (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 367). His age being against him, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya nominated his half-brother Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya to succeed him. (*Ibid*).

Tirumalaiya-dēva, son of Krishna-Rāya.

In an inscription dated in the same year *Saka* 1446 (A.D. 1524) discovered at Anantasayanagudi, Hospet

Taluk, Bellary District, Krishna-Dēva is said to have gifted a number of villages to the temple of Anantapadmanābha at Sale-Tirumalamahārāyapura founded by the king, in the name of his son. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 79, App. B. No. 683). The date of the record is Cyclic year *Tārana, Jyēshta Su* 7, Sunday. Magadi 6 is dated in the same Cyclic year, *Vaisākha Suddha* 13 and Magadi 82, also in the same Cyclic year, *Mārgasira Suddha* 2, Saturday. Arranged in the order of months, these records stand thus:—Magadi 6 (*Vaisākha*), Anantasayanagudi record (*Jyēshta*) and Magadi 82 (*Mārgasira*). As Magadi 6 shows that the prince was alive in the *Vaisākha* month, and Magadi 82 suggests he was dead before *Mārgasira*, it has to be presumed that the gifts of villages mentioned in the Anantasayanagudi dated in *Jyēshta, i.e.*, the month following *Vaisākha*, the month in which the gift in Magadi 6 was donated, should have been made immediately after or as part of the coronation celebrations of the Prince held at Vijayanagar by Krishna-Rāya. An earlier inscription of Krishna-Rāya found at Kamalāpuram, near Hospet, dated in *Saka* 1440, *Bahudhānya* (expired), *Kārtika* 12, Saturday (corresponding to A.D. 1519), records a gift of land made by the king and his queen Tirumala-dēvi to the god Tiruvēngalanātha of Anjanagiri (*i.e.*, Tirumala at Tirupati) for the merit of (prince) Tirumalarāya-Mahārāya. (*M.E.R.* 1923, App. B. No. 697). This gift was made when the prince was about 4 years old, apparently for his welfare. It would seem to follow from this record that the prince was the son of Krishna-Dēva by Tirumala-Dēvi and not Chinnā-Dēvi. Though Paes and Nuniz state that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya loved the latter "better than any of the others," Allasāni Peddana, who metions both (Canto I. 33), later singles out Tirumala-Dēvi and states that Krishna-Dēva was fond of rambling cheerfully with her in his beautiful rounded Palace which had been fitted up with different kinds of deceiving machinery. (*Kūta-harmya*). Apparently, the palace of this queen was a specially fitted up one containing different kinds of novelties. (See *Manucharitramu*, Canto III, 142). It would seem to be suggested in this verse of the Poet, that Tirumala-Dēvi was the chief queen, an inference confirmed in a way by Nuniz and Paes, the latter of whom actually states that Chinnā-Dēvi was originally a "Courtezan" and that the king had married her because of the love he bore for her before he ascended the throne. The Chōlasamudram inscription states, in confirmation of this statement, that "he ascended the Karnāta throne with his queen Tirumalāmbika." (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 55; App. C. No. 87 of 1912 dated in 1526 A.D.).

Three other inscriptions of his dated in the same year (*Saka* 1446, *Tārana*) have been traced at Kugaiyur in the South Arcot District. They record gifts to the temple at that place and to its servants for the merit of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his son by one Mrittyunjaya Nāyakar, described as the agent of Prince Tirumalai-Nāyakar. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 72, Nos. 115, 116 and 117). They may be thus arranged in the order of their dates:—

No. 115.—

Saka 1446, Tārana, *Tula*, *ba di* Ekādasi, Monday.

No. 116.—

Saka 1446, Tārana, *Dhanus*, *Su di* Paurnai, Ārdra, Sunday.

No. 117.—

Saka 1446, Tārana, *Dhanus*, *Su di* Prathama, Ārdra, Sunday.

As the month of *Dhanus* according to the Sauramāna Panchānga corresponds to Mārgasīra of the

Chāndramāna, and Tula corresponds to Āsvīja of the Chāndramāna, which is only two months prior to Mārgasīra, it is evident that these gifts were made on or about the date of the death of Prince Tirumalai-dēva-Mahārāya.

Coinage of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have introduced a new gold coin during his reign. This coin has been popularly known as the "Durgi" pagoda. As a devotee of Vishnu, his coin has on its obverse the figure of Vishnu seated with the discus and the conch. On its reverse, is the following legend in Nāgari:—"Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya." Half-pagodas of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya with the same obverse and legends are also known. (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64; and Plate VII.).

Krishna-Dēva's titles.

Krishna-Dēva's full title was *Mahārājādhirāja Rajāparamēsvara Vīra-pratāpa-Krishna-Rāya-Mahārāya.* (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 68 dated in 1516 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Sringeri 18 dated in 1529 A.D., etc.). The place of *Vīra-pratāpa* is sometimes taken by the fuller form *Vīrabhujabala pratāpa.* (See *E.C.* IX, Magadi 82 dated in 1524 A.D.). It is shortened sometimes into *Vīra-Krishnarāya-Mahārāya* (as in *E.C.* VI, Mudgere 41 dated in 1516 A.D.); and sometimes into simply *Bhujabalarāya* (as in a record at Yaraganballi, Yelandur Taluk, dated in 1512 A.D.; see *M.A.R.* 1917, para 110). In this record, he is also called "subduer of *Gajapati and Asvapati*," the former referring to his successes over Pratāpa-Rudra, the Gajapati king. In one record (*E.C.*V, Hole-Narsipur 19 dated in 1517 A.D.), his name and titles appear in unusual forms. He is called *Krishnavarma-Mahārāya* and described as the son of Narasimhavarma-Mahārāja. His titles are thus enumerated in it:—*Svasti srī bhuvanādhīsvara samasta-rājādhirāja rāja-paramēsvara srīman-mahā-mēdini-mīsaraganda Kathāri-Sāluva Srimaddakshina-samudrādhipati Narasimha-*

varma-Mahārājatanūbhava prabalaipratāpa sakala-bhūmīsvara-nikara-makuta-vinyasta-charanāravinda-yugala sarva-bhuvana prachāra kutūhalita-kīrtti-kuladēvatā-sahachāra-Chāturddanta-balānvi (di) tavīralakshmi samākarshana srīmat-Krishnavarma-mahārāyam samastha-prithvīrājyam geyutt iralu, etc. Though the composition of this inscription is peculiar in regard to names and titles and the date is given in unusual detail, with all the particulars contained in the *Panchānga* (Indian Calendar), there is nothing inherently wrong in its contents. There is scarcely any doubt that the title *Mēdini-mīsara-ganda, Kathāri Sāluva* was appropriated by the Tuluva kings from their predecessors of the Sāluva dynasty.

Some records indeed give him all the Sāluva titles. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 42. App. B. No. 196 of 18, *Saka* 1437 and App. C. Nos. 2 and 3 of 1919, dated in *Saka* 1403 and 1401, which should be 1443 and 1441).

The title of "Establisher of the kingdom of Muhammadans (Yāvanas)" and "the annihilator of the army of the Gajapati King Pratāpa-Rudra" are also mentioned in a record dated in 1517 A.D., from Neyvānai, (in the Chingleput District). (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 69; App. B. No. 381 of 1908). The first title is also in another record from Undavilli near Bezwada, dated in 1526 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 70; App. C. No. 47 of 1909). This title is also mentioned by Peddana. That the title of *Yāvana-sthāpanāchārya* was looked upon as an important one is borne out by the fact that it continued to be assumed by his successor Achyuta also. (*M.E.R.* 1906; App. B. No. 162 dated in 1533 A.D.).

In two copper-plate records which come from Kumbakonam, the king receives the title of *Urukavivaibhava-nivaha-nidāna, i.e.*, "The cause for the highly prosperous condition of great poets," a title that seems to have been literally true of him. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 48; App. A. Nos. 7 and 8, dated in 1528 and 1522 A.D.)

Death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya.

Krishna-Dēva-Rāya died, as stated before, in 1530 A.D., just as he was preparing for the capture of Belgaum. This is the date fixed by a number of inscriptions, which extend his reign to Saka 1452, cyclic year *Virōdhin*, *Vaisākha* month. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 525 of 1906). According to two inscriptions, found at Conjeeveram, the coronation of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya took place in the same year *Virōdhin*, fifth *tithi* of the second half of the solar month *Vrichika*, which corresponds to the *Kārtīka* month of the lunar year. A record from Ankurahalli in Sorab, which records the rebuilding of a village granted originally by Harihara I to the local God Srīkanta and regranting it to the same God, in order that a secure kingdom might be to Achyuta-Rāya, is dated in *Saka* 1451, cyclic year *Virōdhi*, Mārgasira 10 (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 39; See also *M.E.R.* 1899-00, Para 7, quoting App. B. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). It follows from these three sets of dates that Krishna-Dēva should have died between the months of Vaisākha and Kārtika, *Saka* 1452 A.D., which would fix the date between May and December 1530 A.D. A number of other inscriptions belonging to the last year of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the first year of Achyuta confirming the above inference may be noted here :—

(1) *E.C.* IX. Magadi 54. Records the building of a stone gateway at Biskur, Magadi taluk. Dated in cyclic year Virōdhi, Bhādrapada Suddha—*Su* 15, in the reign of Krishna-Rāya-Mahārāya (September 1530 A.D.).

(2) *E.C.* IX. Bangalore 28. Records the grant of a village, in order that merit might be to Achyuta-Rāya-Mahārāya and the donor's father. Dated in *Saka* 1452, cyclic year Vikruti, Kārtīka-Suddha 12. (November 1530).

(3) *E.C.* IX. Dod-Ballapur 20. (Copper-plate grant.) Records the grant of Sambāpura re-named Achyutarāyam-

budhi, to a Brāhman in the Hoskota-sīma by Achyuta-Rāya at Vijayanagar, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Dated in *Saka* 1452 (in words) Vikruti year, Vaisakha-paurnima-tithi (May 1530). This inscription specially mentions that Achyuta ascended the throne agreeably to the orders of Krishna-Rāya, (*nijājnam*), after he had taken the world of Gods as his position (*kritavati suratoke Krishna-Rāya*). This record may thus be taken to state that Achyuta succeeded Krishna-Dēva on his death and that on the date mentioned, apparently shortly after his coronation, King Achyuta made the gift mentioned in it.

(4) *E.C.* IX. Hoskote 28. Records a private grant. Dated in *Saka* 1452 Vikruti year Bhadrapada *Su.* 12 (September 1530 A.D.), in the reign of Achyuta-Rāya.

(5) *E.C.* IX. Kankanhalli 31. Records a grant by Sugalnād prabhu to *Guru* Chaitanya-Dēva. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti, Āsvīja *Su.* 11, Sunday in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Mahārāya (October 1530 A.D.).

(6) *E.C.* XI. Davangere 28. Records a grant by a local chief of Ballapura, renamed Achyutarāyapura, in Harihara-sīme, to the *chatra* of Harihara temple. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year, Srāvana-bahula, 8 Monday, Krishnajayanti day, in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya.

(7) *E.C.* XI. Jagalur 1. Records a grant for a temple at Bilichod in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1450 Virōdhi (1529 A.D.).

(8) *E.C.* XII. Gubbi 32. Records a grant by a local chief in the reign of Achyuta-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1451, Virōdhi year, Chaitra *Su.* 5 (April 1530).

(9) *E.C.* XII. Tiptur 110. Records the grant by Achyuta-Rāya of a *umbli* for a tank. Dated in Vikruti year, Vaisakha *ba.* 1 (*Saka* 1452, or May 1530 A.D.).

(10) *E.C.* XII. Pavagada. Records a grant by the local Governor. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year, Kartīka *Su.* 10, Monday (November 1350 A.D.).

(11) *E.C.* VI. Sringēri 18. Records a private gift of lands to a temple in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1451, Virōdhi year (1350 A.D.).

(12) *E.C.* VI. Kadur 31. Records a grant by a local chief to a temple in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in

Saka 1452, Vikruti year, Āshāda *ba*. 3, Wednesday (July 1530 A.D.).

(13) *E.C.* V. Channarayapatna 187. Records a grant by the local Governor to a temple in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya (who is given full imperial titles, with all the Sāluva titles, etc.). Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti (current), Āsvīja *ba*. 7 Thursday (October 1530 A.D.).

(14) *E.C.* VI. Malavalli 105. Records a grant by Rāyana-nāyaka, "the King's son," to Kīrti Nārāyana of Talakād, for the merit of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya. Dated in *Saka* 1452, Vikruti year (1530 A.D.).

A few grants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, dated in 1532 A.D., have, however, been traced, but the dates mentioned in them do not appear to be correct. Thus, in one record (*M.A.R.* 123 of 1924) dated in *Saka* 1454, Plava, the *Saka* and cyclic years do not agree. *Saka* 1454 falls in Khara, while Plava corresponds to *Saka* 1464. In a stray verse attributed to Allasāni Peddana, the date of Krishna-Dēva's death is mentioned as *Saka* 1447, cyclic year Tārana, *Māgha Suddha* Sashti, Monday, which would correspond to a day in February 1525 (*See Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161; *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, 170; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 186). This date cannot be correct as we have many genuine records of his considerably later than this year. The verse may be a spurious one and attributed to Peddana by mistake. It is, however, possible that the latter survived his sovereign, for another verse attributed to him makes him lament his outliving his patron. Indeed, he goes so far as to curse himself that he was a "living-corpse" having failed to go with Krishna-Rāya to heaven. (*Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 161-2).

Statues of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his Queens.

Statues made in copper of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his two principal queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi are to be seen close to the first *gōpura* of the Venkatēsa temple of the Tirupati Hill, to which he was deeply devoted. The group is made up with Krishna-Dēva in the centre, Chinnā-Dēvi to his left and Tirumala-Dēvi to his right. The names of these queens are engraved on their images. The statue of Krishna-Dēva, from what we know of him as a strong well-built man, fond of physical exercise and the open air, cannot be altogether presumed to be a mere conventional representation of him. Mr. Venkayya, judging from the character in which the names are engraved (on the right shoulder in each case), thought that the images should have been set up during the life time of the king. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 9; see also *A.S.I.* 1909-10, Plate LXXVI, for lithotype reproduction of the three statues). It may be noted that in a record dated in 1513, in the Siddēsvara temple at Tirupati, the names of these two queens appear as Chinnājiamma and Tirumalamma. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 87).

Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, 1530-1542 A.D.

As mentioned above, Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya succeeded Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The statement of Nuniz that he was chosen by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya to succeed him seems correct, for, one record, as mentioned above, states that it was under his direction that he took up the reins of Government. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 367; *E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 30, dated in 1530 A.D.) As there is nothing to suggest that he succeeded as Regent of his brother's minor son, aged 18 months, he probably succeeded in his own right. This is more probable as there is reason to believe that he was already co-ruler with Krishna-Dēva-Rāya when the latter was still alive. Thus, in a record dated in *Saka* 1449, cyclic year *Vijaya* (1530 A.D.), he is described as king. (*M.E.R.* 1900, para 70; *M.E.R.* 1898, App. A. No. 294 of 1897). Similarly in another record (see *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 15), dated in *Saka* 1450 *Sarvadhāri* (A.D. 1528), he is given all the Imperial titles and spoken of as ruling the kingdom (*prithvi rājyageyu thiralu*). From these records, it would seem to follow that Nuniz is not quite correct when he states that Achyuta was still in prison at Chandragiri when he was sent for to take the place of the dead king. Until he arrived, the kingdom was in charge of "Salvanag," who apparently has to be identified with the Sāluva chief Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya, who subsequently rebelled against him. (See *Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 367 and 384.) According to Rājanātha Dindima's *Achyuta-rāyābhyudaya*, the formal anointment to the throne of Achyuta took place at Tirupati, after which he proceeded to the capital, where the coronation proper was once more celebrated. It is added that on the latter occasion, his favourite Queen Varadāmbika was anointed Queen-Regent and his son Pinna-Venkatādri as crown-prince respectively. (See *Sources*, 158-159). This latter statement is confirmed by the *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*. (*Ibid*, 170-2). Among the many gifts given to the Brāhmans at the time was the one called *Suvarnamēru*. The date of his coronation is mentioned in a couple of inscriptions at Conjeevaram as the 5th *tithi* of the second half of the Solar month *Vrischika* (*Kārtīka* of the lunar year) in the cyclic year *Virōdhin* or 4th November 1530 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 70, quoting App. B. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). There are, however, a number of inscriptions at Kālāhasti which state that his coronation took place at that place in the presence of God Kālāhastīsvara in the cyclic year *Virōdhin* (*Saka* 1452) in the month *Kārtīka*, the event being marked by the grant of 7¾ villages as well as the proceeds of the duties on exports and imports collected at certain sea-ports to the God Kālāhastīsvara. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45, App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173, 182 of 1924—all dated in 1532 A.D.).

Internal dissensions and the triangular fight for the throne.

The accession of Achyuta was, however, disputed. The authorities—Ferishta, Nuniz, and inscriptions—are not clear on the point, but a careful reading of them suggests that there were, besides Achyuta, two other claimants to the throne. One of these was apparently the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, wrongly described by Ferishta as an "infant of the female line," there being none such, both according to inscriptions and according to Nuniz. Nuniz who mentions the infant (see *A Forgotten Empire*, 367) does not state whose son he was. Krishna-Dēva had, as we have seen, twelve lawful queens, of whom, according to Paes, there were three principal ones, the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom, but not those of others. (*Narrative of Paes* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 247). Of these, Paes mentions none by name. Nuniz, however, states that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had four wives, of whom he mentions Chinna-dēvi by name. (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 362-3). The *Āmuktamālyada* mentions Queen Annapūrna-dēvi with Tirumalāmba, while Peddana refers to only Chinnā-dēvi and Tirumalāmba, adding that the latter was the "coronation" queen. (See *ante*). Thus, there were four principal queens, three of whom were Chinnā-dēvi, Tirumalāmba and Annapūrna-dēvi. Now Rāmarāja and his brother Tirumala married two daughters of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, one of whom Tirumalāmba was the daughter of Tirumala-Dēvi who was married to Rāmarāja, and the other was the daughter of Chinnā-dēvi, and married to Tirumala. According to *Annals of Hande Anantapur*, on the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, the two queens Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi wanted that Rāmarāja, as the elder *Aliya* (or son-in-law) of the family, should rule the kingdom, assisted by his brother Tirumala, the second son-in-law of the house. (See *Sources*, 178-81). If this was so, the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya mentioned above cannot have been the son of either of these two queens, for, if it had been so, the queen concerned would have preferred the claim in behalf of the son to that of the daughter. He should, therefore, have been the son of Annapūrna-dēvi or the unnamed fourth lawful queen of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The infant's claim was put forward by his uncle—apparently his maternal uncle—who figures in Scott's *Ferishta* as Hojē Tirumala-Rāya (I. 262 *et. seq.*), while in Briggs (III. 80), he is called Bhōj-Tirumala. These are evidently corruptions of the designation *Huchchu* Tirumala, which appears in Couto (Dec. VI. l. v. cap. 5 as quoted by Mr. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, 169, *f.n.* 2). This Tirumala was evidently a man of weak intellect, if not absolutely insane. This *Huchchu* Tirumala was joined by "a slave," whom Rāma-Rāya had appointed the Governor of the capital. This is the person described by Ferishta as "the slave" who, having been ennobled by Rāma-Rāja, had, about this time, got possession of the capital, refused supplies to him for his wars, and had released the child-king and co-operated with Hojē Tirumala, assumed the office of minister, and, with a view to obtain possession of the Royal Treasury, began to raise troops. Ferishta adds that several of the tributary chiefs who were disgusted with Rāma-Rāja went to the capital and there declared themselves in favour of their lawful king (*i.e.*, the child-king). It would seem that they joined *Huchchu* Tirumala and the "slave" in their attempt at winning the throne for the infant minor son. "In a short time," Ferishta says, "thirty thousand horse and vast hosts of foot were assembled under his (*Huchchu* Tirumala's) standard at the City." Meanwhile, the "slave's" attempt to seize the throne for the infant king became known to Rāma-Rāja. Ferishta states that on his return from a distant expedition, Rāma-Rāja, having found himself deserted by many of the nobles, and unable to assert his authority, made peace with his lawful sovereign, and retired to his own province, which, by agreement, he was allowed to retain as his own independent State. A large number of the feudatories joining *Huchchu* Tirumala as the guardian of the child-king, *Huchchu* Tirumala had the slave assassinated, and after the reapproachment with Rāma-Rāja, according to which the latter returned to his provincial charge, he strangled the child-king and seized the throne. Ferishta states that the feudatories submitted, since he was of royal blood and better, in their opinion, than Rāma-Rāja, but when afterwards they found themselves unable to endure his tyranny and oppression, they rebelled and invited Rāma-Rāja to return. Ferishta adds that *Huchchu* Tirumala found himself in such great straits that he sent ambassadors with large presents to Ibrahim Ādil Shāh, begging him to march to his help and that the Vijayanagar Kingdom would be declared tributary to Bijāpur. Ibrahim was delighted at this request, and after consulting Asada Khān, his general, arrived before Vijayanagar "in the year 942" (*i.e.*, between July 2, 1532 to June 20, 1536 A.D.). "He was," says Ferishta, "conducted into the City by Hoje Terumal Ray (*i.e.*, *Huchchu* Tirumala), who seated him on the musnud of the raaje (*i.e.*, Rāyas of Vijayanagar), and made rejoicings for seven days." This conduct led to a change of front on the part of Rāma-Rāja and his supporters who, as stated above, had determined on putting an end to *Huchchu* Tirumala's usurpation of the throne. They entreated—so Ferishta says—Tirumala for the sake of the country to procure the retreat of Sultān Ibrahim to his own dominions, promising submission and obedience, if this should be done. Tirumala, thinking that now he had no further use for his allies, requested the Sultān to return home. He paid over the subsidy as agreed upon, which was assessed at something like two millions sterling, and made many other gifts. The return of Ibrahim was signalised by a determined attempt on the part of Rāma-Rāja and his supporters on *Huchchu* Tirumala. This attempt ended in a great tragedy which is thus narrated by Ferishta:—

"Ibrahim Ādil Shāh had not yet recrossed the Kistnah when Ram-raaje (*i.e.*, Rāma-Rāja) and the confederates, who had bribed many of the troops of the city, broke their newly made vows, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolved to put the Roy (*i.e.*, *Huchchu*-Tirumala-Rāya) to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor (*i.e.*, the child-king). Hoje Tirmul Roy, seeing he was betrayed, shut himself up in the Palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, also cutting off their tails, that they might be of no use to the enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, other precious stones, and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force that it pierced through and came out at the back, thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Rāma-raaje now became Roy of Beejanuggur without a rival."

Nuniz's account is somewhat different. He states that Achyuta was given over to "vice and tyrrany," "of every little honesty" and that therefore the people and the feudatories were much discontented. He adds that he never did anything "except those that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews." The two "brothers-in-law" referred to were the brothers Sālaka-Tirumala-Rāyas who were really Achyuta's wife's elder brothers and not, as identified by Mr. Sewell, the brothers Rāma-Rāya and Tirumala, the sons-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 169, *f.n.* 5; and 367, *f.n.* 5). (These were the "brothers-in-law" of Sadāsiva, the successor of Achyuta and hence probably the mistake of describing them as the "brothers-in-law" of Achyuta himself). Nuniz's account would seem to indicate that Achyuta and his brothers-in-law Pedda and Chinna Sālaka-Tirumala made common cause against the party in favour of the child-king and his Regent, the uncle *Huchchu* Tirumala. While the two queens Tirumala-Dēvi and Chinnā-Dēvi and their sons-in-law Rāma and Tirumala recognized Achyuta as king, the latter appears to have allowed the brothers Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala to take part in the administration. On this basis, the accounts of Nuniz and Ferishta are capable of reconciliation on the main point. It is difficult, otherwise, to explain the abject position to which Achyuta had reduced himself and the very strong condemnation of his conduct passed by Nuniz, who wrote as a contemporary what he has said in his *Chronicle*.

According to Nuniz, however, the invasion of Ādil Shāh of the capital was a wholly unprovoked one and not one undertaken in compliance with a request of any one of the parties. Nuniz, indeed, states that the Ādil Shāh, "learning of how little weight he (Achyuta) was, determined to make war on him, believing that he would easily succeed since the king (Achyuta) was not inclined to war; so he made his forces ready, and began to invade the king's territory," and arrived within a league of the capital. Though Achyuta was "in the city with great forces and power that he could easily have captured him if his heart had allowed him to take action, since the Ydallcao (Ādil Shāh) had with him only 12,000 foot and 30,000 horse; yet with this small force the Ydallcao entered Nagallapor (modern Hospet), a league from Bisnaga (Vijayanagar) and razed it to the ground. The king never tried to go out against him, nor had he the stomach for a fight, and there were only small skirmishes by some captains, good horsemen. These spoke to the king, asking that His Highness would give them leave to attack, and saying that his own presence was unnecessary for so slight an affair; but the king was terrified and by the advice of his brothers-in-law (of which they gave not a little), decided to send and make peace with the Ydallcao." A peace to last "a hundred years" was accordingly made on condition of the payment of ten lakhs of *pagodas* and jewels, valued at a lakh, by Achyuta with the city of Raichur, which had been captured by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The Ādil Shāh was, naturally enough, well pleased and retired. Nuniz adds that Achyuta subsequently sent to him a diamond weighing 130 *mangellinis* (or 162 carats, only slightly less than the Kohinoor, which originally weighed 186 carats) and fifteen other similar ones "worth fully a lakh." This money, it is said, "he soon afterwards recovered and put in his treasury, exacting payments from his captains (feudatories) and people so ruthlessly that they say that in six months he had recovered and put the whole in his treasury." Both because he made this peace and because he exacted sums from them, the feudatories and troops were thoroughly discontented with Achyuta and "have held," says Nuniz, "that if this kingdom should ever be brought to destruction, it must take place in the life-time of King Chitarao (*i.e.*, Achyuta Rāya); for he had destroyed the principal people of his kingdom and killed their sons and taken their goods, all owing to the bad counsel of his brothers-in-law, by whom he was dominated." He instances the case of one Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka, whom, he states, "he seized one night, and who, before he surrendered himself, killed all his wives, in number two hundred, and then killed himself with poison in presence of the king. This was because the king wanted to kill his son in his presence. By sale of the captains' arms, namely daggers, swords, spears, battle-axes and other things, which were all ornamented with gold and silver, the king realised more than 3,000 *pardaos*. In this way, the kingdom has been deprived of its principal men and of those who sustain it, wherefore, the Ydallcao holds it in so little esteem that he puts upon it every day a thousand affronts and requisitions."

Such is the story as told by Nuniz. He is severe as much on Achyuta as on his brothers-in-law, the Salaka-

Tirumala brothers, whom, indeed, he describes as grasping "Jews." To one like Nuniz, who had been accustomed to the stern, quick, and decisive measures adopted by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in matters of war and peace, the conduct of Achyuta and his brothers-in-law was thoroughly disgusting and inexplicable. He could not understand their inactivities in the face of the danger to the State and to the people and he could not see why they would not allow even the feudatories to fight out the Ādil Shāh, when he had had the temerity to invade the capital and destroy the new town erected by Krishna-Dēva. He set it down to the cowardice of Achyuta and his advisers, on whom he pours his scornful words of reproach. The possibilities are that these had made common cause against the child-king's party headed by *Huchchu* Tirumala and it could not have suited them to fight the Ādil Shāh, while their internal dissensions were still unsettled. The Ādil Shāh saw his opportunity in these very fights and apparently entered as the ally of the child-king's party and was bought over—according to Nuniz—by Achyuta and his brothers-in-law. As Nuniz's version is that of a contemporary, we may accept it as the more correct one. This is the more reasonable view to take, as the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* (see Canto XI) definitely states that Achyuta laid siege to Raichur and took it. The re-taking of it would not have been necessitated if it had not been lost after its conquest by Krishna-Dēva in 1520 A.D.

Identity of "Hoje Tirumala."

The question as to the identity of "Hoje Tirumala" "the slave" and others mentioned by Ferishta in connection with these civil dissensions has been discussed by scholars. Wilson, who was amongst the first to discern the actual place of disturbances after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, identified the "Rāmrāj" of Ferishta with "Aliya-Rāma-Rāja," his father-in-law, "Krishna-Rāya" with the "Sesroy" (probably the shortened forms would be "Kishenroy" and "Sheroy") mentioned by him, "Hoje Tirumala" with "Achutya-Rāya" and "Salika Timma" (*i.e.*, "Salak Timma" who figures in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya) with the "Slave." (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. 87-89). Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, who has given considerable space to the subject, has, after expressing some doubt as to whether the disturbances took place in the reign of Achyuta or after his death, shifted them to the beginning of the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, Page 195). He has identified "Seo-Rāya" with "Sāluva Narasinga," "Heem-Rāja" with "Narasana-Nāyaka," "Rāmrāja" with "Aliya Rāma-Rāja," and "Hoje Tirumala" with "Salaka Timma" of the reign of Sadāsiva. Father Heras, the latest writer on the subject, though he mentions Wilson's remark as to disturbances having occurred after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, states that it might have been due to the confusion in the minds of the Muhammadan historians by the succession of his six-year old son (Tirumalaiya-dēva) who was murdered by Sāluva-Timma, as mentioned by Nuniz. (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 3, *f.n.* 3.). He entirely fails to remember that this murder took place prior to the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and that he left a younger son, aged 18 months, surviving him. This "child-king" is the person referred to by Ferishta and his uncle is mentioned as "Hoje Tirumala." This being so, "Hoje Tirumala" must have been a brother of that queen of Tirumala whose son the "child-king" was. (See above). The only queen answering to this description is Annapūrna-dēvi, who is mentioned in the *Āmuktamālyada*. Hence "Hoje Tirumala" cannot be "Salaka *Timma*" (identified with Salaka *Tirumala*, the uncle of Achyuta) as is suggested by Father Heras. (*Aravīdu Dynasty*, 4, *f.n.* 4 and 6). He was evidently the maternal uncle of the "child-king" and had nothing whatever to do with Salaka Tirumala, who came into prominence only in the reign of Achyuta. Moreover, there is not a tithe of evidence to suggest that Salaka Tirumala, the minister of Achyuta or any other member of the Salaka family, was "mad." The many inscriptions relating to them nowhere even imply that they were "mad" and it is therefore impossible to identify "Salaka Tirumala" with "*Huchchu* Tirumala." These were two different individuals and they belonged to different reigns. Finally, there is the suggestion of Wilson that the "slave" of Ferishta's story may be "Salaka Timma." The great objection to this proposed identification is that they belong to different reigns and that if the "slave" died in Achyuta's reign, he could not have lived to take part in the civil dissensions of Sadāsiva's reign also. As a matter of fact, all the authorities—both inscriptional and literary—agree in assigning Salaka Timma to the reign of Sadāsiva and not to that of Achyuta. The progress of research since Wilson wrote has entirely falsified his suggestion and it has therefore to be given up as baseless. The "slave" of Ferishta has accordingly to be yet identified and future researches may clear up this point. It might be remarked that the whole difficulty in this connection is due to the fact that successive writers have failed to recognize that there were two disputed successions, one at the end of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign and another at the end of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya's reign and that in the first case, the eighteen months old son of Krishna-Dēva was set up against Achyuta and in the other, Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta, was set up against Sadāsiva and that on each occasion, there was a regular fight for the throne. If these two disputed successions are recognized as the facts show that they ought to be, then many of the doubts concerning the succession after Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya will automatically disappear.

Duration of the contest.

Two more points remain to be determined about these internal dissensions and the triangular fight for the throne:—(*a*) When did they commence and when did they end? and (*b*) How did they end? As regards the first of these points, it might be pointed out that they presumably began not long after the accession to the throne of Achyuta and that they continued for about five years. If Ferishta is correct in stating that immediately on the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya—he mentions only the name of Minister Timma as "Heemraaje"—Ismail Ādil Shāh, taking advantage of the "confusion" and "the rebellions that had arisen" against his successor, laid siege to Raichur and Mudkal and took them, at the end of three months, by capitulation, then the dissensions should have begun in 1530-1531 A.D., when both these places should have been lost to Vijayanagar. The cession of Raichur under the treaty with Achyuta, also mentioned by Ferishta, can only mean the confirmation of the conquest achieved by Ismail. Ismail apparently died, on 13th August 1534 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Mālu, who was displaced in 1535 A.D. by his younger brother Ibrahim. It was Ibrahim, who, according to Ferishta, sent Asada Khān to the aid of *Huchchu*-Tirumala in his fight against Achyuta and Rāma-Rāja. The date given by Ferishta for the despatch of Asada Khān is 1535-6 A.D., The death of *Huchchu*-Tirumala and Salakam-Timmaiya and the treaty which ended with the confirmation of the cession of Raichur should accordingly have taken place about 1536 A.D. This definitely fixes the final settlement of the war of succession at about 1536 A.D. That this date is correct is proved by another consideration. Ferishta states that within four or five years, Rāma-Rāja cut off by treachery most of the chiefs who opposed him (thus confirming Nuniz) and that he then marched on an expedition in Malabar (apparently the expedition against the Tiruvadi Rājya referred to below) and then advanced on a powerful chief to the south of the capital, from where he sent demands for supplies on the "slave" (*i.e.*, Salakam-Timmaya) whom he had raised to high rank and made Governor of the capital city. This man was so amazed at the contents of the royal treasury that he resolved to gain possession of it for himself. This shows that what induced Rāma-Rāja to return to the capital was the machination of the Treasurer with *Huchchu*-Tirumala on behalf of the child-king whose cause they had put forward. This fixes the date of the arrival of Rāma-Rāja at the capital to a date posterior to the conquest of the Tiruvadi-rājya. As will be shown below, this conquest was over by about 1534 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1900; App. B. No. 49, dated 1532 A.D. and No. 50, dated 1534 A.D.). This being so, Rāma-Rāja should have reached Vijayanagar about 1535 A.D., as we have to allow a little time for his advance against the other powerful chief in the south mentioned by Ferishta.

Result of the contest.

The result of the contest was the confirmation of Achyuta as the ruling sovereign with his brothers-in-law, Salaka Pedda-Tirumala and Salaka Chinna-Tirumala, as the chief ministers. These, in the words of Nuniz, entirely "dominated" the administration. Rāma-Rāja and his brother Tirumala-Rāja also shared in the administration, but they were not so prominent in this reign as they were undoubtedly in the next.

Character of Achyuta's rule.

The administration of the Salaka Tirumala brothers was, indeed, so high-handed and arbitrary, if not cruel, that it raised the ire of Nuniz against them and against Achyuta, their sovereign. Beginning with the loss of Raichur and Mudkal, they soon alienated most of the feudatories, with the result that the Empire lost a great deal of its former prestige.

Wars of his Reign.

The period of Achyuta's rule was marked by many wars, of which we have a few glimpses in the inscriptions and the literary works of the period. Certain inscriptions from Kānchi and Kālāhasti, dated in 1532 and 1534 A.D., mention prominently that Achyuta offered protection to certain chiefs like Rāyanarāya of Nuggihalli, Mallarāja of Ummattur, Venkatādri and others who sought refuge with him, that he went to war against Tiruvadi (identified with the modern Travancore country and a part of the present Tinnevelly District, which, in ancient times, was included under that designation), and levied tribute from him, brought under subjection Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and Sāluva-Nāyaka and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tāmraparni after marrying the daughter of the Pāndyan King. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 70-77; App. B. Nos. 50 and 49, dated in 1532 and 1534 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1924, Paras 45-46, App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173 and 182, all dated in 1532 A.D. Other references to these wars are mentioned below). Of the first of the chiefs, mentioned, Rāyanarāya, nothing is known. Nuggihalli, his capital, has been identified with the name of that place in the Channarāyapatna Taluk of the Hassan District. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 71). Mallarāja of Ummattur, the next chief mentioned, was probably a rival of Nanjarāj, the then ruling chief of that place. In a grant of his, dated in 1532 A.D., he describes himself as Mallarāja-Odeyar and as the son of Mahāmandalēsvara Srī-Vīra-Mangapa-Rāyā's son and as the lord of Ummattur, from which and from his many titles such as *Gajabēntekāra*, or hunter of elephants, *ghēnanka-chakrēsvara* or emperor of the dagger, *javādi Kōlāhala*, exulting in musk, *arasānka-sūnegāra* (slaughterer in war with kings) and a *Pēsāli Hanuma*, or a Hanumān in crushing enemies, titles associated with Ummattur chiefs (*E.C.* III, Gundlupet 2, 9 and 11) it seems fair to infer that he displaced, with the aid of Achyuta, Nanjarāja.

The latter probably ruled after him, as the latter's inscriptions range up to 1542 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Introd. 27; *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 88; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45). A record dated in 1533 A.D. from Bukkapatnam in the Anantapur District refers to certain political disturbances as having occurred in the country, and that certain taxation that had been then illegally imposed was remitted. What these exactly were is not known. It has been suggested that the protection promised to Mallarāja might have been due to these disturbances. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 32, App. B. No. 179 of 1913).

Campaign against Tiruvadi, 1531-2 A.D.

The campaign against the Tiruvadi country, which looms large in Achyuta's inscriptions, was evidently undertaken to secure the person of one Sellappar Sāluva Vīra-Narasimha-Nāyaka, who had sought refuge in it. He was, as mentioned above, the governor of the Tondaimandala country in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. He was, probably, descended from the ancient Chōla dynasty and his family had perhaps later allied itself with the Sāluvas of the Tamil Districts. He is described in some records as the son of Sāluvaikkulandan-Bhattan of Kānchi. However that may be, he seems to have been exacting taxes (*Jōdi*) which had been remitted in favour of the temples (the one at Tiruppanangādu in the North Arcot District is specially mentioned) by Sāluva-Timma in the preceding reign. What exactly were the circumstances which led to the deserting of his gubernatorial post and seeking refuge in distant Travancore are not clear, but it is possible that the people clamoured against him and he was asked to explain his conduct. Fearing for his life, probably he fled. Hence the expedition, which was commanded by Tirumala-Dēva-Mahārāja, evidently the brother-in-law of Achyuta and his Chief Minister. The rebel was caught and brought back to Kānchi in the Makara month of *Saka* 1453, *Khara* year, corresponding to January 1532 A.D. What became of him is not known. But his successor Bhōgayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, the descendant of the Chōlas of Uraiyur, who had succeeded him in the vacant Governorship, got the *Jōdi* remitted agreeably to the orders of Tirumala-Dēva, for the merit of Achyuta. As regards the ruler of the Tiruvadi country, he was evidently brought under subjection, as it is stated that he paid tribute. The other incidents mentioned in this connection in the inscriptional records are the reduction to subjection of Tumbichchi-Nāyakan, the planting of a pillar of victory in the Tāmraparni river and Achyuta's marrying the daughter of the Pāndyan king. Rājanātha's poem, *Achyutarāyābhyudaya*, which has made this war its particular theme, explains more fully the connection between these different events. It states that immediately after his coronation, his minister, evidently Salaka Tirumala-Dēva, waited on him and informed him of the result of Chellappa (Tamil Sellappa), one of the local governors of his, being defeated in battle, of his taking refuge in the country of the Chēra (Travancore) King, of their (the Chēra king and Chellappa) making common cause against the Pāndyan King and making war against him and driving him away from his ancestral territories. Tirumala-dēva exhorted Achyuta to declare war against the Chēra king and protect the Pāndya king, who had gone into exile, and punish Chellappa and the Chēra King for their revolt. Achyuta declared war against both and ordered his minister to march with his army to the south. Achyuta, evidently with the intention of leading the expedition in person, left his capital, halted at Chandragiri, worshipped at Tirupati and Kālāhasti and from there soon reached Kānchi and Tiruvannāmalai, and then arrived at Srirangam. Here, he was prevailed upon by Tirumala-dēva, his minister, to leave the expedition to his hands, it being too small a matter to require his personal attention. While Achyuta stayed on at Srirangam, Tirumalai-dēva pushed on to Madura, then arrived on the banks of the Tāmraparni, from where he detached a contingent under a subordinate officer against Tiruvadi, the Chēra ruler. The opposing armies met near the mountains and a battle was fought. The Tiruvadi was signally defeated. He made his submission in due form and surrendered the fugitive Chellappan, with presents of elephants and horses. Tirumalai-dēva (referred to not by name but as "Salaga-Kshītisa," *Salaganripa sutam*, *i.e.*, "King Salaga," "son of King Salaka," or merely "Salaka") accepted the surrender and the gifts and then visited Anantasayanam (Trivandrum). After worshiping there, he moved on to Ramēsvaram, and from there, hastened to king Achyuta at Srirangam. There he presented the Chēra King and the other prisoners of war. The Chēra King was ordered to be punished and the Pāndyan King, whose territory had been invaded, was directed to be restored. Such, in brief outline, is the story in Rājanātha Kavi's poem. Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, the information it furnishes seems, in the main, credible. Whether the Chēra king was brought up to Srirangam or not, he did submit and pay tribute, as we know from contemporary inscriptions. The restoration of the Pāndyan chief seems equally certain. Tumbichchi-Nāyakan, the ally of Sellappa, against the Pāndyan, is known from other sources to have made Paramakkudi, in the present Rāmnād District, his head-quarters, from where he defied his sovereign. (See Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne of the Mackenzie Mss.* III, 183). The marriage of the Pāndyan King's daughter with Achyuta, mentioned in the Kānchi and Kālāhasti inscriptions, was apparently one of the results of this war. The Pāndyan King referred to was probably Jatāvarman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Srīvallabhadēva Kōnērin-maikondān, who bore the tell-tale titles of *Irandakālamedutta* and *Pāndyarājya-sthāpanāchārya* (*T.A.S.* No. 6 and extracts 13 and 14, page 47). He ascended the throne in 1534 A.D., about four years after Achyuta's succession and within about a year after the termination of the war against Sellappa and the Tiruvadi King. (See *M.E.R.* October 1895, App. B. No. 200, dated in *Saka* 1459, which is a record of the third year of Srīvallabhadēva also. *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73). The King of the Tiruvadi country referred to in this connection has been identified with Udayamārtāndavarman. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73). That Sālaka Tirumaladēva led the expedition is also confirmed by inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 253 of 1906, dated in *Saka* 1453). That Achyuta did visit Kānchi and Kālāhasti is also attested to by inscriptions. There were two visits to the former place, once in July 1532 A.D. and again in 1533 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). On the first occasion, he entered the town with his queen Varada-dēvi and prince Komāra-Venkatādri and weighed himself against pearls in the presence of god Varadarāja in Little Kānchi and presented one thousand cows. He also bestowed the gift called *mahābhūtaghata*, one of the sixteen gifts mentioned by Hemādri in the *Dānakhanda* and in the *Matsyapurāna*, besides the grant of (sixteen) villages and silk clothes and a breast-plate set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz, sapphires and lapis lazuli. Two months later, a conch, a discus, a pair of hands and a Vaishnava trident-mark, all set with jewels, were presented. (*Ibid.* No. 51 of 1900). On the occasion of the visit paid in the succeeding year, the Kāmākshi temple was presented with eight villages. (*Ibid.* Para 77 and *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 187-88). The visit to Kālāhasti took place in 1532, it being reached earlier on the way to Kānchi. The visit is recorded in trilingual inscriptions dated in 1532, A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 45; App. C. Nos. 157, 158, 173 and 182 of 1924).

Two or three other points connected with this expedition against the Pāndyan and Tiruvadi countries may be noted. One of these is the part played by Visvanātha-Nāyak, son of Nagama-Nāyak, the founder of the Madura-Nāyak dynasty. From a record dated in 1534-35 (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 71; App. B. 113 of 1908), it would appear that he was an officer of Achyuta. Apparently he was serving with the Vijayanagar troops under Sālaka Tirumalaidēva and took an active part in the subjugation of Tumbichchi-Nāyakan and Sellappa *alias* (Sāluva-Nāyakan) the rebels, and thus found an opportunity to secure a footing in the Pāndya country. He was probably in command of the forces detached by Tirumalaidēva at Madura for despatch against the Tiruvadi king, and was eventually responsible for the capture of that king and the fugitive Sellappa. A copper-plate grant of the time of king Venkata I (see *M.E.R.* 1905-6, App. A. No. 14) states that Visvanātha "conquered in battle the Tiruvadi, the Pāndyan King, the Vānadarāya and other Kings and annexed their dominions."

Several points relating to the invasion of the Tiruvadi country are referred to in different inscriptions which will be found referred to in *M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 70-77; 1907, Para 60; 1909, Para 71; 1921, Para 51; 1919, Para 43; and 1924, Para 46).

Another person who claims to have had a direct connection with this episode is Vittaladēva-Mahārāya, who claims to have defeated Tumbichchi-Nāyakan in this war. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401 of 1918, undated). It is possible he also took part in this campaign. The war, however, did not end in the reign of Achyuta. It was renewed in the next reign and in the campaign that followed (see below under *Sadāsiva-Rāya*), Vitthala was probably in sole charge. Vitthala was probably the son of Rāma-Rāja, who, Ferishta states, was, about the time the civil dissensions in the capital were going on, engaged in an expedition into Malabar and was applying to the "slave" whom he had raised to the position of Governor of the capital, for funds for its prosecution. (See above.) If so, Rāma-Rāja and his son were probably both engaged in this war, though the name of Rāma-Rāja is not mentioned in any of the inscriptional records so far discovered.

Relations with the Portuguese.

The attitude of the Portuguese appears to have visibly changed towards the Vijayanagar empire from and after the death of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. Nuniz's account of Achyuta appears to be coloured by a feeling akin to enmity towards him. Achyuta himself seems to have been as friendly towards the Portuguese as his predecessor, but why the Portuguese turned hostile is not clear. Probably it was the desire to improve their position with the Muhammadans. It might have been due to the diplomatic influence of Asada Khān, the governor of Belgaum, against whom Krishna-Dēva-Rāya had been getting up an expedition before his death, and whom we see coquetting even with Chistovao de Figueiredo, the great friend and admirer of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. It is possible also that with the death of Krishna-Dēva, the Portuguese thought the times were propitious for an advance move on their part in the matter of acquiring territory both near Goa and elsewhere. What they actually did a little later (both near Goa and at Mylapore, near Madras) seems to confirm this last suspicion. To whatever cause the enmity was due, it was a sad reflection on the political morality of the Portuguese of the time. "Throughout the whole of their dealing with the Portuguese," writes Mr. Sewell, "I find not a single instance where the Hindu kings broke faith with the intruders, but as much cannot, I fear, be said on the other side. The Europeans seemed to think that they had a divine right to the pillage, robbery and massacre of the natives of India. Not to mince matters, their whole record is one of a series of atrocities. It is sad to turn from the description given to us by Paes of the friendship felt for the Potuguese, and especially for Chistovao de Figueiredo, by the "gallant and perfect" king Krishna-Dēva, and then to read the treachery of the viceroy towards the great Hindu Government; with which the Portuguese had made alliances and treaties, and for which they openly professed friendship." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 177-8).

Loss of Raichur and Mudkal, 1531, A.D.

Among the first to war against Achyuta were Ismail Ādil Shāh and Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa. As we have seen above, Ferishta states that immediately after Krishna-Rāya's death, Ismail laid siege to Raichur and Mudkal and took them in three months. The conquest was evidently confirmed by the treaty of peace that was concluded after some time. This frontier fortress had thus been in Vijayanagar hands for ten years continuously.

Pratāpa-Rudra's invasion of conquered countries south of the Krishna, 1531, A.D.

Pratāpa-Rudra, king of Orissa, seems to have similarly invaded the countries to the south of the Krishna, ceded by him to Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. A stray verse attributed to Peddana, who survived Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, states in biting words of sarcasm that having made himself scarce during the time Krishna-Dēva-Rāya made war on him, he had had the audacity to invade his territories immediately on his death. It is possible there is some truth in this popular verse. It is possible too that he had the assistance of Qūli Qutb Shāh Sultān, the first of the Qūli Shāh dynasty, who ruled between 1512-1543 A.D., in the reconquest of his old territories. A Telugu inscription, dated 20th March 1531 A.D., found at Mālkapuram, in the present Kistna District, states that in the reign of Muhammad Sāhu Sultān (identified with Muhammad Shāh II, the last real Bāhmani king), a general of his, named Masanad-Eli Kutumana-Mulka (probably Manad-Ali Qutb-ul-Mulk, who subsequently proclaimed his independence and under the name of Qūli Qutb Shāh became the first ruler of the Qutb Shāh dynasty) reduced, by his prowess, Kondapalli and other fortresses. (See *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 43; App. B. No. 152 of 1913). Though a Persian translation of this record (*Ibid.* App. B. No. 153 of 1913) gives the date as 931 A. H. (or A.D. 1524-25), which is inexplicable, it might be taken that the date 1531 A.D. given in the Telugu version for the re-capture of Kondapalli and other places is correct, as it is confirmed by Ferishta. (Briggs III, 374). In an inscription found in the North Arcot District, in 1531-32 A.D., Achyuta boasts of having defeated the Muhammadan troops and to have planted a pillar of victory in the Odyarājya (*i.e.*, Orissa). (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 60; App. B. No. 253 of 1906). In another record dated in the same year but found in the South Arcot District, he calls himself "the destroyer of the army of the Tulukkur and Oddiyar." Another record, dated in 1539 A.D., states that he destroyed the Muhammadan army, despoiled their ambitions and was the Sultān of Orissa. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 23; App. B. No. 331 of 1917). Probably these claims are not without some small foundation, the more so as we do not find much change in the position of Achyuta's rule on the East Coast. Except for the inroad of Qūli Qutb Shāh in 1531 A.D. into Kondapalli and other places mentioned in the Mālkapuram record, all the other places such as Vinukonda, etc., continued as part of the empire during his reign and long after. Udayagiri was governed by Bhūtanātha Rāmabhatlu in 1536 A.D. A grant by his agent for the merit of Achyuta to the god on the Singarāyakonda hill in Kandakur taluk dated in 1536 is known. A record of a subordinate of Salaka Pina Tirumala, Achyuta's brother-in-law and chief minister, dated in 1533 A.D., has also been traced in the place. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Udayagiri, No. 42, pages 1388-89.) These places were not lost to the Empire until the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shāh, some of whose records have been found in these places. (Inscription in the big Mosque at Udayagiri, which states that Ghazi Alī, a general of Abdulla, captured the fort and burnt away the supreme images of idolatry and founded a mosque in 1642-43; see *Nellore Inscriptions* III, Udayagiri, No. 39, page 1385; see also Inscription in the little mosque at the same place, stating that Abdulla destroyed a temple and built a mosque, in 1660-61, *Ibid.* III, Udayagiri No. 36, page 1381-82; and Inscription at Singarāyakonda, in Kandakur Taluk, recording a grant of grain to certain people by Abdulla, in 1641-42 A.D., *Ibid* III, Kandakur No. 80, pages 624-26.)

Visit of Achyuta to Bezwada, 1534 A.D.

As Achyuta himself was at Bezwada in 1534 A.D. and made a grant of a village in the name of his mother, it might be presumed that he drove the Muhammadans who had temporarily gained some advantage in that region. (See *M.E.R.* 1900, App. B. No. 47.) His visit to Bezwada and his bathing in the Krishna river there is also mentioned in the *Achyutarāyābhyudaya*, where it is stated that he met the *Yavana* (Muhammadan) armies ranged on both sides of the river. In keeping with the spirit of the poem, the Sultān is said to have submitted to Achyuta on seeing him and sworn allegiance to him. (See Canto XI, *Sources*, 160 *et seq.*) The more reasonable inference probably is that the presence of Achyuta with his forces had the desired effect on the Sultān, who, as the result of the demonstration, withdrew to his own territories, probably coming to an amicable settlement. That some such friendly arrangement was come to is admitted by Ferishta. The story as told by him is a long one and need only be briefly mentioned here. (See *Briggs*, III. 45-102; and *Scott* I. 236-278.) After the death of Huchchu Tirumala, an attack was made on Adoni, to defend which Rāma-Rāja sent his brother, Venkatādri. Asada Khān, on the approach of the latter, raised the siege. In pursuing him, Venkatādri went too far and his camp, including his family, fell into Asada's hands. Reinforcements arrived from Rāma-Rāja and peace followed, to the satisfaction of both parties. (Scott's *Ferishta*, I. 265.)

Asada Khān kept well with Achyuta on the one hand and with the Portuguese on the other. The latter were keen on securing possession of the mainland adjoining Goa, which the Sultān of Bijāpur had taken from the Vijayanagar kingdom. After a visit to them, he asked to seize it. Then to get the seizure ratified, he went to Vijayanagar, taking advantage of an invitation to that capital on the occasion of the great Dasara festival. He moved in state with a large army and retinue. He was received favourably and presented with a couple of places to the north of Goa, since the Vijayanagar sovereign expected him to help him against the Bijāpur Sultān. The latter, on hearing of this move, advanced on Vijayanagar and claimed the surrender of Asada Khān, as his recalcitrant "slave." Asada promised to be faithful to Achyuta, though keeping up communication with Ibrahim Ādil Shāh. Both the armies—those of Achyuta and Ibrahim—moved towards Raichur, the one to take it and the other to oppose such taking. On the third day, Asada made a move towards the Sultān's camp and joined it, protesting that all the while he had been only playing a game in his master's interests. He deceived both Achyuta and the Portuguese on the one hand and Ibrahim on the other. Ibrahim fearful, as a matter of fact, of his attitude, made peace with Achyuta by which he surrendered territory to Achyuta, though Barros states (Asia Dec. III. 1. IV, Chapter 5 and Dec. IV. 1. VII, Chapter 6, quoted by Mr. Sewell in *A Forgotten Empire*, 174, f.n. 1 and 2) that it did not include Raichur. The *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* says that it included Raichur and it may be taken as correct in this particular, as in the next war waged, only Mudkal is mentioned and there is no reference to Raichur. (See under *Sadāsiva-Rāya* below.) Mr. Sewell sets down these events as part of the transactions made in 1535 A.D. which ended in the cession of Raichur to Ibrahim. This, however, seems not justified, in view of the fact that it followed the cession, though immediately afterwards. Barros seems correct in referring it to 1536 A.D. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 176.)

Asada Khān.

Asada Khān, who rose to be Commander-in-chief, and Premier of the Ādil Shāhi kings, was, despite his tortuous diplomacy, a great personage of the times. The Portuguese held him in no esteem as a man of low cunning and unreliable. But Ferishta gives a glowing picture of him. He says:—

> "He was famed for his judgment and wisdom.........For nearly forty years he was the patron and protector of the nobles and the distinguished of the Dekhan. He lived in the highest esteem and grandeur surpassing all his contemporary nobility. The sovereigns of Beejnuggur and every country observing a respect to his great abilities, frequently honoured him with letters and valuable presents. His household servants...........amounted to 250. He had sixty of the largest elephants and 150 of a smaller size. In his stables, he had 400 horses of Arabia and Persia, exclusive of those of mixed breed foaled in India. His treasures and riches were beyond amount."

He was evidently a man of great force of character and knew how to make the most of a situation for himself.

Whatever he might have done, he does not appear to have wholly deceived Achyuta in the matter of the restoration of Raichur.

Visit to Seringapatam, 1532 A.D.

According to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Achyuta is said to have visited Seringapatam on his way back from Srirangam, where he is said to have received his minister Tirumalaidēva on his return from the Tiruvadi country. Here he received the local Governors, who made, it is said, large presents of money. (See Canto V).

Attempt to retake Raichur, *Circa* 1536 A.D.

From Seringapatam, Achyuta is said to have travelled northwards, apparently towards the capital, and from there made arrangements to retake Raichur. This attempt, though it is mentioned in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* as having been undertaken immediately on the king's return from Seringapatam, probably did not actually take place until some years later. In any case, it could not have occurred until after 1535-36, when the cession of Raichur was confirmed according to the accounts of Ferishta and Nuniz (see above). Probably the treaty was broken as soon as it was made. According to the poem, the attempt was attended with complete success. The besieged garrison was sought to be relieved by the (Bijāpur) Sultān, but his forces were beaten off and the Sultān fled from the field of battle. (*Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto XI, see *Sources*, 160, 167-9).

Conquest of Ceylon, 1539 A.D.

An inscriptional record dated in 1539 A.D. states that Achyuta conquered Īlam (*i.e.*, Ceylon). (*M.E.R.* No. 40 of 1897; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49; 222 of 1924 dated in 1539 A.D.) In view of the invasion of the Travancore country, it has been suggested that this alleged conquest of Ceylon "cannot be absolutely false." (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 70.) Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII who ruled from 1521-1550 A.D. was the nominal king of Ceylon at this time, the island being divided into three different parts between himself and his two brothers. The Zamorin of Calicut espoused one of the brothers and Bhuvanaika's cause was supported by the Portuguese, and there was perpetual conflict between these two brothers. It is possible that Achyuta did aid one of these two parties. (See H.W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 96-7.) A record from Ennāyiram in the South Arcot District, also dated in 1539 A.D., states that Achyuta exacted tribute from Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 331 of 1917.) The other conquests completed with that of Ceylon are "Tembulai, Irādayaranāyanpattanam and all countries besides" (in No. 222 of 1924) and may represent minor episodes in the great invasion against the king of the Tiruvadi country. (See *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49.)

Reduction of Tumbichchi-Nāyakan, *Circa* 1564 A.D.

An undated record from Shiyali, giving the genealogy of Vitthala, mentions the defeat he inflicted on Tumbichchi-Nāyakan. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401). This event occurred in the period of Krishnappa Nāyaka of Madura 1564-1572 A.D. Tumbichchi had once before in the reign of Achyuta rebelled against the local Governor and had joined Sāluva-Nāyaka and had been put down. He again rebelled, for he was evidently chafing under the restraints imposed by the new *pālaigar* system introduced by Visvanātha-Nāyaka, the father of Krishnappa. He collected his followers, strengthened his defences at Paramakudi and defied the authority of Krishnappa. Krishnappa's general Pedda Kēsavappa Nāyaka proceeded against him but himself fell in the conflict. Chinna Kēsava next advanced with fresh forces and a few pieces of ordnance and stormed the fort. The fort was taken and Tumbichchi caught alive and beheaded. The greater part of his territory was annexed to Madura, his two sons being nominated *palaigars* of Paramakudi and a few other surrounding villages. Such is the story told in the *Mrutyunjaya Mss.* (Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonne*, III. 183-6; See also *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 73 and Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 68-69). The identity of the Tumbichchi Nāyakan who fell in this insurrection is not definitely settled. There were two brothers of this name, the elder being known as Rāma-Rāya Tummisi Nāyakan glorying in the titles of "head of Sillavārs," "king of Vengu," etc. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II. Copper-plate grant No. 27, dated in 1543 A.D.) The younger was known as Sinna Vadāvāda Tummisi Nāyakar. The Tumbichchi mentioned in the Kilakkarai record (*M.E.R.* 1908, App. B. 398 of 1907 dated in *Saka* 1460 (?) between 1538-1547 A.D.) is probably the elder. The elder should have been the chief beheaded by Chinna-Kēsava-Nāyaka, the Madura Commander-in-chief, as he was certainly the more turbulent of the two brothers. Since the Manuscripts set down his suppression to the reign of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the successor of Visvanātha, it could not have occurred before 1564 A.D., his first year. But as the Shiyali record definitely states that Vitthala was the person who put him down, it has to be conceded that Vitthala was Viceroy up to at least that year, which is six years beyond 1558 A.D., the latest date assigned for his Viceroyalty by Mr. Sewell. (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 224.)

Attack on Sōlaga, a Tanjore Chief, 1547 A.D.

Another refractory chief whom Vitthala appears to have temporarily put down was one Sōlaga in the Tanjore country. He is mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* (Stanza VIII) from which it would appear he was a human monster. He seems to have lived over eighty years, as he was eventually put down by Raghunātha Nāyaka, the Nāyaka ruler of Tanjore, in 1615 A.D. (See *Sources*, 286). He is described as a worshipper of Bhairava and he is said to have given considerable trouble to people round about. His atrocities (mentioned in the *Sāhityaratnākara*, a work devoted to the life and achievements of Raghunātha Nāyaka) were many and took fiendish shapes. It would appear he used to throw his prisoners to his trained crocodiles; pass sharp needles into the roots of the hairs of his prisoners, etc. (See *Sources* 286 *f.n.*). He later allied himself with the Portuguese and is mentioned by Jesuit writers. (See *Sources*, 281, *f.n.* and Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, *f.n.* 5). This monster apparently escaped the punishment he deserved at Vitthala's hands and met his fate half a century later, when Raghunātha Nāyaka put him down.

Ministers, Generals, Feudatories, etc.

From the description that Nuniz gives us of the administration of Achyuta, we cannot but draw the broad inference that though there was some discontent on the part of the feudatories, there was no serious falling off in its efficiency. Nor is there anything in the daily routine of Achyuta as sketched out by him to show that it was otherwise. The Government continued as before in the hands of the king assisted by his Minister and the provinces were under local Governors, while the feudatories were "rulers" of the tracts under them, each maintaining his *quota* of troops and paying the tribute in cash to the king once a year. The local Governors were not exempt from these liabilities. There was probably a great deal of rack-renting on the part of the feudatories and Governors, which led to much suffering and hardship on the part of the common people. Indeed Nuniz stigmatizes, as we have seen, the conduct of these renters as "tyrranical" (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 373-75). Inscriptions show that the worst offenders were not allowed to go scot-free. The case of Sellappa-Vīra-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka, who has been identified with Salvanay or Sālvanayque of Nuniz, is one in point. In 1531 A.D., he failed to remit taxes as ordered and evidently rebelled when brought to book. The remission was, as we have seen, duly given effect to subsequent to his capture. In 1532 A.D., in the north-eastern districts, the oppressive methods adopted by the local officials had led the people to migrate to other provinces. The Mahāmandalēsvara Chikka Salaka-Tirumaladēva is said to have pacified the people and induced them to re-occupy the district they had deserted by offering them favourable terms of resettlement and occupation (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 69, Nos. App. No. 492, dated in 1532 A.D.). Like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, Achyuta is said to have had the Lakshahōma ceremony performed at the Varadarājammanpete, and to have ordered the remission of taxes at the end of it. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 32; App. B. No. 179 of 1913). It would thus seem that neither Salaka Tirumala nor his sovereign was so bad as has been represented by Nuniz. Instead of having been the rapacious men they have been described to be, they actually appear in the light of those who punished the oppressors of the people. An inscription dated in 1533 A.D. refers to the remission of taxes imposed on the artisan castes. Apparently these were felt to be so far oppressive as to compel those affected by its levy to leave their places and emigrate to other districts. Evidently the remission had the desired effect. It would seem to have been an innovation introduced by the local chief resented by the Pānchālas in parts of the present Dharmavaram Taluk of the Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 42, App. C. No. 340 of 1926).

The Salaka brothers and their relations.

Among those prominently associated with the king were the two "brothers-in-law" of the king. These have been identified as Pedda Salaka Tirumalarāya-Mahārāsu and Pina or Chinna Salaka Tirumalarāya-Mahārāsu. That they were two and that they were brothers is certain for they are so mentioned in the

Varadāmbika-Parinayam (see *Sources*, text, page 175), though only the elder is more prominently known from inscriptions. A point worthy of note is that though Nuniz refers to them and characterizes them in strong terms, he does not name them nor call them ministers. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 368-69). On the other hand, he dubs "Salvanayque" as "the present minister" (*Ibid.*, pages 384-85). As stated above, the latter has been identified with Sāluva-Vīra-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka, or Sellappa, who was evidently a great favourite of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (see above). On the death of the great Sāluva-Timma, which evidently occurred immediately after Achyuta's coronation, for we hear no more of him after that, this Sellappa probably was appointed prime minister. He was also known as Sāluva-Dannāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 51, No. 256 of 1910.) He seems to have been rather irregular and indiscreet in his administration. When he was asked to divide the villages granted by Achyuta at the time of his coronation between the two temples of Varadarāja and Ekāmbranātha at Kānchi, he gave more to the latter and less to the former. This was subsequently brought to the notice of Achyuta, while he was in person at Kānchi and he had re-allocation of the villages made in his presence. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 48, No. 584 of 1919.) The elder of the Salaka brothers, Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāsu, apparently displaced him in the post. He is probably the Salaga or Salaka mentioned as the leader of the expedition against Tiruvadi. (See *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* in *Sources*, text 162, 164.) How this displacement of Sellappa by Salaka happened is not clear, but probably the causes that led to his displacement at head-quarters also led to his rebellion and eventual flight to the Tiruvadi-rājya. In this view of the matter, it has to be inferred that about 1530-31 A.D. or so, Tirumalaidēva became the chief minister and prosecuted the war against his rival. It is probable that failure on his part to carry out royal decrees was one of the causes of his deposition but perhaps the reasons lay deeper—in the machinations of Tirumalaidēva himself. Personal ambitions and jealousies might have played their own part in the affair. As to Sāluva-Nāyaka (or Sāluva-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka), Nuniz states that he had a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand pardaos, that he was the lord of the cities of Coromandel, Negapatam, Tanjore, Bhuvanagiri, Devipatnam, Tirukoil (Chidambaram), Kāyal, and other territories bordering on Ceylon; and that he maintained thirty-thousand foot and three thousand horse and thirty elephants. What became of him after his capture is not known. His successor Salaka Tirumalaidēva and his brother are referred to in the *Varadāmbika-Parinaya* as the brothers of Varadāmbika, the queen of Achyuta. According to a record dated in 1533 A.D., they had another sister known as Kondamma (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 48, App. C. No. 170 of 1924). The elder of these two brothers is mentioned frequently in inscriptions. A record dated in 1530 A.D. calls him Peda-Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārājulu Gāru of the Salaka family and traces his descent backwards to three generations. He is described as the son of Salakarāja, grandson of Singarāja and great-grand-son of Lakkarāja and is given a long list of family titles. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 56, App. B. No. 544 of 1909.) The record registers the construction of a tank and the planting of a garden by him, both being granted to the temple of Gōpinātha at Vēlupālam in Kondavīdu. As the inscription is dated in *Saka* 1452, cyclic year Vikruti (or 1530 A.D.), it would seem as though he was already in power, almost simultaneously with the accession of Achyuta. In a record dated in 1531 A.D., a grant is made with his permission. He is called Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 253.) It is in this record that his expedition is mentioned. In another record dated in 1533 A.D., he is referred to as *Mahāmandalēsvarakumārar Jalakaya Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya* and records a gift of taxes to a temple in the Chingleput country for the merit of Achyuta. Evidently he was in charge of the country of Sāluva-Nāyaka after his rebellion. Why he was called *Kumāra* is not known, though it has been suggested that as the king's brother-in-law, he was treated "as a son and given a prominent position in the Empire." (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 71, App. B. No. 337.) More probably, the title might have been borne by him in his own family as the eldest in it. In an inscription dated in 1534 A.D., he is said to have built the shrine of Tiruvēngalanātha at Hampe and to have given valuable presents to it, together with a village in the Malayāla (apparently Travancore) country. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 167.) He is here styled Hiriya-Tirumala-rāja-Odeya, son of Lakka-rāja-Odeya. Apparently, his father, who is called merely *Salaka-rāja* in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, was called Lakkarāja, after his grandfather who was known as Lakkarāja. (See above.) In a record, dated in 1533 A.D., he is given the title of *Swāmi* (or Lord) and a gift is recorded to have been made by an agent of his. Gifts appear to have been made in his name and under his orders, both for his own merit and for the merit of the king. He was, according to inscriptions, in charge of the Chingleput province. (*M.E.R.* 1909, No. 337 of 1908.) His brother Chinna Tirumalaiyadēva was evidently in charge of Udayagiri (*Nellore Inscriptions*, Nellore 34); in 1530-31, he was in charge of Chandragiri (*Ibid.* Gudur 108). He continued in charge of the latter in 1533-34 (*Ibid.* Gudur 82); and in 1533-34, he was still in charge of Udayagiri. In these records, he is called *Mahāmandalēsvara Chinna-Tirumala-rāya*, or *Pina-Tirumalaiyadēva* or Salakarāja Tirumalaiyadēva. (See *Nellore Inscriptions* III—1476.) In another inscription dated in 1535 A.D., which records a gift by one of his agents, Abbarāja Timmappa, he is styled Pradhāna Tirumalarāja. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 82, App. B. No. 681 of 1922). The younger brother is also referred to in a record dated in 1533 A.D., in which he is called Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāju-Pina Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāju (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B. No. 161 of 1905). This is a new name that appears in the Nellore record (see above). In another inscription dated in the same year (1533 A.D.), we hear of a grant being made by the agent of one *Timmarāju-Salakaiya-dēva-Mahārāju.* (*M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 492 of 1906.) A copper-plate record dated in 1534 A.D. mentions the grant of two villages at the request of his Minister *Pedda-Timma* of the Salaka family. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 11.) The *Timmarāju* and *Pedda-Timma* of these two records may be the same but it is not clear that these names were also borne in the alternative by *Salaka Pedda-Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāju,* the minister of Achyuta. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that they were so borne by Pedda Tirumalaiyadēva, probably because both are described as ministers. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 190.) This suggestion, however, is not convincing. As both may have been independent ministers, there is no reason why Pedda-Timma and Pedda Tirumala should be treated as identical persons. Besides, there is another record dated in 1533 A.D., which mentions a gift by one *Timmarāja Salakarāja,* who is described as the agent of Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāja Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 48, App. C. No. 170.) He has been identified with the Timmarāju-Salakaiya-dēva-Mahāraju (see *M.E.R.* 1907, App. B. No. 492 of 1906) above mentioned. If so, Timmarāju Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju was himself the agent of the Mahāmandalēsvara Salakarāju Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāja. Finally, there is mention made, in a record dated in 1538 A.D., of Salakarāju Raghupatirājaiyadēva-Mahārāja, whose relationship to the Salaka Tirumala brothers is not known. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 680 of 1917.) That he was a man of some importance is proved not only by his name and title but also by the fact that a subordinate of his was a *Mahāmandalēsvara*. This was Hanumaiyadēva-Mahārāja, who made a grant of an *umbli* to a temple, which grant had been gifted to him by his own master Salakarāju Raghupatirājaiya. (*Ibid.*) It will thus be seen that besides the two Salaka Tirumala brothers, there were two other persons who bore the title of *Salaka*. These were Salaka Timmarāju and Salaka Raghupatirājayya. It would be best, in the present state of our knowledge, to take them as two separate individuals, each wholly different from both the Salaka Tirumala brothers. Of these, the former was also known as Timmarāju-Salakaiyadēva-Mahārāju (see above). He was probably the *Salaka Timma* who is referred to in the *Narasabhūpāli-yamu* as the "wicked and very treacherous Salaka Timma" who was put to death by Rāma-Rāja and in the *Vasucharitra* as the wicked *Salaka* whom Rāma-Rāja is said to have killed after having defeated his troops. (See below under Sadāsiva-Rāya). This Salaka-Timma was evidently a close relation of the brothers Salaka Tirumala and took so prominent a part in the war of succession that followed immediately on the death of Achyuta that he has come to be mistaken for the elder Salaka Tirumala himself. Bayakāra Rāmappayya is described as another minister and as Viceroy of Kondavīdu. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 33; App. B. Nos. 302-304.) A record dated in 1539 A.D. gives his genealogy and acts of charity, such as building temples, tanks, *agrahāras*, etc. (*Ibid.* No. 302), especially the building of the tank called Lakshasamudra, after his mother. Telugu and Sanskrit verses in his praise and in praise of his sister Chinnamāmba have been found at Kondavīdu and Vankāyalapādu.

(*M.E.R.* 1915, Nos. 422 and 455.) Rāmappayya (also called Rāmamātya or Rāmayamātya) was the author of the work *Svaramēla Kalānidhi*, where he describes himself as the daughter's son of Todaramalla Kallinātha, the commentator of Sārangadēva's *Sangītaratnākara* and the protege of Mallikārjuna Praudhadēvarāya. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 33, see also *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 51). He seems to have continued in service in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya also. In a record dated in 1544 A.D., we have both a genealogical account and an eulogy of his deeds. From these sources we learn that his uncle Bāchaya (or Bhāvaya) was the Governor of Kondavīdu during Achyuta's time. In that capacity, Bāchaya ruled the whole of Āndhradēsa. He built the Gōpinātha temple at Kondavīdu, which, according to tradition, is said to have been built by a subordinate of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who, it is said, deceitfully managed to have all the 72 nobles, the subordinates of the Reddi kings, beheaded in this temple. To tradition, this subordinate is known as Rāmaya Bhāskarudu, probably identical with Rāmaya-Bāchaya of the inscription above quoted. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* II 188; *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 51.) Rāmayamātya, Bāchaya's nephew—elder brother's son—succeeded him in the governorship of Kondavīdu, and his charities were, as remarked above, extensive. The number of tanks built by him was sixteen and he presented these and many gardens and *agrahāras* to the temple. Among the tanks built by him was one called Kāmasamudra after his daughter Kāmamma and an *agrahāra* called Achyutammāpura after another daughter of his known as Achyutamma. In one record (dated in 1539 A.D.), he is spoken of as a "great orator." (*Ibid.*) The statements about Bāchaya are confirmed in a record (*M.E.R.* 1916, App. B. No. 422 dated in 1540. A.D.) wherein he is stated to have founded the Gōpināthanagara with the temple of Gōpinātha. His brother Rāmaya

Bhāskara is also said to have been Viceroy of the King at Kondavīdu. Another record (*Ibid.* No. 445 undated) assigns these acts (building the town and the temple) to Rāmaya Bhāskara also. Apparently they both joined in the work of construction as in discharging the duties of the office of Viceroyalty of Kondavīdu. Bhāskara was evidently the more popular of the two, if tradition is to be believed. They had a sister Chinnamāmba, who was the wife of Pratāpa Yalla. This lady, among other charities, constructed the tank called Gōpināthasamudra. The eulogy of this tank has been characterized to be a very successful imitation of the description by Srinātha of the tank Santānasāgara given in the Phirangipuram record of Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma (*E.I.* XI, 323, Text, lines 99 to 134; see also *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 68). Visvanātha-Nāyaka, son of Nāganna-Nāyaka, who is described in the copper-plate records of the Madura Nāyak dynasty as its founder, was an officer in the Tiruvadi war. He fought in the Vijayanagar ranks and being appointed its agent in the Pāndya country, eventually made himself independent in it. (*M.E.R.* 1909, para 71, No. 113 of 1908.) Sevvappa-Nāyaka, the founder of the Tanjore Nāyak Dynasty, is said in the Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* or *Subhadrāparinayamu* to have married a sister of Tirumalāmba, one of the queens of Achyuta, and to have thus become the latter's kinsman. (*M.E.R.* 1905, page 60; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 191).

Rāmā Bhotlayya, son of Bhūtanātha Chittam-Bhatta, appears to have been one of the foremost ministers of the time. He was a famous general and Viceroy of the time. He is described, in a record dated in 1532 A.D., as a resident of Krishnarāyapuram in the Chandragirirājya. He obtained the village of Kāsaram in the Kalimich-Chirmani from the king and out of its income, he made a grant for the merit of his mother Vīramma to the god at Kālāhasti. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 47; App. C. No. 159

of 1924.) In 1538, his wife Timmāji-Amman made a gift of two villages. (*Ibid.* No. 167 of 1924). At Kāsaram, he built a tank known after his name. (*Ibid.*; also *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 60.) He was evidently a great scholar and appears as a donee in the Kadaladi plates dated in 1530 A.D. (*E.I.* XIV—310-23; see also *M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 14.) His authority appears to have extended as far as Kolar. In 1541 A.D., we find an agent of his making a grant for the Somēsvara temple at Kolar. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 97).

Among other subordinates of Achyuta are the following:—Annāmalaiyar, Vīramarasa-Pallavarāyar, who seems to have been of Pallava descent; Sundara Hōludaiyan Māvali-Vānādarāya, etc. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 49); Mallappa Nāyaka of Kugaiyur (*M.E.R.* 1918, No. 108 of 1918); Ayyapparasa in charge of Ghāndikōta (*Ibid.* App. B. No. 802); and an inscription at Suttur, Nanjangud Taluk, dated in 1530 A.D. mentions a *Mahāmandalēsvara* Rāma-Rāja-Tirumala-Rājaiyadēva-Mahārāsu. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 111.) Another feudatory mentioned is Rāmappa-Nāyaka in a record dated in 1538 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1909, App. B. No. 12.) A Mahāmandalēsvara Lankayadēva-sōla-Mahārāsayan is also referred to in one record dated in 1537-8. (*Ibid.* No. 66 of 1908.) A few others will be found referred to in Mr. Krishna Sastri's paper on the *Second Vijayanagar dynasty.* (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, Pages 191-3).

Achyuta's gifts.

Achyuta was a great donor to temples and to Brāhmans. He was so rich that he was called a "Navakōti Nārāyana," or "Lord of Nine Crores," *i.e.*, fabulous riches. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 73; App. B. No. 331 of 1917, dated in 1539). Nuniz's description of him as a rapacious king is probably overdrawn. However that may be, Achyuta could afford to be liberal in his charities. He appears to have been an ardent follower of the

Srī-Vaishnava faith. His gifts to the Varadarāja temple at Kānchi confirm this inference in an unmistakable manner. The Vitthala temple at Vijayanagar, which contains eight records of his, received many gifts from him and his subordinates. One of these inscriptions refers to the gift known as *Suvarnamēru*, or mountain of gold, which Achyuta donated to it. This gift is recorded in verse by the poetess Tirumalamma. Another record in the same temple refers to the setting up of the twelve Srī-Vaishnava Ālvārs and of Tirukkachchi-Nambi Ālvār within its enclosure for the merit of Achyuta. He also gave a gift called "Ananda-nidhi," by which he claims to have delighted Vishnu and to have made Kubēras of Brāhmans. This gift has been mentioned in one inscription dated in 1539 A.D., of which ten copies exist, of which six are in the temples in the capital and four others are at the Hariharēsvara temple at Davangere and the Chennakēsava temple at Nirgunde in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitaldrug District. Since all these records are dated in the identical year 1539 A.D., and they are repeated in distant places, it might be that Achyuta set much value on its institution by him. The verses in praise of it, which form the inscription, describe it as "a very new thing" and as something greater than the "nine treasures of Kubēra," the god of riches. Much skill and knowledge has been spent in explaining the name "Ananda-nidhi." (See *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 24; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 119; and *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 19; *A.S.I.* 1908-1909, Page 119, *f.n.* 1; and *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81). Mr. Narasimhachar has pointed out that the gift consisted of "a potful of money" as explained by Hēmādri in his *Dānakhanda*. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 89.) It is probable he permanently instituted a fund from which this gift was made at stated intervals. Otherwise, the great praise bestowed on it is inexplicable. Nuniz mentions that Achyuta always gave large sums of money in charity and that there were always in his palace "two or three thousand Brāhmans who are his priests and to whom the king commands to give alms." The fight among these to get the alms was so keen that Nuniz adds:—"These Brāhman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check." (*Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 379-80). Achyuta performed the *Tulābhāra* of pearls and the great gift of giving away 1,000 cows with his queen Varadadēvi and his son Chinna-Venkatādri at the Varadarāja temple at Kānchi. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 47, Nos. 511 and 543 of 1919.) He also made many other minor gifts which need no special mention. (See *Ibid.*).

Domestic life.

Achyuta had, so far as is known from inscriptions and literary records, two wedded queens. One of these was the princess Varadāmbika, to whose marriage with Achyuta is devoted the Sanskrit work *Varadāmbika-Parinayam*, written by Tirumalāmba, a poetess of considerable talent. (See below.) The princess Varadāmbika was the daughter of Salaka-Rāja, who is mentioned several times by his title in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* and the sister of the brothers called Pedda Salaka-Tirumala and Pina (or Chinna) Salaka-Tirumala, who were the brothers-in-law and Prime Ministers of Achyuta. These are the two brothers whom Nuniz characterises as the "Jews" who "dominated" Achyuta's administration and brought ruin on it. (See above). The elder of this is frequently referred to in inscriptions as Mahāmandalēsvara Salaka-Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja. By this queen, Achyuta had a son, named Chinna-Venkatādri, who was crowned Yuvarāja in 1530 A.D. The second queen of Achyuta was the daughter of Srī-Vallabhadēva, the Pāndyan king, who is referred to in certain records. Of her, nothing more is known beyond the bare mention of her marriage to Achyuta after the war against the Tiruvadi country. According to the Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* (or *Subhadrāparinayamu*), Achyuta had a third queen known as Tirumalāmba, whose sister was married by Sevvappa-Nāyaka, the first of the Nāyaka kings of Tanjore. (See *M.E.R.* 1904-5, page 60; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 191, *f.n.* 7.) This queen is not referred to in any epigraphic record, the only one mentioned *by name* in inscriptions being Varadāmba. By her, Achyuta had a son Venkatādri, who, according to certain copper-plate records, succeeded him on the throne, but soon after died, much lamented by the people. In a record dated in 1531 A.D. (found at Malhārpālya, Yelandur Taluk), one Hiriya Singana-Nāyaka is described as the "dear son" of Achyuta-Rāya. He was probably so called by way of compliment. (See *M.A.R.* 1919, para 113).

Achyuta as a literary patron.

Achyuta appears to have continued the policy of encouraging poets and men of learning. His court poet was Rajanātha Dindima, who wrote the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam.* It is a work of considerable historical interest. Its author belonged to a family closely connected with the kings of the Third Vijayanagar Dynasty and so was able to include in his poem points of interest relating to Narasa, its founder. He was also the author of the *Bhāgavata Champu*, which he dedicated to Achyuta. He describes his patron as a great king, who made extensive conquests and gave away the sixteen great gifts mentioned in the Hindu sacred books. He composed this work devoted to the story of Vishnu at the request of the king, who was an ardent Vaishnavite. The poet Tirumalāmba probably wrote her *Varadāmbika-Parinayam* in this reign and not in that of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya as suggested in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (page 170). The work stops with the installation of Venkatādri as the Yuvarāja. As we know, this took place at the time the coronation of Achyuta was celebrated at Vijayanagar in 1530 A.D. Probably it was written a little later. It is a well-conceived poem written in a simple and chaste style. The author of the work, Tirumalāmba, was evidently (see Colophon to the work) an accomplished lady of refined literary tastes. She has been identified with the Ōduva Tirumalamma (or the student Tirumalamma), who is said to have composed the Sanskrit verse in the inscription at the Vithala temple at Hampe commemorating the gift of *Suvarnamēru* performed by Achyuta in 1533 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 9), a duplicate of which record has been traced in another part of the same temple. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81, App. B. No. 708). It has been suggested that Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the wife of Rāma-Rāja, may be the poetess Mōhanāngi, the author of a love poem called *Mārīchiparinayam.* However this may be, it cannot be definitely stated if Ōduva Tirumalamma can be identified with Tirumalāmba, the wife of Rāma-Rāja. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 81). The great Madhva saint Vyāsa-Rāya continued to flourish in this reign as well. He installed in 1532 A.D. the image of Yōga-Varada-Narasimha in the court of the Vithala temple at the capital. This is the last inscriptional reference we have for him. (*M. E. R.* 1923, Para 84, App. B. No. 710).

Death of Achyuta, 1542 A.D.

The exact date of the death of Achyuta is not known. The latest date known for him from inscriptions is *Saka* 1463 or A.D. 1541-2. He probably died somewhere about the close of the year 1541 A.D.

Venkata-Dēva-Rāya or Venkatādri, or Chinna-Venkatādri, 1542 A.D.

Though a few records suggest that Venkata-Dēva-Rāya or Venkatādri "seated himself on the auspicious throne" as soon as Achyuta "joined the feet of Vishnu" (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186 dated in 1558 A.D., and

E.C. V, Hassan 7, dated in 1561 A.D.), it is doubtful if he really ruled for any length of time as Sadāsiva was co-ruler since 1537 (see below). There are no grants issued in his reign, though inscriptions dated in Sadāsiva's reign mention his actual rule. He was probably set up as independent ruler, thus superseding Sadāsiva. Hence the fight for the throne which is referred to under *Sadāsiva-Rāya.* The records, quoted above, speak of him as "famous for valour" and as "ruling the kingdom, his form like Manmatha, an abode of learning." Evidently, he was a promising youth of some personal charm and beauty, and well educated and wise. "To the misfortune of his subjects," we hear, "he, before long, ascended to Indra's abode." Other inscriptions in this State mentioning his rule are *E.C.* X, Malur 62, dated in 1542 A.D. in which he is called Venkata-Rāya-Mahārāya, and Sidlaghatta 52, dated 1543 A.D. Both are lithic inscriptions. Malur 62 is dated in *Saka* 1464, Subhakrit, Bhādrapada 12 (September), while Sidlaghatta 52 is dated in *Saka* 1464 Subhakrit, Pushya bahula 11 (January). Between these two dates, there is an interval of about five months. As will be seen from the account of the revolution given below, he was assassinated by Salakam-Timma with a view to himself usurping the throne. The exact date of the death of Venkatādri is not known. Achyuta died, as remarked above, about the close of 1541 A.D. There are records of Sadāsiva dated from about the middle of 1542 A.D. This would leave an interval of some six months during which the fight for the throne should have gone on. Probably, Venkatādri's assassination took place about the middle of 1542 A.D. Dated in 1541-2 A.D. (*Saka* 1463, Plava) in Achyuta's reign, is a record coming from Narayanavanam, near Madras, which states that one Virūpanna founded a town called Venkatādrisamudram and constructed there the temple of Venkatēsa-Perumāl for the merit of Venkatādri-rāya-Mahārāya. He granted, with the permission of Achyuta, a number of villages to this temple for meeting the charges incurred in connection with the offerings to be made to the gods set up by him in it. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 56, App. B. No. 373). It is evident from this record that both Achyuta and his son Venkatādri were alive at the time of this grant. It is possible that both died not long after this grant within some six months of each other.

Sadāsiva-Rāya, 1542-1570 A.D.

Sadāsiva-Rāya appears to have been co-ruler with Achyuta from about 1537 A.D., as numerous epigraphs of his are current from and after that date. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 48, App. A. No. 6; see App. *E.C.* XII., Maddagiri 66, dated in 1540). At the end of his reign, he was evidently co-ruler with Venkata-Dēva-Rāya *alias* Venkatādri. (*M.E.R.* 1905-6, Paras 48-49). He was the successor of Achyuta on the throne, though, as will be shown below, his accession was not allowed to go uncontested. He was the son of Ranga-Rāya, or Aliya-Ranga-Rāya, a brother of Achyuta. Some records suggest Aliya-Ranga-Rāya was a brother of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and that Sadāsiva was a son of this Aliya-Ranga-Rāya. (*A.S.I.* 1908-09, Page 193 *f.n.* 8). One record of his carries his reign to a period of four years beyond the last date hitherto accorded to him, *viz.*, *Saka* 1493, or A.D. 1570. (See *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 45; Copper-plate No. 1 of 1912-13). This only means the continuance of his nominal rule even after Tirumala I had practically assumed sovereignty in 1571 A.D. Indeed, certain inscriptions, dated in 1575-6 A.D., refer to Sadāsiva-Rāya as if he was still ruling on the jewel throne at Vijayanagar in that year. This would take his period of rule into that of Srī-Ranga II. (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 82, dated in *Saka* 1497 *Yuva* or A.D. 1576. This is a lithic record at Bhagtarahalli; *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1175, Podili 19, dated in 1575-76).

Deposition and murder of Venkatādri, 1542 A.D.

From certain later copper-plate records, however, it would seem that the immediate successor of Achyuta was, as before mentioned, his own son Venkatādri (or Chinna-Venkatādri) who is said to have ascended the throne for some time after Achyuta and died shortly afterwards, deeply lamented by his subjects. A record dated in 1561 A.D. indeed states specifically that when Achyuta died, "his son, famous for valour, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya, seated himself on his auspicious throne. Venkata-Rāya was thus ruling the kingdom, his form like Manmatha (Cupid), an abode of learning, when, to the misfortune of his subjects, he before long ascended to Indra's abode." (*E.C.* V, Hassan 7). This statement is also found almost in the same words in one earlier record, dated in 1558 A.D., both records having been drawn up by the Court poet Sabhāpati. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186; see also *E.I.* IV, 3). Seeing that the statement is made within fifteen years of the death of the prince, and that by the Court-poet, who might be presumed to know the facts, it cannot be dismissed as without any foundation whatever.

Struggle for the throne.

The above records suggest that there should have been a struggle to the throne immediately after the death of Achyuta, in which Venkatādri was assassinated. That there was such a fight is known from three different sources:—(1) from Gaspar Correa, whose account has been so far misunderstood, chiefly because the relationships of the several persons mentioned by him could not be made out; (2) from contemporary Telugu poems; and (3) from contemporary inscriptions. Before the story of this revolution is set out, it might be pointed out that it has nothing to do with the one that occurred at the *commencement of Achyuta's reign*. The date of this revolution is fixed unalterably by the date given by Ferishta (*i.e.*, 1535 A.D.), who is confirmed by Nuniz in whose time *Achyuta was alive.* The confusion arises chiefly from the fact that Rāma-Rāja and his brother, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the two Salaka Tirumala brothers, the brothers-in-law of Achyuta, assisted by the other members of their family, figure in both the revolutions. The date of the second revolution, which occurred *after the death* of Achyuta, is fixed by the date of the death of Achyuta which, we know, from both Correa and inscriptions, to be 1542 A.D. If the facts that there were *two revolutions*, one at the *beginning* of Achyuta's reign and another at its *end*, that the first occurred in or about 1535 A.D. and the second in 1542 A.D., and that the first referred to the succession of Achyuta as against that of the "child-king," the eighteen months' old son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the second one to the succession of Sadāsiva as against that of Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta, are borne in mind, much of the confusion surrounding these two revolutions will disappear. It might be added that while in the first revolution—of1 535 A.D.—Rāma-Rāja and his brother fought for their infant brother-in-law, in the second one, they espoused the cause of their brother-in-law, Sadāsiva. Also, in the first revolution, there was "a slave" who was against them and he was one who had been raised by Rāma-Rāja to the position of governor of the capital with charge of the Treasury; there were, in the second, the Salaka brothers and other members of the same family, one of whom was Salaka-Timma, who evidently led the revolution, with the two Salaka-Tirumala brothers. A copper-plate grant, dated in 1542-3 A.D., recording a grant in favour of Emmēbasavēndra, a Vīrasaiva teacher, gives the genealogy of Salaka-Tirumala-Rāja. Leaving aside the legendary progenitors, we have Lakkabhūpa, husband of Tippamma; their son was Singa-Rāja, husband of Chennāmbika; their son was Salaka-Rāja, husband of Tippāmbika; these had three sons, Pedda Timma-Ranga, and Tirumala-Raja. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 121). The Salaka-Rāja of this record is evidently the person from whom the Salaka brothers, who figure in the usurpation episode, were descended. (See genealogical table of *Salaka Chiefs* at the end of this section).

The story according to Gaspar Correa.

According to Gaspar Correa, Achyuta died in 1542 A.D., leaving a young son (apparently Venkatādri) in the power of his uncle (evidently Ranga), brother of Achyuta, who, he adds, had been king contrary to right (a reference to the successful manner in which he had superseded the infant son of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya). The nobles desired to keep the boy at liberty nominating two ministers to carry on the government; but the uncle disagreed, since in this way he would lose all power and he contrived to gain over some partisans to his side. The nobles in disgust separated, returned to their estates, and in despair of good government, began to assume independence, each in his own province. The queen-mother of the boy (*i.e.*, Varadāmba) begged the Ādil Shāh (*i.e.*, Ibrahīm I) to come to her aid and secure the kingdom for her son, promising him, in return for this favour, immense riches. The Sultān set out for this purpose, intending to visit Vijayanagar, but on the road he was met by emissaries from the minister and bought off with lavish gifts. The king by real right (*i.e.*, Sadāsiva, for Ranga, his father, who had been detained in the Chandragiri prison with his two brothers by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, was already dead), who had been detained in a fortress, was then liberated, and he also sought aid from the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Sultān set out afresh, nominally to aid the true king, but really to acquire the kingdom for himself. The Hindus, in fear for their safety, placed on the throne the brother of the dead king (*i.e.*, the dead king's *brother's son*, or Sadāsiva) and succeeded in defeating the Sultān near the capital. The new king (*i.e.*, Sadāsiva), in order to strengthen his own position for the future, caused the boy, his rival (*i.e.*, Venkatādri), to be assassinated, as also two of the latter's uncles and a nephew of the dead king. (These should be the two Salaka brothers Tirumala, who were the maternal uncles of Venkatādri and the nephew should be a nephew of queen Varadāmba). Then, in dread of the power of the principal nobles, he summoned them to Court, and put out the eyes of those who arrived first so that the rest returned in great anger to their homes and began to intrigue with the Sultān. They urged him to depose the tyrant, promising their aid and offering him the kingdom for himself, if only the country could be freed from the monster. The Sultān, accordingly advanced against Vijayanagar, where he was received by many as sovereign; but he assumed such intolerant airs that he aroused the hatred of all around him, and in the end, was obliged, for fear of his own safety, to retire to his own country. Meanwhile, a new king had seized the throne of Vijayanagar, a great lord from Paleacate who had been married to a sister of the king that preceded the dead king (which would mean Rāma-Rāja, who was a son-in-law and not a brother-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya) and in the end, he succeeded to the kingdom. (See for Correa's account, *A Forgotten Empire*, 182-84, where it is summarised from his Vol. IV, 247-249 and 276-282).

The truth in it.

Though, as pointed out above, there are mistakes in Correa's account, due to the transmission of the story from mouth to mouth, the central part of it seems not to be without foundation. The party in favour of Sadāsiva tried to secure the throne for him, while those in favour of Venkatādri, the Salaka brothers and their close relations, stood out for him, assisted by queen Varadāmba. Apparently, both called in the aid of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, who, between the two, made some money for himself, helping neither. Though he might have had ulterior ideas of usurping the throne itself, he found it impossible to maintain his position and retired. Meanwhile, the party in favour of Sadāsiva, *i.e.*, his brother-in-law Aliya-Rāma-Rāja and his brothers Tirumala and Venkatādri (not to be confused with the son of Achyuta) put up a fight, Rāma-Rāja coming up from Pulicat, which apparently was included in his charge, and put to death the Salaka brothers and their associates and put Sadāsiva on the throne, thereby making their own position secure.

Confirmed by literary works.

The above is substantially confirmed by contemporary Telugu poets. In the *Vasucharitra*, a work dedicated to Tirumala, the brother of Rāma-Rāja, by Bhattu-mūrti, the Court-poet of Rāma-Rāja, and called on account of that as *Rāma-Rāja-bhūshana*, or the ornament of the Court of Rāma-Rāja, we are told in plain terms that Rāma-Rāja being disappointed with the changes which happened on Achyuta's death, at the time of the coronation, left the capital with his two loving brothers, went to Penukonda, and from there to Adoni, and from there proceeded against many wicked chiefs (*i.e.*, those who had sided his opponents) and defeating them, advanced on that treacherous and base man Salaka and put down his pride by defeating him and his large armies composed of valorous soldiers. Excelling Arjuna, he established the Karnāta Kingdom once again, and protected all the people who surrendered to him, like Rāma (the epic hero), his story resembling that of the *Rāmāyana* (in that he was instrumental in raising to the throne the dethroned king and re-establishing the lost Karnāta Kingdom). (See *Sources*, 217-8). The suggestion is that Rāma-Rāja, in putting down Salaka, put down a person who tried to usurp the throne of Karnāta and thus restored the kingdom to the rightful king. In the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, the same poet (Bhattu-mūrti) again refers to how Rāma-Rāja put down the base and wicked Salaka-Timma and killed him and how he saved the Karnāta country. He gives in this work the full name of Salaka-Timma, whereas in the *Vasucharitramu*, he calls him merely Salaka. (See *Sources*, 225-7). In interpreting the above quoted passage from the *Vasucharitramu*, the Editor of the *Sources* has taken it to refer to the *coronation of Rāma-Rāja* (see page 216) and not the *coronation which followed on the death of Achyuta*, which the context shows, is really the case. Moreover, Rāma-Rāja was himself never crowned but was only *de facto* sovereign during the time Sadāsiva was king. Another poem that refers to the same incident is the *Narapativijayamu* (or *Rāma-rājīyamu*), written by Venkayya at the command of Rāma-Rāja. It is a poem detailing the conquests of Rāma-Rāja, who is called *Narapati* as the Muhammadan Sultāns were called *Asvapatis* and the Kalinga king *Gajapati*. In this poem, we are told that Rāma-Rāja, assisted by his brothers Tirumala and Venkatādri, defeated and tore to pieces the forces of *Salaka-Vibhu-Timma-Rāja* (*i.e.*, Salaka-Rāja-Timma-Rāja) and captured the fortresses of Gooty, Penukonda, Gandikota, Kurnool and Adōni and won great renown. (See *Sources*, 185-6). A more prosaic account is given in the Telugu Chronicle called the *Annals of Hande Anantāpuram*. This Chronicle states that Chinnā-Dēvi and Tirumala-Dēvi, the queens of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, were anxious that Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, who had married the daughter of Tirumala-Dēvi, should, as the elder son-in-law of the family, rule the State, helped by Tirumala, his younger brother, who had married the daughter of Chinnā-Dēvi. But Salakam Timmayya, who had been the treasurer of the court, taking advantage of his position, secured control over the army and attempted to imprison Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala. Learning this, the latter fled from the city and after a sojourn in Penukonda, collected forces and then took Adōni, where they cantoned for four months and on the arrival of reinforcements from Kurnool and Gadwal, advanced on the capital. Salakam-Timmaya, meanwhile, obtained the help of the five Muhammadan Sultāns, promising them to hand over the kingdom to them if they assisted him against Rāma-Rāja. The Muhammadan forces, accordingly, advanced on the capital, and encamped within three miles of it. On this, Rāma-Rāja, assisted by a chief called *Hande* Hanumappa, who was apparently a great hero, encamped within six miles of the capital, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Salakam-Timmayya's forces forming the first line were to deliver the attack, being joined afterwards by their allies, the Muhammadans. Knowing this, Rāma-Rāja forestalled and charged the enemy's troops, who, it is said, fearing that the Golla (*i.e.*, Treasurer) wanted to usurp the kingdom for himself as he was rich, deserted in a body and Salakam-Timmayya was killed in the fight. On hearing this, the queens ordered the ministers (evidently the two Salaka brothers Tirumala) to hand over the city to Rāma-Rāja and Tirumala-Rāja and this they did. (See *Sources*, 178-181). Though the two dates mentioned in this Chronicle are wrong, there is no reason to doubt the main incidents set out in it, the more so as they are corroborated from independent sources.

Rāmāyāmātya, the governor of Kondavīdu and author of *Svaramēlakālānidhi*, who continued in office during the reign of Sadāsiva, and wrote his work at the instance of Rāma-Rāja and completed it in 1549 A.D., also refers to the same incidents. He says that Rāma-Rāja left Vidyāpura (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar) with his two brothers and went to the fortress of Gooty, and after conquering those who had proved traitors to the sovereign (*Swami drōha krutaha*), placed the helpless king Sadāsiva (*Sadāsivamahipālananirālāmba*) on the Karnāta throne

(*Bhadrāsanam Karnāte*). (See *Sources*, 190-1). The name of the traitor is not mentioned, but there can be no doubt whatever that the reference is to Salaka-Timma.

The significance of the five passages translated from the three poems and the Chronicle is great. They refer to the story of the defeat of Sālaka-Timma and the coronation of Sadāsiva-Rāya at the hands of Rāma-Rāja and his brothers. Though the poets wrote from a sufficiency of facts before them, they only outline the main points in the story. The arrangements arrived at by Salaka-Timma at first for the coronation of Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta, and after his assassination, the perpetuation of himself and his relations, the Salaka-Tirumala brothers did not please Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja, naturally, espoused the cause of Sadāsiva, whose accession to the throne meant the perpetuation of himself and his brothers. Escaping forced imprisonment, he retired to Penukonda and from there to Adōni and with his allies, turned up against the Salaka leaders and their forces, and defeating them, killed Venkatādri and the Salaka chiefs and put Sadāsiva, his own protege, on the throne. The Salaka-Timma, the person mentioned in the poems and the Telugu Chronicle, and characterized in the poems as "wicked," "base" and "treacherous," has been again and again identified by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri as Salaka-Tirumala, the elder of the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta. But there is, so far as can be made out, no ground for this identification, though it has to be added that the terms "Timma" and "Tirumala" appear to be used in certain cases synonymously. As there is a Salaka-Timma also, termed as a *Mahārāsu*, it is possible he is the person referred to. (See above under *Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya*). He probably took the most prominent part with the Salaka-Tirumala brothers in arranging for the coronation of Venkatādri and after his assassination, attempted to usurp the throne himself and thus incurred the great displeasure of Rāma-Rāja and his brothers. Hence the denunciations heaped on him in the poems. Apparently, all the Salaka chiefs—Timma, the two Tirumala brothers, and Raghupati-rājayya—shared the fate of Venkatādri and with it, the attempted usurpation of the kingdom by Salaka-Timma for himself and his family was finally set at rest. Hence the title assumed by Rāma-Rāja as the *Restorer of the Karnāta Kingdom.*

Confirmed by inscriptions.

Faint echoes of these events are to be heard in certain stray copper-plate and lithic records. One lithic inscription, which comes from Markapur, which furnishes us with a genealogy of the Karnāta kings, states of Rāma-Rāja that he "subdued in town Vidyānagara (or Vijayanagara) Timma, 'who sinned against his lord' and the whole of the Salaka family and gave away the wealth of Karnāta to the learned who sought his protection." (*M.E.R.* 1905; No. 164 of 1905). Other records mention that "Sadāsiva was anointed to the throne by his brother-in-law Rāma-Rāja and other chief ministers (of Vijayanagara). (*E.I.* IV, 3, *f.n.* 2). The claim made in the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Narasabhūpāliyamu* that Rāma-Rāja "restored the Karnāta-rājya" after killing Salaka-Timma is also confirmed in epigraphic records. After the assassination of Venkatādri, whose cause he first espoused, Salaka-Timma, as we have seen, tried to usurp the throne for himself and for his own family *as against the rightful* owner, Sadāsiva, the nephew of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the eldest surviving male representative of the *Karnāta dynasty* and his death put an end to that attempt. This fact is brought out in the title of *Prājyakarnātarājya-sthāpanāchārya* (or establisher of the great empire of Karnāta) (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 34; App. A, Copper-plate 12, dated in 1455 A.D.) which might be compared with "the restorer of the whole of the Karnāta country" of the *Narasabhūpāliyamu*, and "who took on himself the restoration of the Karnāta kingdom," which occurs in the *Vasucharitramu* in connection with the description of the deeds of Rāma-Rāja.

Date of the revolution.

The actual date of the capture by Sadāsiva-Rāya of Vijayanagar took place not long before Monday 6th August 1543 A.D.; for we hear that, on that date, a grant was made by one of his feudatories to a temple, on the joyous occasion when the royal communication reached him of Sadāsiva-Rāya's capturing Vijayanagara. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 70; App. C. No. 213 of 1916). Probably, his coronation followed shortly afterwards, which would mean that the dispute about the succession lasted over a year.

Salaka-Timma was, accordingly, the chief agent in the revolution in which the two Salaka-Tirumala brothers probably took part. Varadāmbika called in the aid of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh to put him down, but as Correa mentions, he was, on the road, bought off by Salaka-Timma and induced to return home. Thus foiled, Varadāmbika's last chance of succour was lost. She was probably put to death with her son, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya, Salaka-Timma, at the same time, killing two of his paternal uncles and a cousin as well. (*E.I.* IX, 340, Text verse 30). Whether Ranga, the father of Sadāsiva, was also despatched by him is not clear. Sadāsiva, who should have been amongst those whose lives had been canvassed, escaped. If Ferishta is to be believed, Venkata-Dēva-Rāya was strangled by Timma, and it is perhaps, this horrible act that is referred to by the words "wicked," "base" and "treacherous" in the literary poems of the period quoted above and it is possibly to this deed, the Markapur record refers when it states that Salaka-Timma "sinned against his lord." (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 164 of 1905). The object of Salaka-Timma was to do away with all the members of the royal family and to make himself or one of the Salaka Tirumala brothers, the king. It was this deeply-laid plot of obliterating the royal family, with which Rāma-Rāja was closely connected by marriage, and substitute his own, that raised his ire against Salaka-Timma and induced him, as the same Markapur record puts it, to do away with "the whole of the Salaka family" (*ibid.*), and restore the Karnāta kingdom in the person of Sadāsiva.

Aliya-Rāma-Rāja, first regent and then usurper.

The killing of Salaka-Timma and his confederates was evidently followed by the restoration of Sadāsiva by Rāma-Rāja. Sadāsiva, who had escaped from the cruel hands of Salaka-Timma, had taken refuge, according to Correa, in a part of the empire "towards the kingdom of Orissa." This might be taken to mean the province of Kondavīdu, and from there, he had been removed by Rāma-Rāja, to Gooty, where he was apparently hidden by Rāma-Rāja, who had control over that fortress. On the way, they appear to have halted at Tirupati, where the first coronation of Sadāsiva took place before the god there, the Brāhmans giving him a "hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces." From there, Rāma-Rāja, leaving Sadāsiva at Gooty, proceeded against Salaka-Timma at Vijayanagar and there attacked and killed him and his associates. It is possible that Sadāsiva joined him in the State entry into the capital, immediately it fell; for an inscription dated on Monday 6th August 1543 A.D. states that the grant mentioned in it was made by the Tiruppakuli chief "on the joyous occasion when the royal communication reached him of Sadāsiva's capturing Vijayanagara." (See above; *M.E.R.* 1916, App. C. No. 213 of 1916). There he was installed on the throne and recrowned by Rāma-Rāja and the chief ministers, *amātyatilakaih*, as almost all the copper-plate grants put it. (See *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 58, for the Honnēnahalli grant, dated in

1545 A.D.; *E.I.* 341, for the Kanuma grant, dated in 1548 A.D.; *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186, for the Malūr grant, dated in 1558 A.D.; and *E.C.* V, Hassan 7, for the Hassan grant dated in 1561 A.D.). These grants describe in vivid language this great act of Rāma-Rāja. They speak of him as the ornament of the earth, as the protector of the Lakshmi of the great Karnāta kingdom, as possessing valour, generosity and mercy. The suggestion seems to be that the deed was done by him as became a great and a generous Kshatriya, and as became the husband of his (Sadāsiva's) sister. The installation is also spoken of as "*Kliptābhishēka-Kramah*" or "*Kliptābhishēkōtsavah*," though it is added lower down in the same grants that the tears of joy shed by the people at the time of his coronation anointing so flooded the earth as to make her appear as the queen who was (being) anointed with him. Evidently, the act was not only felt to be a just and generous one on the part of Rāma-Rāja his confrere but also welcomed with great joy and satisfaction by the subjects. Nor could it well have been otherwise especially after the bloody deeds of Salaka-Timma and his confederates.

Date of Sadāsiva's coronation.

The date of the coronation at Vijayanagar is fixed by a record dated *Saka* 1466, Sōbhakritu, in the month of *Simha* (or *Srāvana*) *Su.* 6, Monday, corresponding to Monday, 6th August 1543 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1916; App. C. No. 213 of 1916). As mentioned above, this record states that on hearing the joyous tidings of Sadāsiva's capture of Vijayanagara, he made the grant registered in it. So the date of the coronation cannot be far removed from it. Dated in the previous year is a record from Seringapatam (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 42), which gives the full imperial titles to Sadāsiva. Its *Saka* year, however, has been read by Mr. Rice as 1464 (the last two figures being *doubtful* as they have been filled up by him and put in brackets) but the cyclic year is *Subhakritu* and the month and the date *Srāvana-bahula* 1. The *Saka* year (expired) should accordingly be 1465. The cyclic year being Subhakritu (current), the date of this record would be July 1542 A.D. The coronation would, therefore, have taken place about July 1542. The Tiruppakuli record probably fixes up, not the date of coronation and the gift that the chief made in honour of it, but of the registration of the latter in the temple in which it is engraved. At the date of his coronation, Sadāsiva was, according to Correa, only about sixteen years of age. Cæsar Frederick, however, states he was "very young," while the Golconda historian, whose account Briggs has given in his translation of *Ferishta*, says he was a child in arms. (*Ferishta*, III, 381). Rāma-Rāja, accordingly assumed the office of Protector and subsequently usurped the throne itself. The successive stages by which he managed to do this are discernible from the inscriptional records of the period. As Father Heras has pointed out, during the first stage, which probably lasted from 1542 to 1550 A.D., he was only Regent. During this period, Sadāsiva is described as ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom and the grants are made by Rāma-Rāja under the orders of Sadāsiva and Rāma-Rāja styles himself only as the agent of Sadāsiva, or agent for the affairs of Sadāsiva's kingdom, or administrator (*Kshamāpati*). (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 110, dated in 1546 A.D.; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 58, dated in 1545 A.D.). Sadāsiva resided at the capital during this period, from where he issued his orders to the Regent. At the end of this period, he could have been about 24 years of age, taking Correa's statement of his being sixteen at his coronation as correct. He probably made himself felt at about this time and he was accordingly put in prison. According to Couto, his prison was

Stages in the usurpation of Rāma-Rāja.

a strongly fortified tower, probably at the capital, with iron doors and surrounded by sentries. However, the treatment he received while in prison was one befitting his rank. (Father Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 31 *f.n.* 1 quoting Purchas, *His Pilgrimmes*, X. 93, etc.). Authorities differ as to who was responsible for thus imprisoning him. Couto blames Rāma-Rāja solely for it. There seems to be truth in this accusation, as we find even his two brothers, Tirumala and Venkatādri, rebelling against him, apparently on this very account. Thus began the second period, probably about 1550 and ended in or about 1563 A.D. During this interval, we find Rāma-Rāja claiming equality with Sadāsiva. Grants accordingly ran in their joint names or for the merit of both, the genealogies of both Sadāsiva and Rāma-Rāja being given in them. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 54, dated in 1551; *E.I.* XIV, 210, the Bevinahalli grant dated in 1551 A.D.). Occasionally, grants are made only in his name or that merit might accrue to him alone. (*E.C.* XI, Molkalmuru 1, dated 1557). As above stated, his brothers apparently did not much relish this summary supersession of the lawful king. In 1551, they obtained control of Adōni and collecting forces, compelled several other chiefs to submit to them. Rāma-Rāja, who was away from the capital at the time, came back and with the aid of a detachment under Kabulkhan, entitled *Ain-ul-Mulk*, obtained from Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, advanced on Adōni and reduced it after a siege of six months. The two brothers yielded and were duly forgiven by Rāma-Rāja. Whether this story, told by a contemporary historian of Golconda (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 387-8), is true or not, it is possible that the two brothers did not desire to go too far. Father Heras has suggested that as Sadāsiva had made the grant mentioned in the Mamidipundi copper-plates at the request of Tirumala, there was reason for gratefulness on his part. (*Nellore Inscriptions*,

I. copper-plate No. 14, dated 1549-50, page 98). It is true that this grant was made by Sadāsiva at the request of *Timmarāja* who is identified by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti with *Tirumala*, the younger brother of Rāma-Rāja. But it is a question, if the Timmarāja referred to, is not Timma, who is called Timmādhīsa in the *Vasucharitramu*, the other brother of Sadāsiva. There is no reason why we should identify *Tirumala* with *Timma*, when there is a *Timma* also as his *brother*, though the genealogists usually describe him as an *elder* brother and not *younger* as mentioned in this grant. (It is probably this Timmarāja who remitted the tax on the barbers in different villages in 1547 A.D. (See Rangachar, *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I. 626, No. 568). His eldest brother Kōna was also a subordinate ruler. He is called Rāma-Rāja Kōnappa-Dēva-Mahārāja in a record dated in 1553 A.D., *i.e.*, Kōnappa, grandson of Rāma-Rāya, the latter being the grand-father of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and his four brothers. (See *M.E.R.* No. 327 of 1901). However this may be, it is quite possible that Tirumala and his brother Venkatādri did not see eye to eye with Rāma-Rāja, the elder brother, and did hold out against him, though only unsuccessfully. If the Golconda historian quoted before is to be believed, they were excused by Rāma-Rāja for reasons purely personal to himself. He suggests that Rāma-Rāja was anxious to strengthen his own power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 381), and as such would not have desired to lose such close and useful relations as his two younger brothers.

The third stage was reached about 1563 A.D., when we see Rāma-Rāja described as supreme ruler with all the imperial titles. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 44, dated in 1462-3 A.D.). Sadāsiva is not so much as mentioned in it. He is similarly described in another record dated in 1565 A.D., where also the name of Sadāsiva is omitted (*E.C.* VIII, Channagiri 62). Cæsar Frederick states that Rāma "sate in the Royal throne, and was called the king." There is so far no record of his coronation and it is possible he avoided it, as Sadāsiva, though hardly ever seen by his subjects, was still alive. Couto states that Rāma-Rāja and his two younger brothers saw him once a year in his prison and there did homage to him. (VI. 383). It was during this period that Rāma-Rāja appears to have issued the gold coin familiarly known as the Gandikota pagoda, which had the figure of Vishnu standing under a canopy on the obverse. (C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64).

Ancestry and early history of Rāma-Rāja.

Rāma-Rāja, who thus usurped the throne, claims descent from a long and distinguished line of ancestors, who had seen service in the State. Tāta-Pinnama, the founder of the family, is credited in the *Rāmarājīyamu* with having defeated and captured the seven constituents of royalty of an unidentified chief called Cheruku Rācha Nāyaka. His son was Sōmadēva (or Sōmidēva), who is said to have gained victories over many chiefs, among them being a Muhammadan. The greatest exploit attributed to him was the capture of seven forts (later described as a feat performed by him in *one day*), all probably situated in the debatable land between Vijayanagar and the Bāhmani kingdoms. He was probably a contemporary of Harihara II. (See *Sources*, 80, *f.n.*). Passing over the periods of his son Rāghavadēva and the latter's son Pinnama II, we come to Āravīti Bukka, who was one of the Governors of Sāluva-Narasimha, the founder of the second Dynasty. He is said to have taken part in the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya in 1510 A.D., and so should have lived to a fairly long age. He was probably a local ruler with his seat at Aravīdu, which has been identified with the village of the same name, 16 miles from Rāyachoti, in the Cuddapah District. (*Nellore Ins.*, I. 32, *f.n.* 2). It was from this place that the Aravīdu dynasty took its name. Aravīdu-Bukka had two sons, Singa-Rāja and Rāma-Rāja, of whom the former became the founder of the Nandyāla branch. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, Table, p. 20). His other son, Rāma-Rāja I, is described to have won a notable success over the Sāpada, identified with the Sultān of Golconda. He had three sons, of whom Timma-Rāja was the eldest. His son was Vitthala, the conqueror of Tiruvadirājya. The third was Srīranga or Ranga I. Ranga I married, according to the *Vasucharitramu*, Timmamma (or Tirumalāmba), by whom he had five sons and three daughters. (See *Sources*, 217-221). The sons were Kōna, Timma, (Aliya) Rāma-Rāja, Tirumala and Venkatādri. (See genealogical tree appended to H. Krishna Sastri's article on the Second Vijayanagar Dynasty in *A.S.I.* 1908-9, page 201). Like Ranga I, who is described as a great warrior and was probably a Governor (Mahāmandalēsvara) under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (*Ferishta* III, 81, also see *M.E.R.* 1906; No. 156 of 1905), his son Rāma-Rāja became a noted soldier. If the Golconda historian is to be believed, he was at first in the service of Kuli Kutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda. Having been defeated in a fight with the Ādil Shāh's troops, he was, it is said, discharged from the Golconda service, from where he turned towards Vijayanagar. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya entertained him and forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage. (*Ferishta* III, 382-3). There is nothing inherently improbable in this story as Hindus and Muhammadans sought, about this period of history, service under rulers of either persuasion as they desired. Ranga I, the father of Rāma-Rāja, was, as we have seen, a minister under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and the latter might, accordingly, have taken some interest in the young man, whom he might have subsequently chosen as his son-in-law. Hence the sobriquet of "Aliya" by which he appears to have been popularly known in his own time. Besides Tirumalāmba, he married, according to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, one Appalāmba, daughter of Peddanandi-Rāju of the Jillēla family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma, daughters of Timma of the Pōchirāju family. By Tirumalāmba, he had two sons Krishnarāya (apparently named after his grandfather) and Pedda Timmarāja. (See *Sources*, 184). Not much is known of the first of these. Pedda Timma, however, appears to have ruled over a part of Cuddapah District (*Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, 618, No. 492). Appalāmba bore him two sons, while by Kondamma, he had two sons Konda and Timma. These became governors of Anegundi and Raichur respectively. By Lakshmamma, he had one son Ranga IV, whose sons were Venkata II and Venkata III. He had thus five sons by his four wives and all these appear to have been active in the service of the Empire. According to the Golconda historian (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 408 and 453), he had, besides, two daughters, married respectively to Jotumrāj, who was deputed to invade Dēvarakonda and Indrakonda, and Buswunt-Rāj, the governor of Nandyāl and Kurnool. Rāma-Rāja's younger brother Tirumala, had, as we have seen, been married to Vengalāmba, another daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and queen Chinnā-Dēvi. He had four sons, named Raghunātha, Srīranga (Ranga I), Rāma-Rāya and Venkata-Dēva-Rāya. He had also a daughter, married to Nāgarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* No. 411 of 1911). Venkatādri, the other brother of Rāma-Rāja, is said to have married two ladies Rangamma and Krishnamma, by whom he had two sons Rangappa and Rāma. (See *Sources*, 222; *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 30).

At the time Sadāsiva's reign begins, we hear of Rāma-Rāja as advancing from Pulicat and taking charge of affairs at the capital. But before that, in the reign of Achyuta, he was evidently in charge of an expedition to the Travancore country and later engaged in suppressing certain insurrections not far from the capital. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 80). This is confirmed by Couto, who speaks of Rāma-Rāja as a great general of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and as governing over a province of the Badaguas and Teligas (*i.e.*, northerners and Telugus). The province should have been Udayagiri, where a lithic inscription dated in 1543 A.D. has been found, stating that he was ruling over that fortress. (*M.E.R.* 207 of 1892; see also *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* II, 1153, No. 781). As another Ramarāju Timmaya-dēva Mahārājulu gāru (probably a cousin of his) is also mentioned as ruling over that fortress, it might be inferred that the real charge was in the latter, though Rāma-Rāja was responsible for the administration, and absent probably at the capital.

Internal Administration.

The administration of Rāma-Rāja, both as regent and as usurper of the Kingdom, apparently seems to have run on the traditional lines. Grants of money, land or taxes to temples and learned Brāhmans continued to be made as usual. Among the more notable remissions of taxation during this period was the tax on barbers, which is found mentioned in a large number of records. According to one of these, it is said that Rāma-Rāja was pleased with the proficiency of Mangala Timmōja, Hommōja, and Bharrōja in shaving the chin and pardoned them from payment of all taxes. He also requested King Sadāsiva-Rāya to extend the same privilege to the barbers throughout the kingdom. (*I.A.* X. 65; *A.S.I.* 1908-9, p. 198. *f.n.* 5; *Nellore Inscriptions* II. 664; *E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 6). It is stated in one record, dated in 1540 A.D., that the exemption included the payment of *Katta meras, horn tax, Kanike, Khaddayam* and the *vetti* tax and that the royal decree was to take effect throughout the kingdom and inscriptions were to be set up in famous places and that local governors and feudatories were to give effect to it by putting up lithic inscriptions in their areas. (*Nellore Inscriptions* II, 664, Kanigiri 20). As the earliest inscription granting this exemption is dated in 1545 A.D., it would seem that, within about ten years from then, it had been extended to the whole kingdom. (*E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126, dated in 1545 A.D.; *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 110, dated in 1546; *Nellore Inscriptions*, II. 664, Kanigiri 20, dated in 1554 A.D.; *ibid.* III, 1195, Podili, 35 dated in 1547-48 A.D. and numerous other inscriptions).

The Capital, its trade and its magnificence.

That the capital continued to be a place of great attraction, both for its trade and for its architectural grandeur, is also attested to by foreign visitors. According to the *Svaramēla-kalānidhi*, Rāma-Rāja had a palace built for himself at Vijayanagar by his minister Rāmayamātya. It was, we are told, called *Ratna Kūta* and excelled even Vaijayanti, the palace of the Gods. It was surrounded, it is said, by extensive gardens, adorned with fine statues and constructed tanks, which abounded with swans. (See *Sources*, 190-193). We have a description of the city by Cæsar Frederick, the Italian traveller, as he saw it two years after its destruction, which will be found quoted below. Even in its ruined state, it appears to have impressed him as a magnificent one. It should have been something good and splendid to have wrung from him the remark, "I have seen many kings' courts, and yet have I seen none in greatness like to this Bezeneger." Of its trade, the same traveller writes:—

"The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezenegar were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine (a sort of Bengal tafetta) and pieces of China, Saffron, and scarletts; and from Bezenegar they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels and Pagodas (gold coins), which be Ducats of Gold; the Apparell that they use in Bezenegar is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads called Colæ (Kullayi), made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves instead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth; they have breaches after the order of the Turkes; they wear on their feet plain high things called of them Aspergh and at their ears they have hanging great plentie of Gold." (Purchas, *His Pilgrimmes*, X. 97-8).

Rāma-Rāja was a great warrior and the greater part of his time, as Regent and as usurper of supreme power, was spent in wars. He is repeatedly praised in the records of the period and in later records as having subdued many enemies who are described as "a pest to the world," "dangerous to the world," "a scourge to the earth," or "thorns of the world" (*E.I.* XVI, 319; *E.I.* III, 252; *E.I.* XII, 186; *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). Ferishta seems to confirm these claims when he states that Rāma-Rāja "reduced all the Rājas of the Karnātik to his yoke." (III, 125). Apart from the petty insurrections he might have put down, there is scarcely any doubt that he engaged in wars in the extreme south, including Travancore and Ceylon and on the Fisheries Coast in what is now the South Kanara District.

Expedition against Travancore, 1543-1548 A.D.

The war against the Tiruvadi king was renewed during this reign. Either that king made another incursion into the Pāndyan kingdom, or had failed to pay the tribute agreed upon, with the consequence that an expedition was sent against him. The expedition was in charge of Vittaladēva-Mahārāja, a cousin, not son of Rāma-Rāja. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 56; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 57). His full name was Rāma-Rāja-Timmarāja-Vitthala-Dēva-Mahāraja, *i.e.*, Vitthala, the son of Timmarāja and the grandson of Rāma-Rāja I, Rāma-Rāja II being also grandson of Rāma-Rāja I, by another son (see *Pedigree* of *Aravīdu Dynasty*). Vitthala was evidently a distinguished general, whose victorious "campaign commenced in Anantasayanam (Trevandrum) in the south and ended at Mudugal in the north." (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 79). He was, just prior to taking up this post, evidently in charge of the Penukonda province (1543-4 A.D.). (*M.E.R.* 1902, App. A. No. 340 of 1901). Another record dated in 1558 A.D., which comes from Cuddapah and refers to Rāmarāja-Timmarāja, has been set down to him by Mr. Rangāchāriar. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* I, 601 No. 322). This, however, cannot be correct, as, from 1543 A.D., when he headed the expedition against the king of Tiruvadi, he continued in charge of the southern viceroyalty for about 12 years, which takes us to 1567 A.D. The king of Travancore at the time was Bhūtula Vīra Srī Vīra Kērala-Varma *alias* Unni Kērala-Varma. Visvanātha Nāyak, the Vijayanagar governor of Madura, either sent a detachment in support of Vitthala or himself joined with his own forces, the invading army. (*M.E.R.* 1912, 17 of 1912 dated in 1563 A.D.). Evidently, Krishnappa, son of Visvanātha, also accompanied Vitthala in some capacity or other and served under him, as he is spoken of in the Krishnāpuram plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya to have deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadirājya of the constituent parts of his kingdom. (*E.I.* IX, 341). Vitthala had also, serving under him, his younger brother Chinna-Timma, who is mentioned in *Yādavābhyudaya-Vyākhya* as having planted a pillar of victory in the mountains of Malaya, (*i.e.*, Travancore). (*M.E.R.* 1911, App. B. No. 250 of 1910, dated in 1545 A.D. *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* I. 402, No. 717). Sadāsiva Nāyaka of Keladi also appears to have taken part in this expedition as he is also spoken of in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* to have defeated the Kēralas and planted a pillar of victory in that country. (See *Sources*, 195). A Brāhman of Tiruvidaimarudūr seems to have also fought on Vitthala's side throughout his campaign and eventually obtained from Vitthala the gift of two villages for the temple at the place he came from. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; *M.E.R.* 1895, App. B. No. 140 of 1895 dated in 1543-4 A.D.). Vitthala entered Travancore by the Aramboli (or the Aruvāymoli) Pass, the people fleeing before him with their belongings. St. Francis Xavier, who was an eye-witness, describes the pitiful condition of the poor Christians who were betaking themselves to the forests northward. The Holy Father was befriended by Unni Kērala-Varma, the Tiruvadi, who said that the only help he could render was to offer prayers to relieve his anxiety. As Vitthala's forces reached Kottar, at present a suburb of Nagercoil, the vanguard suddenly stopped, unable to proceed further. Soon the reason for the halt came forth. "A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us," they said, "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once." The officers of the army could then realize that the fact was true, for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in gigantic form and dignified countenance barring the way to the capital. Vitthala and his forces were instinctively compelled to turn back and retreat. The Rev. Father Henry Heras, S.J., the latest writer on the subject, suggests that "the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case." (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 147, *f.n.* 5). Whether it is to be taken literally or as reminiscent of a diplomatic mission on the part of Xavier, for which, however, there is no evidence whatever, quite apart from the incident itself, there is scarcely any doubt that the troops were checkmated and retreated. The war ended, evidently without a formal battle—though the planting of pillars of victory is proclaimed by more than one chief who followed the expedition. Unni Kērala-Varma was, it is said, delighted beyond measure. He received in person Xavier and embracing him, said, "They call me the Great King," but hereafter, they will always call you, "the Great Father." Accordingly, a proclamation by the king was issued that Xavier should be so called by all his subjects and that he should be obeyed everywhere as if he were the sovereign. Whether true or not, this statement testifies to the warm regard and friendship that undoubtedly existed between Xavier and Unni Kērala-Varma, which in itself is proved by Xavier's own letters. (See *Ibid.* 147). Peace pourparlers followed and an envoy was sent to Vitthala at Tuticorin, Xavier arranging for his conveyance by a special boat. It was feared that Vitthala was going full speed by sea to attack the Tiruvadi and to renew hostilities. But the death, at about this time, of Unni Kērala Varma brought matters to a pause. His successor, Bhūtala Vīra, one of whose inscriptions dated in 1547 A.D. has been found in Tinnevelly, perhaps, marks the end of the war and the signing of the treaty of peace. Tinnevelly was ceded for ever to Vijayanagar, which in return agreed not to molest the Tiruvadi, the payment of the annual tribute being also agreed to by him; and to seal the arrangements thus come to, the Tiruvadi celebrated in the Sthanunātha temple at Suchīndram the birthday of Vitthala. (*M.E.R.* 1896, App. B. No. 64, dated in Kollam 722, or A.D. 1546-7, recording a gift of land for offerings at the temple on the birthday of Vitthalēsvara-Mahārāja by Bhūtala-Vīra-Rāmavarman.) About the same time—1547-8 A.D.—Visvanātha-Nāyak of Madura should have been appointed *amaranāyak* or governor of Tiruvadi-dēsa. (*M.E.R.* 1912; App. C. No. 17, dated 1563 A.D.). Apparently, the jurisdiction of Visvanātha should have extended over the ceded part of the Tiruvadi country. At the same time, Vitthala continued as viceroy of the south.

War renewed against the Tiruvadi, 1558 A.D.

Rāma-Varma, the ruler of the Tiruvadi country, having failed to pay the agreed tribute, Vitthala is said to have invaded his territories once again in 1558 A.D., with an army 6,000 strong. The Tiruvadi's forces apparently attacked the invading army and beat it back, inflicting great slaughter on it as it retreated. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 162-3).

Subjugation of Chandragutti, *Circa* 1548-1550 A.D.

What led to the war against the Nāyakas of Chandragutti, dubbed "*dāsya-Nāyakas*" in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* of Keladi Basavabhūpāla, where this war is briefly referred to (see *Sources*, 195-6), is not clear. Probably, it was an attempt countenanced by Rāma-Rāja to reduce them to subjection on the part of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka of Keladi, whose descendants ever afterwards included Chandragutti and Āraga among their territories above the ghats, with Barakūr and Mangalore below the Ghats. (*E.C.* VI, Sringeri 11). According to the literary work quoted above, Chandragutti was attacked and taken. There is nothing in this work to indicate even the approximate date of this war. The poem itself is dated in 1709 A.D., and refers to events which took place in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka, who was undoubtedly a contemporary of Sadāsiva-Rāya of Vijayanagar. There are, however, a couple of inscriptions in the Coondapoor taluk, both at Basrūr, dated in 1548 and 1555 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, and one of them, the later, mentioning Sadāsiva-Nāyaka, the chief of Keladi also, in it. These probably may be taken to fix approximately the date of the subjugation of Chandragutti and its absorption into Keladi. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* II, 849, No. 19 and 850, No. 21). That, in any case, the subjugation of Āraga by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka and its absorption into his own terrritory, could not have taken place before 1550 A.D., is proved by his earliest record found in the Āraga area, in the Shimoga District in that year. Apparently, Āraga had been lost to rebel chiefs in the Chandragutti area and recovered by Vijayanagar by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka. There have been found in the Shimoga District a number of grants of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka, as ruler of Āraga, mentioning Sadāsiva-Rāya, as his suzerain. They range in date from 1550 to 1566. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 77; Sorab 429; Nagar 5; Tirthahalli 103 and 171; Nagar 1 to 4). In Nagar 5, dated in 1552, is recorded a grant of villages to Brāhmans which provides for the devolution of their property on failure of heirs. All property and jewels of the deceased, it is stated, should, in such a case, go to claimants of the same *gōtra* as the deceased. If there be no such claimants, it should go to the temple of the village. Finally, it is ordered that such property—the property of the childless—shall not be forfeited to the palace. This remission was ordered by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka as from the date of the grant.

Relations with the Portuguese.

Projected attack on Tirupati Temple, 1544 A.D.

The attitude of the Portuguese governors at Goa underwent a marked change about this time. As we have seen, there were signs of this change in their temper already in the reign of Achyuta. In 1544 A.D., Martin Alfonso De Souza, the Portuguese Governor, sent a fleet of forty-five ships under twenty-seven captains to the Eastern Coast to plunder the temple of Tirumalai (*i.e.*, on the Tirupati hill). His objective was the gold and riches stored in that temple, of which evidently exaggerated stories should have reached him. But the fleet failed of its purpose. Rāma-Rāja, having heard of the project, defeated it by advancing troops for beating off the attack. Foiled in its attempt, the fleet attacked certain temples on the Travancore Coast and returned to home waters. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 60-61, quoting *Faria-y-Souza* I. 216 and other authorities).

Treaties of 1546 and 1547 A.D.

Matters were, however, adjusted between Goa and Vijayanagar at the end of about two years. A treaty was concluded on February 26, 1546 A.D., according to which Rāma-Rāja confirmed the Portuguese in the possession of Salsette and Bardes, which they were to continue to occupy without fear of molestation. There was also to be eternal friendship between the two parties. Another treaty concluded with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh on August 22, 1548, secured to the Portuguese the same territories without question from that quarter as well. Rāma-Rāja followed up the treaty of 1546 by the despatch, in the following year, of an ambassador to Goa to conclude a more elaborate treaty with the Portuguese. The embassy was well received and a fresh treaty was signed on September 19, 1547. Under this treaty:—

(*a*) The two parties obliged themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other; and when called on to help, each was to help the other with all his forces against all Kings and Lords of India, Nizām Shāh always excepted;

(*b*) The Governor of Goa to allow all Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagar, none being sent to Bijāpur or to any of its ports. The King of Vijayanagar was bound to purchase all those that were brought to his parts on quick and proper payment;

(*c*) The king of Vijayanagar to compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast to send their goods through Honavar and Barcelore (Basrur), where Portuguese factors, kept for the purpose, were to purchase them. The King of Vijayanagar was likewise to forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the Bijāpur kingdom from any port or town of his own; these were to be brought by his merchants to the harbours in his kingdom, where they were to be quickly purchased by the Governor of Goa, without causing loss to them;

(*d*) All the cloth of the Vijayanagar kingdom was not to be sent to any port in Bijāpur but only to Ankolar or Honāvar, where the Portuguese merchants will be bound to purchase them, and exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, china silks and all other kinds of goods;

(*e*) The King of Vijayanagar was to allow no Moorish ships to stop in his ports; and if any came, he was to capture and hand them over to the Governor of Goa;

(*f*) Both parties agreed to wage war against the Ādil Shāh (of Bijāpur) and all the territories taken from him, to belong to Vijayanagar, except those to the west of the ghats, from Banda to Cintacora river, which were to belong to Goa. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 186-7; Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 63-4).

The primary object of this treaty was evidently to obtain the help of the Portuguese against Bijāpur. This, however, was not attained as the Portuguese had also entered into a treaty with it, which prevented it. (See above).

Portuguese activities on the West Coast.

During this reign, the Portuguese busied themselves in invading the territories of certain of the feudatories of Vijayanagar on the West Coast, mostly on the plea of their having withheld the tribute they had agreed to.

Attacks on Bhatkal, 1543 A.D., 1548 A.D.

The first to be thus attacked, in 1543 A.D., by Alfonso De Souza, the Portuguese Governor at Goa, was the queen of Bhatkal, whose husband had died recently at Vijayanagar. Souza landed a contingent of 1,200 men and attacked Bhatkal both by land and sea. While attempting to enter the city, he was opposed by the queen's troops, They were driven back to the city's gates and the struggle in the streets lasted for many hours. The queen encouraged her men personally and they put up a gallant fight. Despite all they could do, the city was occupied by the Portuguese by nightfall, the queen and her troops retiring to a neighbouring hill. Observing the fight of the Portuguese soldiery over the spoils, she advanced on them in such numbers that they fled in disorder and in the attempt to escape to their ships, many of them were drowned. The incensed governor ordered on the next day a fresh attack and the city was burnt and the country laid waste. Peace followed, on 17th September 1548. The queen promised to pay the tribute of rice and agreed not to allow any pirates to leave her territory and in case of failure, made herself responsible for any damages sustained by the Portuguese. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 185 and 187; Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 187-188).

Attack on Ullal and Mangalore, 1556 and 1566 A.D.

In 1556 A.D., the Portuguese attacked the queen of Ullal, on the pretext she had failed to pay the promised tribute. The city of Mangalore was plundered and a great Hindu temple destroyed. The queen submitted. Ten years later, her successor (Bukka Dēvi Chantar) was attacked on a like pretext but really to erect a fort in Mangalore and thus secure their position in it. The city was forced into and sacked, the queen escaping to the neighbouring mountain. The fort was completed in March 1566 and the queen finally agreed to the terms imposed on her. According to Cæsar Frederick, the trade of the place was "very small" at the time. (Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 189-190).

Expedition against the Portuguese at Mylapore near Madras, 1588 A.D.

The Portuguese had established themselves about 1522 A.D. at Mylapore, near Madras, and had set up a settlement of their own called St. Thomas, not far away from Mylapore. Though not large, it was "the fairest in all that of the Indies" and soon attracted considerable trade to itself. About 1558, the Franciscan Friars, at this place and Negapatam, desecrated a number of Hindu temples and destroyed the idols in them and built in their places many Christian Churches. The Jesuits who followed them also did the same. Representations were made to Rāma-Rāja, but in view of the friendship which existed between the Portuguese and Vijayanagar, and the necessity there was for the importation of horses through their aid, he did not take any action. Soon, however, a Portuguese fidalgo invited Rāma-Rāja to invade the Portuguese town, stating that its inhabitants were "most rich." Rāma-Rāja moved on it with an army five hundred thousand strong and a great deal of ammunition. At first, there was talk of offering resistance, but wiser counsels prevailed and this suggestion was dropped, as in any case the Portuguese were in Vijayanagar territory and could not wage war against the king or his representative. The chief men of the settlement received Rāma-Rāja with becoming ceremony and offered him a present of about four thousand *Cruzados*. Account was taken of the property of the inhabitants and it was found that it did not exceed even a hundred thousand *pardaos*. The fidalgo, who had given an exaggerated account of the riches of the inhabitants of the place, was duly searched for, caught and promptly put to death. A tribute of a hundred thousand *pagodas* was, all the same, exacted, half of which was paid immediately and for the payment of the balance, five hostages were secured. But Rāma-Rāja released these at Vijayanagar and sent them back, in view of their services during the retreat.

This expedition did not evidently disturb the good relations subsisting between the Portuguese at Goa and Rāma-Rāja. St. Thome flourished as a trade-centre and at the end of the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, it still continued, according to Cæsar Frederick, a great trade centre. The lading and unlading of men and merchandise was, in his opinion, simply "marvellous." (Purchas, *His Pilgrimmes*, 109). It traded largely with Pegu and Bengal, with the former in gold and sealing wax and with the latter in eatables, especially sugar. The beautiful clothes produced on the Coromandel Coast were greatly in demand in Portugal and the annual trade with Malacca in these clothes was so great that it made the merchants in St. Thome get great quantities of money. (Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, 70 *f.n.*, 2). The tribute exacted by Rāma-Rāya could not therefore have been felt to be a heavy one.

This expedition would seem to clear up a mystery connected with the Pārthasārathi temple at Triplicane. Hitherto, there has been no satisfactory explanation forthcoming as to the fragments of tombstones with Roman characters on them, one or two of which have been found quite close to the inner sanctuary. As this sanctuary is not far away from the Pallikonda Perumāl shrine, which was one of those built in 1564-5 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya, by a private individual, it is possible that this donor utilized in his construction the materials derived from the destruction wrought by Rāma-Rāja's troops during the campaign of 1588 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 25 ; App. A. No. 239 of 1903).

War against the Portuguese and the Paravas on the fishery Coast, 1544-1560 A.D.

Vitthala was engaged in another war in the south at about this time. The Paravas of the Fishery Coast had been baptized by about 1532 A.D., by a contingent of Catholic missionaries from Cochin, who had established themselves at different places on the coast. The chief of these was Punnei Kayal and it seems evident that some differences arose from the assumption of civil and criminal jurisdiction by the Portuguese over this area. The Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Vitthala and this led to an attempt to wrest from the Portuguese the area occupied by them, thus reducing both the Portuguese and the Paravas under them, simultaneously. In August 1544 A.D., Vitthala's forces attacked the Paravas, who sought refuge in the small islands facing the Cape Comorin. Punnei Kayal was also attacked, the house and boat of the Portuguese captain being set fire to. He and the inhabitants round about also fled to the islands. Tuticorin was also reduced and became the head-quarters, in all probability, of Vitthala. Vitthala's forces, however, do not appear to have marched northwards along the Coast, for his brother-in-law had been recovered before Vitthala returned to Madura.

All the same, the war against the Portuguese and the Paravas was kept up for some years longer by Vitthala. The Portuguese had extended their settlements as far as Vedalai, not far away from Rāmēsvaram, and the sandbanks of Ceylon. They kept a small garrison there and it was in 1549 A.D., under one Correa, a Portuguese captain. The rapacity of this official led to reprisals. He dug a trench close to the famous temple and prevented pilgrims from visiting it unless they paid a toll he levied. The Brāhman priests complained. A force 6,000 strong, possibly sent by Vitthala, attacked Vedalai. Correa finding defence useless made good his escape to the islands of the Coast, accompanied by a great many Paravas. The Portuguese priest, who was in charge of the Paravas, fell a victim to the lance of a Muhammadan, who formed part of the attacking forces. The fort was razed to the ground and the trench dug by Correa, duly filled. It is possible that Visvanātha, the Nāyak governor of Madura, helped in this campaign as he is spoken of in a Tamil chronicle as having helped pilgrims who used to go to Rāmēsvaram. (*History of the Karnataka Governors* in Taylor's *O. H. Mss.* II. 15). Sporadic fights continued till about the end of 1551 A.D., when a settlement was arrived at. The Paravas yielded and promised to pay an annual tribute to the Madura Nāyak, which consisted in the catch of one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would have been the equivalent of 10,000 *pardaos*. But as the Portuguese still continued in charge of the Coast, Vitthala joined forces with one Irapali, a subject of the Zamōrin of Calicut and arranged to attack them by land and sea simultaneously. Punnei Kayal was attacked by troops from the sea. The Portuguese captain in charge with his men retreated into the town, where they were captured by Vitthala's forces. The fort was occupied by Irapali, who issued a proclamation that Portuguese trade and rule was at an end. When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese there fitted up an expeditionary force of 170 men. This soon reached Punnei Kayal, where a part of it was attacked by Irapali and in the slaughter that followed on both sides, he himself perished. The commander of the Portuguese troops, reinforced by men taken from a boat bound to Negapatam, reappeared on the scene and with the aid of a few Maravas who had joined him, signally defeated and slaughtered the remnant of Irapali's forces. The Portuguese captured by Vitthala were duly ransomed and were delivered over at Tuticorin. It was probably after this that the settlement between Vijayanagar and the Portuguese as to the tribute due from the whole of the Fishery Coast was come to and it was agreed under it that the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing should be given to the Nāyak of Madura. (See on the whole subject, Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 150-162 and the authorities cited therein).

The settlement, however, did not last long. In 1560 A.D., Visvanātha, the Nāyak governor of Madura, demanded the catch of two days' fish as the tribute. He attacked Punnei Kayal. The fort was surrendered and the men in charge tried to escape in a sloop. But the tide being on the ebb, the ship could not sail, with the result all the Portuguese were captured. They agreed to ransom themselves and were set at liberty. It might be presumed that the tribute of two days' catch was agreed to. The inhabitants of Punnei Kayal were at the same time removed to a new fortress built on the opposite island of Manaar to secure them against Nāyak incursions. (*Ibid.* 165).

These successes over the Tiruvadi and the Portuguese probably justify Rāma-Rāja's assumption of the title of the Planter of a Pillar of Victory at Cape Comorin. (See *Rāmarājīyamu* in *Sources*, 182). Whether it should be taken literally or only in the metaphorical sense, is not quite clear.

Relations with the Deccan Sultāns.

The policy of Rāma-Rāja towards the Sultāns of the Deccan was one rather of expediency than principle. He joined one or more of them against the other or others as necessities required. The result was that while he made no lasting friendship or alliances, he kept them divided and derived what advantage he could, by the existence of such disunion amongst them. But this policy had its evil side as well; it induced most, if not all, the Sultāns at last to combine against him and overthrow him. Both literary works and inscriptional records fully bear out this view. Thus, in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, we hear of his warring against the Nizām of Ahmednagar and defeating him with the aid of his brothers. (*Sources*, 181-190). The *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* refers to his war against the Nizām Shāh, the Ādil Shāh, and the Barid Shāh (*i.e.*, Sultān of Bidar). (*Sources*, 178-181). In the *Sivatattvaratnākara*, we hear again of his attack on Barid Padishāh. (*Sources*, 195). In the *Vasucharitramu*, we are told of his war on the Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and of his forcing him to abjure his friendship for Ibrahīm (Kutb Shāh). (See *Sources*, 216). Finally, the *Narasabhūpālīyamu* states that he helped Kutb when he submitted to him and assisted him to win back his kingdom. In the same poem, he is said to have preserved the Sapāda (*i.e.*, the Ādil Shāh) in his kingdom on his agreeing to pay him tribute and hand over Raichur and Mudkal. Again, we are told in it that when the Nizām of Ahmednagar sought refuge with him, he lent him his help and established him firmly in his kingdom. (See *Sources*, 225-227).

Siege of Adōni, 1542 A.D.

The first recorded conflict with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh appears to have occurred in 1542 A.D., immediately after the coronation of Sadāsiva-Rāya. Taking advantage of Salakam-Timma's revolutionary activities, Ibrahīm sent a large force under Asada Khān to take Adōni. A siege commenced. Venkatādri, Rāma-Rāya's brother, advanced with a strong contingent to relieve it. A short engagement followed. Seeing the strength of Venkatādri's troops, Asada Khān raised the siege and retreated in good order, pursued by Venkatādri. In the evening, both halted, Venkatādri at a distance of about eight miles from Asada Khān. Before day-break, the Khān surprised Venkatādri's camp. Taken aback, Venkatādri fled for his life, his treasures, family and elephants falling into Asada's hands. Negotiations began, a treaty of peace was concluded and Venkatādri's family rescued without delay. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 85-7).

War against Burhan Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and his allies. Capture of Kalyāna.

Shortly afterwards, Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur induced Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to join him in an attack on Bidar and Vijayanagar. Ibrahīm was to attack Vijayanagar and Burhān was to invade Amir Barid Shāh's territories. On Burhān invading Bidar, Amir Barid Shāh arranged for its defence and unaware of the secret pact, hastened to Ibrahīm, his old ally, who promptly clapped him into prison. Having done this, Ibrahīm marched against Vijayanagar, and siezed a great part of its territories. (*Ferishta*, III, 387). So says Ferishta, though it is not clear which part of Vijayanagar he actually did annex. However this might be, Rāma-Rāja made up his mind to chastise Burhān Nizām Shāh as the sole author of this unprovoked attack on him. Seeing that he had to pass through Golconda and Bidar to reach Burhān's territories, he divided his troops into three divisions, one under his personal command to attack Golconda; the second under his brother Tirumala, to attack the Sultān of Bidar; and the third under one *Hande* Hanumappa Nāyudu of Sonnalāpuram, to attack Ahmednagar. A decisive battle was fought. Kalyāna was taken, and reduced to ashes; the Nizām Shāh and his Vazirs sought shelter in the forests as if they were old trees (*musali mānulu*), there being a play upon these words which together would mean *Musalman* here. As regards Kalyāna, it is stated that this Rāma (Rāma-Rāja) captured it with the aid of a world of friends (*Visvā mitrulu*) like that other Rāma (the epic hero) who attained prosperity (*Kalyāna*) by seeing Visvāmitra (the great *Rishi*). Thus both the Rāmas, (the epic hero and Rāma-Rāja) obtained Kalyāna (in the senses abovementioned). (See *Sources* under *Vasucharitramu*, Text, 218). The Telugu Chronicle, the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, in giving an account of this campaign, makes it plain that the defeat inflicted on the three allied Sultāns was so crushing that they had to flee from the battle-field, hotly pursued by Rāma-Rāja's troops. Burhān was taken prisoner by *Hande* Hanumappa and the city of Ahmednagar was destroyed and ploughed down with castor seeds, the traditional mode of laying waste a conquered country and rendering its soil unfit for cultivation. (See *Sources*, *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 185.) Because, of these great successes against Kalyāna and Ahmednagar, he is given the titles of *Kalyānapuravarādhīsvara* (Ruler of the city of Kalyān), *Kalyāna-nagarasādhaka* (Capturer of the city of Kalyān) and *Amudānagara Sālabhanjana*, (Destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmednagar). (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 186). Once in Rāma-Rāja's hands, Burhān Nizām Shāh was compelled to forswear his alliance with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh (see *Sources*, under *Vasucharitramu*, Text, 218) and give up all idea of claiming Kalyāna. (*Ibid*. Text, which records that he did not even *dream* of claiming it back). Burhān regained his liberty but never forgave Rāma-Rāja the indignity he had poured on him.

Attack on Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. Attempt on Raichur, 1544 A.D.

About 1544 A.D., Rāma-Rāja joined Burhān Nizām Shāh and Jamshid Kutb Shāh in an attack on Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. (*Ferishta* II, 230). Burhān's object was to secure the territory he had had to yield to Ibrahīm some time back, while Rāma-Rāja was desirous of wresting back Raichur. While the Sultān of Golconda occupied the whole country up to the walls of Gulburga, Burhān entered the Bijāpur territory and defeated Ādil Shāh's troops and laid waste his country. Venkatādri, under Rāma-Rāja's direction, endeavoured to retake Raichur. He defeated Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh on the banks of the Bhima and drove him from the field. The *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, in referring to this war, with poetic exaggeration, states that the Ādil Shāh being thus beaten, sued for peace by kissing the feet of Rāma-Rāja. (See *Sources*, under *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, Text, 226). Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh thus reduced sought the counsel of Asada Khān. Separate peace was made with Rāma-Rāja, and Burhān Nizām Shāh and Jamshid Kutb Shāh being thus isolated, were attacked by Asada Khān and defeated at Golconda. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 92-4).

Loss of Kalyāna and its recapture, 1548 A.D.

About the close of 1548 A.D., shortly after the death of Asada Khān, Burhān Nizām Shāh joined Rāma-Rāja in an attack on Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh treated the ambassadors of Rāma-Rāja with scant courtesy. Their lives being in danger, they managed to escape from his capital and returned home. Enraged at this conduct, Rāma-Rāja declared war. There was an additional cause for his doing so. Kalyāna had been recovered and Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar had made an alliance with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh to protect himself against any possible attacks. The troops of Rāma-Rāja, under the command of Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka of Ikkēri, marched against Kalyāna, where they were joined by Burhān Nizām Shāh with his own troops. The invaders were attacked by the Bijāpur troops, but these were signally defeated by Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka. Rāma-Rāja himself meanwhile joined with fresh troops. The fortress of Kalyāna was invested and Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh advanced to relieve it. Ibrahīm so blocked the roads to the city that great distress prevailed among the allied troops besieging the fortress. After considerable deliberation, the allies made a sudden attack at dawn on Ibrahīm who was thoroughly unprepared for it. He and his troops accordinghly fled and the allies turning back on the fortress, attacked it vigorously. Kalyāna surrendered (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 233-5) and was evidently occupied by Rāma-Rāja. This is, perhaps, the reason why he is called not merely the "capturer" of Kalyāna but also its "ruler." (See above). Sadāsiva-Rāya-Nāyaka's part in this war is detailed at great length in the *Sivatattvaratnākara.* (See *Sources*, 195). He was ennobled and given the title of *Kōtikolāhala* and was made Governor of Chandragutti, Bārkur and Pangalur and was allowed the unique privilege of styling himself "Rāya-Nāyaka." (*Ibid.*).

Prince Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh at Vijayanagar, 1550 A.D.

About 1550 A.D., Jamshid Kutb Shāh of Golconda showed signs of insanity. He became such a terror to his own people that two of his brothers, Ibrahīm and Haidar Khān, fled and sought protection at Bidar. Here, Haidar Khān soon died. Kāsīm Barīd Shāh, the Sultān of Bidar, soon tried to annex the private property and elephants of Ibrahīm. Ibrahīm escaped to Rāma-Rāja, who gave him asylum by conferring an estate on him. This estate had been till then in the enjoyment of Ambar Khān, an Abyssinian, who, in consequence, was called out and killed in the streets of Vijayanagar. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 328; see also 382).

Rāma-Rāja helps him to win the Golconda throne.

Meanwhile, Jamshid died and the nobles elevated his infant son, Subhān Kūli to the throne with Āin-ul-Mulk as Regent. This proved unacceptable to the people, at whose instance Ibrahīm was induced to return and become king. Rāma-Rāja agreed to send a large force under his brother, Venkatādri, in support of his candidature. Thus aided, both from within and without, Ibrahīm ascended the throne, with Mustapha Khān as his minister. (See Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 327-9; also 380-3 and 392). The help that Rāma-Rāja rendered in this connection is reflected in the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, where we are told in unequivocal terms that Rāma-Rāja assisted Kutb Mulk (*i.e.*, Ibrahīm) to win back his lost throne. (See *Sources*, under *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, Text, 225).

Ibrahim Ādil Shāh's attempt to re-take Kalyāna, 1551 A.D.

In 1551 A.D., Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh prepared to retake Kalyāna. This induced an alliance between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and Rāma-Rāja. The latter chiefs agreed that while Rāma-Rāja should capture Raichur and Mudkal, he should help Burhān to take Sholapur and Gulburga.

Capture of Raichur by Rāma-Rāja, 1551 A.D.

Raichur was taken and Mudkal soon surrendered. Rāma-Rāja detached a force under Venkatādri to help Burhān to capture Sholapur, which was taken. Meanwhile, Venkatādri and Burhān evidently fell out and Venkatādri returned to Vijayanagar. Gulburga accordingly remained unaffected. Shortly after, Burhān died and was succeeded by his son Hussain Nizām Shāh, who concluded a treaty of peace with Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 104-5 and 235). The frequent fights that Rāma-Rāja indulged in against Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur were evidently with the object of winning back Raichur and Mudkal which had been lost in the first year of the reign of Achyuta. (Mr. Sewell seems to be in error in stating at page 166 of his work, *A Forgotten Empire*, that after the recapture of these places in 1530 A.D., by Bijāpur, they were never again subject to Hindu princes. It cannot be reconciled with his statement at page 190 of the same work, where, after their capture by Rāma-Rāja in 1551 A.D., he says, "the Doab was thus once more restored to the Hindu sovereign.") The successive campaigns against Bijāpur won for Rāma-Rāja the title of *Vijayapura Bhaya-Dāyaka*, or "terrifier of the city of Bijāpur"; *Rāchurū-rājya harana Dhurya*, or "capturer of the province of Raichur"; *Muduganti-durghādināyaka*, or "Ruler of the fort of Mudkal" etc. (See *Sources* under *Rāma-rājīyamu*, 182 and Text, 186-7).

Rāma-Rāja, an ally of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, 1555 A.D.

The tide soon turned. In 1555, Hussain Nizām Shāh formed an alliance against Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh with a view to the capture of the fortress of Gulburga. They commenced a siege but a month passed and still it held out. An assault was at last delivered but it not only failed of its purpose but ended in great loss to the allies. The siege, however, continued. Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, reduced to great straits, sought the aid of Rāma-Rāja, who marched in person with a large army. He sent a diplomatic letter to Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh, while, at the same time, he asked Tirumala, his brother, to lay waste the Kutb Shāh's territory. This diversion and the presence of Rāma-Rāja himself at Gulbarga had their effect. The Kutb Shāh deserted his ally Hussain Nizām Shāh and suddenly left with his forces to his capital. This flight had the desired effect on Hussain Nizām Shāh, who raised the siege and returned to Ahmednagar. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 396-7; see also *Burhan-i-Māasir*, in *I.A.S.* 101-2).

Helps to repel an attack on Gulburga, 1555.

Helps in expelling Ain-ul-Mulk 1555.

Shortly afterwards, Rāma-Rāja was called upon to help Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh to expel Ain-ul-Mulk, who had rebelled against his sovereign. Venkatādri advanced with a large contingent, and Ain-ul-Mulk was so badly defeated that he fled for his life to Ahmednagar, where he was put to death by Hussain Nizām Shāh. (*Ibid.*, *Ferishta* I, 100-111).

Flight of Alī Ādil Shāh to Vijayanagar, 1557.

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh died in 1557 A.D. and his youthful son Āli Shāh succeeded him. Taking advantage of the opportunity offered, Hussain Nizām Shāh advanced on Gulbarga, which Āli Ādil Shāh evacuated and ran off, attended by a small body-guard, to Rāma-Rāja at Vijayanagar. Ferishta tells the story that Rām-Rāja had just then lost a son and that his queen adopted the young Alī as her son! Rāma-Rāja on being condoled, promised his aid to Alī and soon advanced with a large force on Ahmednagar. The country was laid waste, the havoc being so great that the population fled in all directions. Hussain Nizām Shāh himself fled to Paithan and finally purchased peace by surrendering Kalyāna to Alī Ādil Shāh. What benefit Rāma-Rāja secured for the great aid he rendered to Alī is not clear from Ferishta. But we seem to get a clue for his real object in the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*, where we are told that he helped the *Sapādu* (*i.e.*, Ādil Shāh) to win back his kingdom on condition that he paid as tribute (*Kappamu*) the countries of Raichur and Mudkal. (See *Sources*, Text, 225). Apparently, Rāma-Rāja's possession of these places after their last conquest was confirmed by Alī Ādil Shāh as the price of the help rendered by him against Hussian Nizām Shāh.

Rāma-Rāja's attack on Ahmednagar and restoration of Alī Ādil Shāh.

Alī Ādil Shāh's confirmation of the conquests of Raichur and Mudkal.

Hussain Nizām Shāh's attempt to re-take Kalyan, 1557 A.D.

Hussain Nizām Shāh, however, would not accept defeat. He soon patched up an alliance with Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh and attempted to re-take Kalyāna, which he had just ceded to Alī Ādil Shāh. Alī once again indented on Rāma-Rāja for help. He advanced with a huge army and in conjunction with Alī, called on Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh to join them, in accordance with the terms of the latest treaty, in attacking Hussain Nizām Shāh. He formally complied with the request but secretly sent word to Hussain that he would induce the allies to withdraw. Rāmā-Rāja's troops devastated the country on their march and on their reaching Ahmednagar, Hussain evacuated

Alī Ādil Shāh seeks Rāma-Rāja's aid.

it, after throwing plentiful supplies into it. The place was invested with great vigour for two months, when Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh interposed, with the liberal aid of money, that the allied troops should withdraw. The Ādil Shāh, however, seeing that Ahmednagar cannot resist longer, induced Rāma-Rāja to stay on. He offered Rāma-Rāja Indigy (the *Indraji* of the *Rāma-rājīyamu*; see *Sources*, Text, 185) if he continued the siege. Rāma-Rāja prosecuted the siege with increased vigour and the fortress would have capitulated but for Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh who allowed provisions and artillery to pass into it through his camp. Meanwhile, Ibrahīm sent his minister, Mūstapha Khān and prevailed on Rāma-Rāja to raise the siege in return for the cession of the fort and district of Kondapalli to him. Rāma-Rāja immediately raised the siege and returned homewards, informing Alī Ādil Shāh. His allies did the same, and thus Ahmednagar was saved. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. 117-22; 402-5; *Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A.* L. 104-6; 141-2; also see *Sources* under *Rāma-rājīyamu*, Text, 185 and 186-7 where Rāma-Rāja's titles of *Indragipurā-dhyakshāsidu* "or ruler of the city of Indigy" and *Kondapalliharana*, or "capturer of the fort of Kondapalli" are mentioned.)

Hussain Nizam Shah's fresh attempt to take Kalyāna, 1558 A.D.

Hussain Nizām Shāh effected, in 1558 A.D., a marriage alliance with Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh by giving his eldest daughter in marriage to him. As the festivities closed, they laid siege to Kalyāna. Alī Ādil Shāh called for the intervention of Rāma-Rāja, who advanced with a large contingent to the place. He was subsequently joined by Alī Barid Shāh of Bidār and Burhān Imad Shāh of Berār. Hussain Nizām Shāh's misfortune knew no end. A hurricane blew just at the moment he was bringing in his cattle and artillery and the latter got stuck up in the clay and became immovable. Rāma-Rāja also sent his brother Venkatādri and a few others to attack the southern parts of

Attack repelled by Rāma-Rāja's intervention.

Golconda, thus causing a diversion. The diversion proved successful, for though opposed, a number of places were taken by the generals sent, including Kondapalli, Masulipatam, Dēvarakonda, Gāndikōta, Indrakonda, Pangal, Ravilkonda and numerous other places. (*Ferishta* III, 407-9; see also *Rāma-Rājīyamu* in *Sources*, Text, 186-7). Hussain and Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh were thus compelled to raise the siege and return to their capitals. Hussain made peace with Rāma-Rāja by ceding Kalyāna to Alī Ādil Shāh and paying a ceremonial visit to Rāma-Rāja and accepting betel at his hands, in token of the latter's superiority. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 120-1, 239-43 and 331, 406-7; see also Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 90, *f.n.* 1 and 92, *f.n.* 1).

Devastation of enemy territory.

Mention has been made above of the havoc created by Rāma-Rāja's troops in the territories of the enemy on their marches, especially at Ahmednagar. Ferishta states that these devastations wounded the religious feelings of the Muhammadans, inasmuch as several of their mosques and sacred objects were damaged by the troops. Rāma-Rāja was probably unaware of such damage; in any case, it cannot be presumed that he would have ordered such gross and wilful damage of *religious* edifices and objects. However that may have been, the impression left by such wanton destruction appears to have been a most painful one and invited reprisals later, on Vijayanagar itself. "The infidels of Beejanuggur," writes Ferishta, "who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Koraun. They committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable worship in the holy places." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 403-5; see also III, 120-1; 239-43 and 331).

Pretender Abdulla put down with Rāma-Rāja's aid, 1555-1557 A.D.

Not long after, the active intervention and military aid of Rāma-Rāja was sought by Alī Ādil Shāh to put down the pretensions of his uncle Prince Abdullah called Meale or Meale Khān in the Portuguese writings of the period. This prince had, at the instigation of Asada Khān, sought asylum at Goa, where the Portuguese had proclaimed him Sultān and had obtained from him the cession of Salsette and Bardez. Burhān Nizām Shāh had also had a hand in this transaction. The Portuguese captured Penda on behalf of the Pretender who, aided by them, rapidly advanced on Bijāpur. Some of the nobles at Gulburga having declared themselves in his favour, Alī Ādil Shāh requested Rāma-Rāja to help him. Rāma-Rāja sent a strong force, with whose aid Alī so signally defeated Abdulla that he sought asylum at Ahmednagar. Meanwhile, Burhān had concluded a treaty of peace with Alī and Rāma-Rāja and so he was compelled to keep Abdulla closely confined. He was later allowed to proceed to Goa, where he died. (See Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 98-100; also Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 92-94).

First expedition against Ceylon, 1546 A.D.

Vitthala also claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1905; No. 129 of 1905). Apparently he sent forces against the king of Kandy. This is probably the same event which is referred to in a letter, dated 6th December 1546 from Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa, to King Joas III, though the date is wrongly given in the inscriptional record. It is possible Visvanātha also joined in this invasion. The king of Kandy had evidently failed to pay his tribute to the Vijayanagar king and had invited trouble on himself. Though helped by Castro, it is evident he was defeated by the combined forces of Vitthala and Visvanātha and compelled to yield. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 169-170, *f.n.* 5).

Second expedition, 1563 A.D.

About 1563 A.D., or thereabouts—the date is not certain—the king of Kandy again failed in his duty to the Vijayanagar sovereign. Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the son of Visvanātha, to enforce the tribute, which apparently had fallen into arrears since the last war, led an army 20,000 strong, under Chinna Kēsava Nāyaka and attacked the king of Kandy. The opposing forces met at Puttalam. The Kandian army was defeated, but the chief, against the advice of his minister, gathered together 60,000 troops and 10,000 Kaffūrs (probably Portuguese) and gave battle in person. His forces were defeated and he himself was among the slain. Krishnappa-Nāyaka appointed one Vijayagōpāla-Nāyaka as Viceroy, and returned home. (See *ibid.* 169-171; Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 70-72, quoting Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue Raissonne of Mackenzie Mss.*, III, 183-6). The *Singla Dvīpa Catha*, which furnishes the above account, does not state when this event took place. In an inscription from Tiruttani, dated in 1564-5, Cyclic year *Rakthākshi*, king Sadāsiva-Rāya boasts of having looted Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; App. B. No. 451 of 1905). It is probable that this record refers to the expedition of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, who undertook it evidently as a Vijayanagar governor. A prince of the Vijayanagar family Venkata I, surnamed Vīra-Vasantarāya (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; App. No. 5 of 1905-1906) apparently took part in this campaign. According to one record, dated in 1565-6 A.D., from Tārāmangalam, in the Salem District (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 82; App. B. No. 19), recording the grant of Īlamsamudra (after *Īlam*, Ceylon) to the Kailāsam and Īlamīsvara or Lankēsvara temples, named evidently after *Lanka* and another from Tachchūru, dated in 1568 A.D., we learn that this Prince should have begun to date his records in his own regnal years. He was evidently ruling independently from 1567 A.D., *i.e.*, a couple of years from the battle of Talikota. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 49; No. 163 of 1905). These invasions of Ceylon and the exaction of tribute from it and the putting down of the king of Tiruvadi-rājya were doubtless the reasons why Sadāsiva came to be credited with the acquisition of the overlordship of the south. (See Vellangudi plates of Venkata II in *E.I.* XVI, 320).

Vitthala was evidently an intrepid and valiant general. He was viceroy of the south, which included the present Madura, Coimbatore and Salem Districts, and probably also Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78). In a record of his dated in 1544-5 A.D., found at Tiruvidaimarudūr, he is described as *Vīrapratāpa Srīmān mahāmandalēsvara* and given the title of *Mahārāja.* (*Ibid.* 1895, App. B. No. 140). In a record at Koiladi, in the Tanjore District, dated in 1545-6, is referred a gift by him to the Ranganātha temple there. (*M.E.R.* 1901; App. No. 273 of 1901). Another record of the same year registers another gift to the temple on the Ratnagiri hill at Trichinopoly (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 191 of 1914). According to certain inscriptions of his, found in a temple in Madura city, he is said to have governed from 1547-1558, or for a period of twelve years. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 78; Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, II, 224). Visvanātha-Nāyak, the governor of Madura, acknowledges his subordination to Vitthala in a record dated in 1550 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1917, No. 599 of 1916; see also No. 721 of 1915). It was during his viceroyalty that the *mantapa* in front of the Alagar temple was built. (*M.E.R.* 1912; App. B. No. 557 of 1911). In another inscription found in this temple, dated in 1551 A.D., is registered a gift of three villages by way of gift from a local chief "for the merit of Rāmarāja-Vitthaladēva-Mahārāja." (*Ibid.* No. 559 of 1911). An agent of his was one Rāmappa-Nāyak, who is mentioned in a record dated in 1552 A.D.; another was Timmappa-Nāyaka, son of Basavappa-Nāyaka. The three latter are grants "for the merit" of Vitthala to the Alagar temple. (*M.E.R.* 1912; Nos. 557 to 559 of 1911). Basava was evidently an officer of his. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6 of 1906, dated in *Saka* 1459 or 1537 AD., which is too early for Sadāsiva in whose reign it professes to be dated).

Vitthala should have produced a great impression by his conquests in the south and by the gifts that followed them. An undated record from Shiyāli, which professes to give his genealogy, traces his descent from certain mythical ancestors, through the western Chālukyas. As its historical portion is confirmed from other sources, this genealogy might be taken to be an attempt to glorify the great general, whose conquests, devastations, and foundations of villages in the Madura district are all mentioned in it. Incidentally, we hear that one Kandala-Srīrangarāya was his *guru*, *i.e.*, family *guru*. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; App. B. No. 401 of 1918).

Results of his active warlike policy.

The result of these different wars in which Rāma-Rāja engaged during the twenty-three years his administration lasted doubtless added to his prestige as a ruler. It should have made his name as much feared as respected in almost every part of India south of the Nerbuddha. There is scarcely any doubt that he was, at the time, the most powerful monarch in the South. The *Rāmarājīyamu* makes this plain as much as Ferishta and the anonymous Golconda historian. Evidently his position as the military dictator of his day and as the arbiter of the destinies of his neighbours roused not merely their personal malice against him but also their inveterate hatred against the State whose wealth and resources in men he commanded to the discomfiture of his pestilentially quarrelsome neighbours. Individually they appear to have forgotten the help they sought or got from him, while collectively they combined in a confederacy to undo him and his kingdom. His personal bearing, in which there was certainly something more than a mere tinge of hauteur, as much as his reckless diplomacy, appear to have contributed not a little to bring down on him the malignant enmity of almost every one of those beyond the northern border who had had his active aid for securing his own personal aims or ambitions. He had in turn displeased the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Ahmednagar and Golconda, and as regards the two others, the Sultān of Bidar had also suffered at his hands, while he of the Berars was a negligible quantity. All these now agreed to put him down. He had no friends among them and the combination against him proved, as we shall see, too strong, for once, for him.

Rāma-Rāja, the astute politician that he was, cannot but have foreseen the possibilities of incurring the enmity of his erstwhile friends and allies. He had so often himself played the game of friend and foe in turn to the same neighbour that he could not have had any misgiving about such a contingency. Hence it is that we hear of his strengthening the defences of his capital, of his fortifying the hills along his northern frontier, and of his ever being ready for an encounter from any side. But even he, always watchful, always ready to take advantage of his enemy's weaknesses, and always anxious to keep the warring Sultāns engaged in their own interminable quarrels and jealousies, forgot for a moment the diplomacy in which he revelled and plunged into a war from which he was never destined to return home alive and victorious.

The primary causes of the war.

The primary cause of the war, then, was the hatred engendered in the minds of the leading Sultāns of the north against the immense power wielded by Rāma-Rāja in the south, his great resources in men and money and the authoritative manner in which he interfered in their disputes, inquired into and settled them, or appeared to do so, always with an eye for his own interests.

The proximate causes.

The more proximate causes were five in number:—

(*a*) the excesses committed Rāma-Rāja's troops in the city of Ahmednagar and the disrespect shown to Islam by them in the areas through which they passed;

(*b*) the destruction of buildings and devastation of territory indulged in by them;

(*c*) the scant regard shown by Rāma-Rāja to the Sultāns and their ambassadors, whom, when he admitted to his presence, he "did not suffer them to sit and treated them with the most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness," making them "to attend on him in public in his train on foot, not allowing them to mount until he gave orders";

(*d*) the insolent behaviour of his officers and soldiers in general towards the Mussalmans on the occasion of the last expedition against Ahmednagar; and

(*e*) the daily encroachments he made on the territories of the Muhammadan Sultāns, the latest being the annexation of parts of the territories of Bijāpur and Golconda.

Formation of a confederacy of Sultāns.

In one word, Rāma-Rāja's successes had reached their culminating point and his general attitude became unbearable to the Sultāns across the border. Alī Ādil Shāh, who had been helped again and again by him, and who professed a filial regard towards Rāma-Rāja, was the first to move in the matter of forming a confederacy of Muhammadan chiefs against him. "Alī Ādil Shāh," says Ferishta, "at length resolved, if possible, to punish his insolence and curtail his power by a general league of the faithful against him; for which purpose he convened an assembly of his friends and confidential advisers." A couple of these urged that Alī's desire "to humble the pride" of Rāma-Rāja was "undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic," but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Rāma-Rāja, collected from sixty sea-ports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force against which no single king of the Mussalmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success. Alī agreed with this view and commanded the formation of a league. Kishwar Khān, one of the two advisers referred to, sounded Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, who readily fell in with the proposal and even offered to mediate between Alī and Hussain Nizām Shāh, who never could agree on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur. He accordingly sent Mustafa Khān, one of his ablest ministers, to Ahmednagar and Bijāpur with a view to bring about a reconciliation between them and if possible to cement it by a family connection. (*Ferishta* III, 124-5). Hussain Nizām Shāh, forewarned of the importance of the proposals to be made, received Mustafa in private audience. Thus cordially welcomed, Mustafa expounded the objective aimed at in a manner at once impressive and convincing. According to Ferishta :—

> "He represented to him that during the times of Bhamenee (Bāhmani) princes, when the whole strength of the Mussalman power was in one hand, the balance between it and the force of the Roies (Rāyas) of Beejanuggar was nearly equal; that now the Mussulman authority was divided, policy demanded that all the faithful princes should unite as one, and observe the strictest friendship, that they might continue to be secure from the attacks of their powerful common enemy, and the authority of the Roies of Beejanuggar, who had received all the rājas of Carnatic to their yoke, be diminished, and removed far from the countries of Islaam; that the people of their several dominions, who ought to be considered the charge of the Almighty committed to their care, might repose free from the oppressions of the unbelievers and their mosques and holy places be made no longer the dwellings of infidels." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 124-5).

Was Hussain Nizam Shāh its chief promoter?

Hussain Nizām Shāh, who had nursed the greatest ill-will against Rāma-Rāja and whose territories had suffered the most at the latter's hands, concurred in the proposals made. Couto, indeed, goes so far as to state that the idea of the league originated with Hussain. Whether this was so or not, there is no doubt whatever that he was the most conspicuous enemy on the battle-field and according to his court-poet, he alone fought against Rāma-Rāja and defeated him! So far as he was concerned, the opportunity for wreaking vengeance was too good to be lost. He agreed to the terms of reconciliation between him and Alī. He was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Alī and with it the fort of Sholapur as her dowry; Alī, in return, was to give his sister, Falah Bibi, to Hussain Nizām Shāh's eldest son. The marriages were duly celebrated at both the capitals and the preparation for the war began in right earnest. (*Ferishta*, III, 125; 413).

Those who joined it.

Among those who joined the confederacy were the following:—Alī Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda and Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar. Of these, the first three were concerned both in the fighting and in the making of peace, while Alī Barid Shāh is spoken of as having only made preparations for the war. Couto adds to these four, Burhān Imad Shāh of Berar, which would make the confederacy one embracing all the five Sultāns of the south. This, however, is not certain as one authority definitely states that the Sultān of Berar did not join the others as he cordially disliked Hussain Nizām Shāh and would not fight on his side. (See *Ferishta*, III, 126, 246; *Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A.* L. 144; Couto VIII, 88; *Basatīn-us-Salatin*, 95). The Mahratta account states that Akbar had also joined the league, his name being mentioned first. (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar* in the *Account* of the second conference of the Bharata Itihasa Samshōdhaka Mandal, 170). This statement, however, seems not well founded. Anquetil du Perron omits the Sultān of Bidar and mentions

Melique, the insignificant chief of Dabril in the Konkan. (See H. Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 198, *f.n.* 3).

Alī Ādil Shah's dubious conduct.

That Alī Ādil Shāh took a prominent part in the formation of the league and in the war, there is hardly any question. But there are one or two circumstances which indicate that he should have done much behind the scenes before he actually came into the open, so much so that the anonymous chronicler of Golconda states, as we have seen, that it was Hussain Nizām Shāh who took the lead in the formation of the league. Alī was a more cunning and artful man; there was something of the theatrical in his nature, judging from the manner in which he curried the sympathy of Rāma-Rāja when he found himself in trouble. Such a man could not openly have taken the lead against his benefactor. While acting secretly, he should have contrived to find a good pretext why he should declare himself against Rāma-Rāja. That he succeeded in an attempt of this nature seems all but certain. The Mahratta version of the war seems to confirm this view. It would seem to follow from it that when Alī protested against the war and would not join it, the other Sultāns sent word to him that he should allow them passage through his territory and that he should also join with his army. Alī, on hearing this, replied, it is said: "As I call myself a friend of Rāma-Rāj, I am sorry I cannot help you." (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, in *B.I.S.M.* 1914, 170). What happened subsequently and how he came to join them against his old "friend," is reflected in *Ferishta.* When things were getting ready for the attack, Alī sent an embassy, we are told, to Rāma-Rāja demanding the restoration of Raichur, Mudkal and a few other places which had been taken by him in 1551 A.D. (See above). "As he expected," says Ferishta, "Ramaraje expelled the ambassador in a very disgraceful manner from his

His treachery.

court; and the united Sultāns now hastened the preparations to crush the common enemy of the Islaam faith." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 126). It would seem that Alī pretended friendship till the moment arrived for action and then declared himself an enemy by putting forward his claim for the territories in the debatable ground, a claim that was always ready at hand for declaring war against his southern neighbour. The story of the ambassador's expulsion is not told in *Ferishta* but Hindu annals fully detail it. On the envoy going to an audience of Rāma-Rāja, he passed on his way some swine intended to be given to the menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of these unclean animals to the Rāja, the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and asked how he could hold them as unclean, when he fed upon fowls, who picked up grains from the ordure of swine, and took an opportunity of showing him the fact. The insult roused, it is said, Ādil Shāh to arms and he was readily joined by his brother Sultāns. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection of Mss.*, 268-9). Wilson does not mention his authority for this story beyond mentioning that it is narrated in "Hindu records." He is at any rate wrong in stating that the ruling Bijāpur Sultān was Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, for we know that it was Alī who was ruling at the time of this war. Perhaps, the whole story is a later invention, though it may be that the envoy might not have been pleased with the treatment received from Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja, if Ferishta is to be believed, was evidenty less polished and courtly in his manners than Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, his father-in-law, and refused to treat them with becoming dignity.

The story of the envoy and the swine, a later invention.

The confederate Sultāns accordingly met with their respective armies at Bijāpur and began their march south on December 25, 1564. Soon, they encamped on the neighbourhood of Talikota, 25 miles north of the Krishna.

Advance of the confederate troops to Talikota.

The opposing troops and their strength.

Their total strength, according to Portuguese writers, was 50,000 horse and 3,000 foot. The Bijāpur forces were commanded by Kishwar Khan; the Ahamadnagar, by Maulana Ināyatullah, and the Golconda by Mustafa Khan. Rāma-Rāja's army consisted, according to Ferishta, of 70,000 horse and 90,000 infantry. Rāma-Rāja, and his two brothers, Venkatādri and Tirumala, commanded it. The Mahratta version states that Rāma-Rāja, before departing for war, visited in turn his queens and his mother, the latter of whom advised him to settle matters by negotiation. It is said he had dreams foreboding evil, but still he was not to be deterred. He distributed alms and soon joined his forces. (See Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, 171-2). The camp was evidently a large one, for every one in Vijayanagar, who owned a horse, had been ordered to join the colours and proceed to the front. Horses, elephants, camels, stores, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses, and corn stores, were all in the neighbourhood of the camp. (*Ibid.* 172). Evidently, Rāma-Rāja had not to any extent diminished the splendour of the camp equipment which, we know, was in vogue in the days of his illustrious father-in-law. (See above under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya*).

Crossing the ford and arrival at Raksas-Tagidi.

The allied forces leaving Talikota, about twenty-five miles north of the Krishna, marched southwards to the river and began laying waste the territories of Rāma-Rāja. Venkatādri and Tirumala had meanwhile advanced to the river and had encamped on its south bank, where they constructed field fortifications, supporting them by cannon and rockets. Tirumala had, with a strong force, occupied all the fords of the Krishna. The Allies, on arriving at the river, found the defending force entrenched on the right bank, behind earthworks mounted with cannon, and in such a position as effectually to bar the passage of the river. As this was the only point where their troops could safely cross, the Allies resolved by a feint to draw their opponents out of the position. They accordingly marched along the river as if to attempt a passage at a different point, and were followed on the other side by the Hindu army. But on the third night, they suddenly decamped, and gaining the now undefended ford, succeeded in carrying over their whole army, without opposition. Hussain Nizām-Shāh was among the first to cross the river. On the next day, the vanguards of both forces met some ten miles of the river at or about Mudkal, the celebrated fortress. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 199 *f.n.* 2).

Identification of the ford crossed.

The ford crossed by the allied troops has been identified by Mr. Sewell with the bend of the river at Ingaligi, and in his opinion, the decisive battle was fought in the plains about the little village of Bāyapur or Bhōgapur, on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal. (*Ibid.*)

Place where the battle took place, Raksas-Tagidi.

But a more recent suggestion has been made that the opposing armies met not far away from the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which, when put together, give us the convenient combined designation of Raksas-Tagdi. As the name is mentioned both in the Kannada and Marathi accounts of the battle, it has been, in the interests of historical accuracy, denominated the battle of Raksas-Tagidi. (See Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 203, *f.n.* 2 and the authorities quoted therein). As the battle did not take place at Talikota, which is twenty-five miles *north* of the Krishna, but at Raksas-Tagidi, which is about ten miles *south* of the same river, it seems right that the proposed change in the name for the battle should be accepted, though it is difficult easily to displace so famous a name as Talikota.

Allied proposals for peace rejected.

Ferishta states that before the forces joined battle, the Allied Sultāns made overtures to Rāma-Rāja, "promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army." Rāma-Rāja, however, "refused to listen to any accommodation." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 27). This is possible, though their solemn mutual promises and preparations seem to belie the genuineness of the proposal they made. It is possible too, as Father Heras has suggested, that this is a purple-patch added by Ferishta "to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement." It is not difficult to understand Rāma-Rāja's refusal of the offer, if one had been really made to him. He had evidently been exasperated at the conduct of the confederates and had determined to fight them to the finish. The events showed that he was not far wrong in his calculations, though his capture demoralized his forces and turned a victory into a debacle.

The battle of Raksas-Tagidi.

The disposition of the opposing armies.

Rāma-Rāja had, meanwhile, joined the army after reconnoitring the surroundings. His advanced guards, in charge of this work, came into conflict with those of the Allied army and forced them to retreat. As Rāma-Rāja was having his meal, he heard that the enemy was in sight. Utterly undismayed, he quickly mounted a horse and put his forces in battle order. It was the 25th of January, 1565, exactly a month after the confederates began their march south from the plains of Bijāpur. The Allied right was commanded by Alī Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, the left by Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar and Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, and the centre by Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar. Rāma-Rāja entrusted his left to his brother Tirumala, his right to his other brother Venkatādri, and himself commanded the centre. The Allies guarded their front with a line of cannon, fastened together with strong chains and ropes. These gun carriages were arranged in three lines of two hundred each, the whole in command of one Chalabi Rumi Khan, a well-known officer from Asia Minor who had seen service in Europe. The elephants had been placed at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being, as usual, armed with sharp sword blades. Rāma-Rāja's front was protected by a large number of trained and armed war elephants, as well as cannon. Before the battle, Venkatādri and Tirumala induced Rāma-Rāja to leave the conduct of operations to them, his age being against him. But he would not listen and asked them to go back to the posts assigned to them. He harangued his forces to stand firm and resolutely give battle to the enemy. He had, he said, so far won all the wars he had been engaged in, without being disgraced and at his age (Ferishta says he was eighty years old then), he did not want to disgrace himself by being dubbed a coward. Any one overcome by fear, he said, was free to depart while there was yet time and thus save his life. His brothers and his troops swore that they would fight to the death. Rāma-Rāja, thus assured, mounted his litter of State, despite the entreaties of his officers, who entreated that he would be much safer on horse-back. But so sure was he of the quick defeat of the enemy that he exclaimed :—" There is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who certainly fly on the first charge; this is not war." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 128-9). The battle opened at about noon from Rāma-Rāja's side. Venkatādri, as the recognized Commander-in-Chief, began by attacking the forces opposing him under Alī Ādil Shāh. He had under him 200,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry and 500 elephants. A rapid discharge of artillery and rockets inflicted great loss on the enemy, which evidently fell back. Alī, in fact, was forced to leave the position assigned to him. Soon, a general action ensued accompanied with great slaughter. Tirumala, who commanded the right wing, attacked the combined forces of the Sultāns of Golconda and Bidar. He and his son Raghunātha, fought valiantly and killed hundreds of Muhammadans. The Golconda forces were beaten back with great loss. But Raghunātha himself fell, for we hear no more of him and Tirumala lost one of his eyes. As soon as Rāma-Rāja heard of this, he was full of rage. He left his litter and jumped on his saddle and encouraging his men with the battle cry "*Garuda, Garuda,*" he charged the Allied forces. The wings commanded by the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Golconda and Bidar soon broke before the uncontrollable fury of his troops. He next charged the Allied centre, which was led by the Sultān of Ahmednagar with 10,000 horse. Rāma-Rāja's attack was so sudden and so spirited that the Nizām Shāh's troops were thrust back half a league with the loss of 2,000 men. The Rāchabidas, the select corps of Rāma-Rāja, seeing him thus engaged, got down from their horses and rushing to his aid, killed many Muhammadans. Meanwhile, Alī Ādil Shāh, who had been pushed back by Venkatādri, returned with his forces to check Rāma-Rāja's advance, while Hussain Nizām Shāh collected his scattered troops and supported Alī. Several detachments of Rāma-Rāja continued to attack the centre, from where the concealed artillery under Rumi Khān was keeping up a heavy fire on them. As the troops covering this artillery went back, these detachments urged forward and when they came close to the heavy battery, the latter was turned on them with such effect that they retreated in confusion and with dreadful loss. Just at this time, Hussain Nizām Shāh ordered his state pavilion to be put on the field in front of the enemy, thus to indicate his determination not to quit until victory was declared for him. Rāma-Rāja now dismounted and ascended his throne set with rich jewels, surmounted with a canopy of velvet. To encourage his men to do their utmost, he conferred rewards on them and placed before them ornaments of gold and jewels of value. The troops, inspired by this generosity, recovered from the panic caused by Rumi Khān's artillery discharge, and charged the Allied right and left wings "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder; Alī Ādil Shāh and Ibrahīm Qutb Shāh began to despair of victory and even to prepare for retreat." (*Ferishta* III, 129). The two flanks were thus soon compelled to fall back and the defeat of the Muhammadans "appeared inevitable." (*Burhan-i-Māasir*, 193). "The Muslims were," says the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, "piled up in heaps over heaps and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army. The infidels showed their superiority and valour." Rāma-Rāja had thus "almost defeated his enemies." (See Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 210 and the authorities quoted therein). But Hussain Nizām Shāh, however, held firm in the centre, which was still unbroken. Rāma-Rāja's forces attacked with vigour and at close quarters, when Rumi Khān charged the artillery with bags of copper money, which proved so destructive that upwards of 5,000 of the attackers lay dead on the field before they could retreat. At this moment, one of the Bijāpur generals, attacked the retreating forces with 5,000 cavalry and routed Rāma-Rāja's centre.

Treachery and desertion of two Generals.

Confusion prevailed among Rāma-Rāja's troops. Taking advantage of it, two Muhammadan generals, who served on Rāma-Rāja's side, deserted him and went over to the enemy. "This treachery," as Father Heras rightly puts it, "explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle." He quotes Cæsar Frederick, who heard the account of the whole battle one year later, when he visited Vijayanagar.

"These foure kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezenegar, but by treason. This King of Bezenegar was a gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans) and these two captaines had either of them in charge three-score and ten and four-score thousand men. These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the foure Kings who were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought means with which to betray their own king into their hands. The king of Bezenegar esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his City to wage battle with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joined, the batell lasted but a while, not the space of four houres; because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies, turned their forces against the King and made disorder in the Armie, that as astonished they set themselves to flight."

Anquetil Du Perron, writing later, confirms this treachery when he states that "the king, abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs, perished." This treason is naturally not mentioned by any of the Muhammadan historians of the period and has accordingly been missed by modern historians of India. (Mr. Sewell makes no mention of it in his well-known work, *A Forgotten Empire.* The first to notice is an Indian scholar, Mr. Krishnamacharlu, see *I. A.* LII. 11.) Father Heras has suggested (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 212) that one of these two traitorous generals was Ain-ul-Mulk, whom Rāma-Rāja used to call his brother (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 381) and at whose request Sadāsiva-Rāya had granted the village of Bevinhalli to Brāhmans. (*E.I.* XIV, 64). His father had proved treacherous to Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh and had been beheaded under his orders. He himself offended Ibrahīm and fled to Rāma-Rāja and had sought service there. As we find subsequent to the battle an Ain-ul-Mulk in the service of Alī Ibrahīm Shāh, it is possible that he deserted to Alī at the critical moment and turned the tide of the battle. (Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 212; Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 381).

Effect of the treachery. Confusion in the ranks and death of Rāma-Rāja.

The treachery had immediate effects on the morale of Rāma-Rāja's troops. They were thrown into great confusion. "The soldiers," says one chronicler, "refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions." (*Ferishta* III, 129). In this confusion, Rāma-Rāja was himself wounded. Discerning what was happening, he got into his State litter to retreat from the battle-field; but the bearers, panic-stricken at the approach of an ungovernable elephant of the Ahmednagar contingent, ran away abandoning their precious charge in the middle of the prevailing turmoil. (*Ibid.*) Rāma-Rāja tried to escape on foot and just as he was dismounting his litter, he was overtaken by the elephant and seized by it with its trunk. (*Ibid.* 130). He was caught and conducted to Hussain Nizām Shāh, who, most chroniclers agree, ordered his head to be instantly cut off, though Couto relates that he beheaded him with his own hand, exclaiming: "Now I am avenged on thee. Let God do what He will do to me." (See Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 213, *f.n.* 7 quoting Couto VIII, 92). The story is recorded by Couto and the *Burhan-i-Māasir* that when Alī Ādil Shāh heard of his old benefactor's death, he hastened to Hussain to beg for his life but that he was too late. A painting reproduced by Father Heras depicts this scene. Two grants of the reign of Tirumala, his brother, both dated in 1568, refer to his death as due to the action of the Muhammadan kings (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7), one of them stating that it was for the sake of the Muhammadans that Rāma-Rāja died, thereby suggesting that his death was due to a plot of which he was not aware. (See H. Krishna Sāstri in *A.S.I.* 1908, 199 *f.n.* 6). Hussain caused the head to be placed on the point of a long spear so that his death might be announced to his troops. This had the desired effect. For, as Ferishta records, when his troops saw "their chief destroyed, they fled in the utmost disorder from the field" towards Vijayanagar. They were pursued by the Allied forces and so many were put to the sword that the plain was strewn with their bodies. Ferishta states that the best authorities computed the slain on Rāma-Rāja's side at 100,000 during the action and the pursuit. (*Ferishta* III, 130). This seems a great exaggeration, for the *Burhan-i-Māasir* says that the number of the slain was only 9,000. Briggs, writing in 1829, records a curious detail about the fate of Rāma-Rāja's head. It would appear it was in the hands of the executioner's family, who yearly exhibited it to pious Muhammadans on the anniversary of the battle. (*Ferishta* III, 130, note). Father Heras adds that the existence of such a head is unknown now at Ahmednagar. (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 214, *f.n.* 3). The Mahratta account says that it was sent to Benares. (Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar*, 181). A stone representation of it is in the Museum at Bijāpur, and a photographic representation of it forms the frontispiece of Mr. Cousens' *Bijapur*. (See *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 214, for its history).

Flight of Venkatādri and Tirumala and pursuit of the Allied armies.

Both Venkatādri and Tirumala escaped. They made no attempt to rally the troops or protect the capital against the inevitable onrush of mad vengeance on it on the part of the Allied Sultāns. Ferishta states (III, 131) that Venkatādri fled to a distant fortress, probably Chandragiri. The *Rāmarājīyamu* indeed suggests that the three Sultāns of Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmednagar tried to capture Venkatādri but finally gave up all hope of success. (See *Sources*, Text, 223, lines 5-7). He was alive for at least two years after the battle (See *E.I.* IX. 131), for the Krishnāpuram plates of about 1567 describe him as still alive. The Allied armies, however, did not continue their pursuit up to the capital. After going a few leagues, they returned to the battle-field and stayed there ten days, evidently to collect the spoils. All the riches of Rāma-Rāja's camp fell into their hands. "The booty," according to one chronicler, "consisted of jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maid-servants, men-servants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched." (*Burhan-i-Māasir* in *I.A.* L. 194). Ferishta says that "the plunder was so great that every private man in the Allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, the kings (*i.e.*, Sultāns) permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 130).

Literature relating to the battle.

Since Mr. Sewell wrote his well-known work on Vijayanagar, and re-told the story of this great battle, much literature has been unearthed in regard to it. With the aid of these, Father Heras has put together a new account of it, which should be read in detail in his recently published book *The Aravīdu Dynasty* (194-217), to which the above brief sketch owes much.

Flight of Tirumala and Venkatādri. Its object and aim.

At some time during the waning phase of the battle, Tirumala, who had been latterly Prime Minister of Rāma-Rāja, seems to have left the battle-field for the capital. Venkatādri also escaped. The cause of their flight is nowhere explained or hinted at. But subsequent events give a clue to it. Venkatādri proceeded to the "distant fortress" of Chandragiri and from there passed on to Tirumalai, or the Tirupati Hill close by, there to prepare for the securing of the valuables to be transported by Tirumala, his elder brother. Apparently, the brothers had, before they separated, agreed upon a common course of action. If what they did is any guide to what they should have contemplated, they should have determined (1) to temporarily abandon the capital to save the Empire from the ravages of the Allied forces; (2) to remove the Emperor Sadāsiva-Rāya, the Royal family and the Treasury and valuables as far as may be to Tirumalai, the City of the Seven Hills, now known as Upper Tirupati; (3) to conserve and use the forces for necessary defence purposes, and (4) to reoccupy the capital, as soon as may be, after the Allied forces vacated it and rehabilitate it. Whether these decisions were justified, is a question that need not detain us long. In the circumstances in which they found themselves, it was evidently a choice between two evils: either to risk their personal liberties—and perhaps even their lives and the lives of every one dependent on them—by forcing another battle without sufficient troops to back them and bring on themselves an unequal siege of the capital with certain capitulation at no distant date or to give up the capital temporarily and save the empire by diverting the attention of the Allies to the plunder and booty they were evidently bent upon at the capital. The all-powerful Regent had fallen in battle, the forces had been demoralised and scattered, the resources of men and money had been nearly exhausted, time was fast flying, and a decision had to be taken, if at all, quickly. The two brothers had to choose one of two great evils: lose their lives and their empire or save both at the risk of their great, far-famed and beautiful capital, the City of Victory. They chose the lesser of the two, though it should have been at no little pain and sorrow to themselves. They should have realised what their decision meant. With the knowledge that they had of the Allies and their hatred towards them and their capital city, they cannot have expected any quarter to be shown to either of them. Nor had they any reason to expect any mercy from them. They should have recalled to their minds the destruction that Rāma-Rāja had wrought at Ahmednagar, which he is said to have captured and razed to the ground and sowed it with castor seeds, so that it might never again prosper! Before him, about thirty-five years previously, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, though his treatment of Raichur, on its capture, was perfectly exemplary, had treated Bijāpur with little or no grace—or at least allowed his troops to do what they liked. "The city was left," cries Nuniz plaintively, in chronicling the event, "almost in ruins." (See *Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 354). Similarly, Krishnadēva when he took Kulbarga "destroyed and razed the fortress to the ground" and Nuniz adds summarily, "and the same with many other places." (*Ibid.* 357). The *Rāmarājīyamu* gives us more than a glimpse of what Rāma-Rāja had himself done in this line of destruction of his enemies' captured cities. He is extolled in this poem as the "terrifier of the City of Bijāpur," "destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmednagar," "terrifier of the fort of Bidar," "the breaker of the walls of Kulbarga," "chastiser of the city of Golconda," "destroyer of the fort of Savaga" (Seogi), etc. (See *Sources*, Text, 186-7; Summary, 182-184). These sobriquets tell their own sad stories. So they should have known what vengeance awaited their famous capital, its buildings and its inhabitants. Still the larger interests of the Empire and their own future required the great sacrifice to be made and they seem to have unflinchingly determined on it.

Tirumalai Hill, the destination reached.

No sooner were the decisions taken than they appear to have been put into effect. Venkatādri hurried down to Chandragiri, completely evading his pursuers, and from there, proceeded to Tirumalai, only a few miles off, to prepare for the reception of the Emperor and the Royal retinue and treasure. Tirumala, on reaching the capital, immediately arranged for the transfer of the Emperor and others and the valuables. Sadāsiva-Rāya was set at liberty and with him, Tirumala, with his wives and the wives of his brothers and sons, ministers, nobles, generals and soldiers left the city without delay. Behind them came a thousand and five hundred and fifty elephants with all the treasure that could be removed. These consisted of gold, diamonds and other precious stones, cash and other things, said to be worth more than a hundred millions sterling. It is said that the famous jewelled throne, on which successive kings had sat and held court, was also secured and removed. All these reached in due course Tirumalai, which became the temporary head-quarters of the Imperial family and its belongings. (See Father Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 222-3, quoting Couto, who says that they "left for the interior and stored everything in the palace at Tremil."). That was the immediate destination, though later on, as will be narrated below, Penukonda became the Capital. Tirumalai, as a sacred place, probably had a palace on it for the temporary residence of the Emperor and his entourage when he visited it on important occasions. It had long been the place where, during times of trouble, anything valuable had been secreted. During the Muhammadan invasions that followed the break-up of the Chōlas, the sacred idols from Srīrangam had been lodged there. Moreover, the temple on the Hill had been an object of special veneration on the part of the Imperial dynasty since the days of Sāluva-Narasimha, if not earlier. It was evidently well fortified in those days and considered a great and inaccessible stronghold. Its situation, at the top of seven hills, rendered it a place fit, for the time being, for securing what had been brought away. The statement of Messrs. Sewell and Rice that Tirumala sought refuge in Penukonda seems, as pointed out by Father Heras, not well founded. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 206; *Mysore and Coorg*, 120; H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 222).

The Allies at the Capital; its sack and plunder.

The departure of Tirumala left the city ill-defended. It has been suggested (H. Heras, *l.c.* 223), that "no garrison was left behind within its walls to defend the city." This may not be literally correct, for the whole army could not have moved out; for, leaving out of account those killed in the battle (they were only 9,000), the rest should have returned to the city. Of these, a goodly portion should have accompanied the Royal household and treasure to Tirumalai. The remainder can only be supposed to have been left behind to guard the city and offer such protection to it as it could. But the physical and mental condition of the troops should have rendered them helpless beyond degree. The city fell accordingly an easy prey to an organised attack on it on the part of the Bedars who looted the shops and houses and carried off the immense quantities of riches left by the nobles in their hasty flight. Couto calls them *Bedues* which term, Sewell suggests, refers to "Beduinos," "Bedouins" or wandering tribes. This, however, seems not probable as the word used is *Bedues*, which seems a corruption for *Bedars*, who are even to-day numerically the strongest caste in the Bellary district. (See W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Ch. III). Quoting Couto, Sewell says that the city was attacked by the Bedars six times on the second day following the battle, but as Father Heras points out, there is nothing in what Couto says to support the statement that all these attacks took place on the same day. According to Ferishta (III, 141), the *Bergies*, whom he mentions as living about the city, are stated to have looted the city. The Rev. Heras suggests the identification of these people with the *Bedues* of Couto. This seems hardly necessary as the *Bergies* of Ferishta are evidently the *Bairāgis*, who have been long known to be beggars and thieves in the guise of ascetics. They infest the ruins of Vijayanagar even to this day, where, to unearth hidden treasure, they are believed to offer stray travellers as human sacrifices. (See W. Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Ch. XV, under *Hampi*). The destruction they wrought was, however, insignificant when compared to the havoc created by the Allied sovereigns and their armies. The Sultāns left the battle-field after a stay of ten days and soon reached Anegundi, while their vanguard marched on to Vijayanagar. (*Ferishta* III, 131; 414). The triumphal entry of the Sultāns followed and they evidently passed in procession through the main streets of the great capital. They would have left a bright page in their histories if they had spared the city as Krishna-Dēva-Rāya did Raichur on its capture. But that was not to be. Their minds were full of vengeance, of reprisals and of retributions. They settled down in the city, as if permanently, and their stay of six months was marked by iconoclastic excesses that will not bear repetition. Even so sympathetic a critic of their deeds in the capital as the Rev. Heras concedes that he feels "sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days, because they are not, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples." (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 226). They came to destroy the city and they did their work to vandalic perfection. Whether all the destruction we now behold at Vijayanagar was their work as set down by Mr. Sewell or the lapse of centuries has added to what they did, as suggested by the Rev. Heras, is really a matter of detail. Though parts of old buildings may even now be seen in the old capital, there is hardly any reason to doubt that a vast amount of destruction on buildings was actually wrought by the hands of the conquerors. Ferishta, the Golconda chronicler and every other contemporary writer states this in plain and barefaced terms and there is no reason why we should read less into their written words than what they mean and intend to convey. It is admitted even by the Rev. Heras that the city was also set fire to, a fact which is testified to both by records and the traces that the fire has left behind it. While, according to the Golconda chronicler, "the efforts of the conquerors were directed to the plunder of the country and the city," Cæsar Frederick has left on record that they searched "under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden." The poorer inhabitants of the city, who had hid themselves in the valleys surrounding the city, were searched out and tortured by the Muhammadan soldiers for the riches they were supposed to possess.

The Allies' aims on the capital and Venkatādri's proposal for peace. The departure of the Allies, July 1565 A.D.

But the Sultāns could not stay on at this place. It has been suggested by the Rev. Heras that they desired and even aimed at the permanent annexation of the capital and with that view, even erected certain buildings in it. The style of architecture of certain of the buildings still standing in the capital seems to lend support to this view, though the influence of the Muhammadan style may have been expected in its buildings as the result of the social contact that had subsisted during the three centuries and more between the two communities. The use of mortar as in the Bijāpur structures may likewise be explained; still, as one of the chronicles quoted by the Rev. H. Heras states that the Sultāns "raised noble and lofty buildings" in the capital (see *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 227-8), it is possible that though their stay was restricted to about six months, they did add something to the structures of the place and thus tried to undo the irreparable damage they had so mercilessly inflicted on it. Though they did this, they found, according to Cæsar Frederick, the distance of the place to their own respective countries so great that they resolved upon quitting it. (*Purchas*, X, 94). Just at that time, they had an embassy from Venkatādri, who sued for peace proposing the restoration of all the countries taken by his brother Rāma-Rāja. (*Ferishta* III, 131). The disagreements which had meanwhile arisen amongst the Allies induced them to accept this proposal. They accordingly vacated Vijayanagar and at Raichur, finally separated from each other. Before doing so, they commissioned their generals to reduce Raichur and Mudkal, which they soon did. (*Ferishta* III, 131; 414).

Return of Tirumala to Vijayanagar, July-August 1565 A.D.

The departure of the Allies from the capital was the signal for the return of Tirumala to it. He evidently came back with the idea of rehabilitating it and remaining in it. This idea could not have been by any means strange. Bijāpur, Ahmednagar and Kulbarga and many other places, which had suffered at the hands of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or Rāma-Rāja, had been restored to their ancient dignities by their rulers and there could be nothing impossible--so Tirumala should have thought—in attempting the restoration of Vijayanagar to its ancient glories. Despite the cruel damage done to it, the Palace, in which probably the Sultāns stayed during their temporary residence in it, was evidently intact. We have a detailed description of it from the pen of Cæsar Frederick, who visited it two years after its destruction. "I have seene many kings' courts," he writes, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger." It had nine gates; each was well guarded. He notes that the five inner gates stood open for "the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe bisinese and make their feasts in the night, rather than by day." (*Purchas*, X, 97-8). Evidently, the attempt of Tirumala did not at first prove hopeless. He even induced the Portuguese to recommence their trade in horses. He sent word to them at Goa to bring all the horses they could, even those taken in the late war and bearing his own mark, saying he would pay for them as they desired. The Portuguese, as keen as ever in driving a good bargain, readily complied with the request, but

Tirumala, though he permitted them to return to Goa, did not pay them their dues! When the poor men saw how they had been deprived of their money, "they were," says Cæsar Frederick, who accompanied them, "desperate, and as it were, mad with sorrow and griefe." (*Purchas*, X, 91). Father Heras is right in stating that this incident took place at Vijayanagar and not at Penukonda, as suggested by Mr. Sewell. (See *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 230, *f.n.*, 1; *A Forgotten Empire*, 209). To this visit of Cæsar Frederick, who stayed seven months at the capital, we owe much of our knowledge of the capital in the period immediately following the great battle of 1565 A.D.

Tirumala invited to join the Sultāns of Ahmednagar and Golconda against the Sultān of Bijāpur, 1565-6 A.D.

The purchase of these horses was timely; probably they were secured in view of an impending war against Alī Ādil Shāh, the Sultān of Bijāpur, who had hatched the confederacy against Rāma-Rāja, which ended with the catastrophic battle at Raksas-Tagdi. About this time (end of 1565 A.D.), Hussain Nizām Shāh died and was succeeded by his son Murtaza Nizām Shāh. He proved himself unpopular and his minister intrigued against him. The latter invited Alī to invade his territories, it being alleged that there was a party in favour of Alī at Ahmednagar. (*Ferishta* III, 416-8). Murtaza counterplotted. He invited the aid of the Sultān of Golconda, who in his turn proposed that they should proceed to the *Krishna*, from where they should invite Tirumala to join them in confederacy at the head of 10,000 troops. He aimed at recovering his lost territories, while the confederates thought that with his help, they could beat Alī down. But there was a fly in the ointment. Kunza Humayun, the queen-mother and regent of Ahmednagar, demanded from Tirumala a sum of two lakhs of *huns* for the aid the confederates were to give him for recovering his lost territories from Alī. Tirumala demurred and protested to Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, who advised Kunza Humayun of the rashness of the demand made on Tirumala, as it was calculated to make the confederates lose the assistance of his large contingent of troops. But Kunza Humayun was not to be dissuaded. The result was, Tirumala not only refused to pay the amount demanded but taking advantage of the position, marched with his forces against the Allies. Terrified at this, Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh requested him to return to his own territory, while he himself went back to his own country. Thus ended the projected war against Alī. (*Ferishta* III, 418-20; see also *Sources, Tapati Samvaranam*, 248).

This proposed attack on Bijāpur and the active steps which Tirumala took to join it should have brought on him once again the ill-will of Alī. At any rate, we hear of further attacks, actual or threatened, against Vijayanagar. (*Ferishta* III, 131-2; 251, see *Sources* under *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsāvali*, 302, which, however, was written a century later). Alī, indeed in 1567 A.D., led an army against Vijayanagar and Tirumala sought the aid of Kunza Humayun, the queen-regent of Ahmednagar. She marched so readily at the head of an army against Alī's capital, that he retired from Vijayanagar to defend it. Chennappa Nāyudu, Tirumala's minister, apparently attacked the Bijāpur troops under Kishwar Khān on this occasion and defeated them. (*M.E.R.* 1902, App. A. No. 341 of 1901, dated in 1580 A.D., in which Kishwar Khān is spoken of as Rambikēsuru Khān). There were similar attacks against Tirumala, which should have induced him about 1567 A.D. to reconsider the question of a permanent withdrawal from Vijayanagar in favour of Penkonda. Cæsar Frederick is definite on this point and even gives the reason for the final step taken by Tirumala: "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for the ill-successe that the people of Bezeneger had...........the king with his court went to dwell in one carte eight days journey up the land from

Bezeneger called Pengonde" (*i.e.*, Penukonda). Probably, the final abandonment of Vijayanagar and the actual transfer of the capital took place in or about July 1567 A.D. Tirumala would thus have stayed at Vijayanagar for about two years before he found it impossible to resuscitate its glory. Six months of thorough-going pillage had thus done its work. Even the continued presence of the new Regent and his efforts to re-make it proved futile. Six months evidently proved more than sufficient not merely to ruin the architectural and sculptural gems of the place but also to greatly unsettle life in it and break its continuity as a city. Cities, even in India, have risen and fallen, but none fell so desperately as Vijayanagar. It fell never to rise again! Tirumala's disgraceful attitude towards the Portuguese merchants gives us an insight into the reasons why trade could not be revived in it. If he had had a little of the good sense that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya displayed towards foreign traders, he would have infused confidence into the foreign merchants and would have restored credit with them and generally with the mercantile classes. This would, in its turn, have induced the generality of the people to return to the old city and re-begin life in it. But Tirumala's greed and want of common fairness should have spread far and wide (the Portuguese justifiably stigmatized him a "tyrant") and effectually barred its re-population. Tirumala was evidently not the man for the times. And Vijayanagar, the great Imperial city, ceased to exist because of his incompetence, his incapacity and his covetousness.

> What the hand of man had still left standing,
> Time did not spare. Rank ruin followed:
> A ruin, yet what ruin! from its mass
> Walls, palaces, half-cities, have been reared.

And yet the feeling uppermost in the mind of the person visiting the ruined remains of the Imperial city is:—

> Heroes have tread this spot—'tis on their dust ye tread,

And the famous lines of Byron come to one's mind:—

While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
And when Rome falls—the world.

Vijayanagar still stands by the river side and the shrine of Pampāpati reminds us of its ancient grandeur and so long as it stands, the Imperial City shall stand.

In about a year's time from the transference of the capital, the city had gone into ruins. Two inscriptions (one on stone and another on copper-plates) both dated in the reign of Sadāsiva-Rāya in June 1568 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7) describe the city, the throne, the kingdom and the country and everything as destroyed and in ruins. (In both, the text has the following: *Pattana Simhāsana rājya dēsav ellā kettu khilar āgal āgi*). Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, there is no doubt that the old capital had been deserted at this time, and in ruins; for in both these records, though Sadāsiva is mentioned as the ruling sovereign, he is not spoken of as ruling from *Vijayanagar*, as usual. As the name of Penukonda is not mentioned in these two records as the place from which Sadāsiva ruled, it is possible they belong to the period of transition. The earliest record, at Penukonda, mentioning Sadāsiva as Emperor after 1565 A.D., is one dated in *Saka* 1489, *Prabhava*, corresponding to A.D. 1567-8. (*M.E.R.* 337 of 1901). This record probably fixes up the actual date of the transfer of the capital to Penukonda. About this time—*i.e.*, about two years after Tirumala removed the capital—Cæsar Frederick wrote of it thus:—

> "The citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts," (*Purchas*, X, 97).

At the end of the sixteenth century, Ferishta remarked.

"The city itself.............is now totally in ruins and uninhabited." (III, 131).

We may now sum up briefly the political effects of the battle. These were of a far-reaching character :—

Political effects of the battle : break-down of Hindu political power in the South.

(1) It broke up the Hindu power in the South, though the empire held fast for nearly another century under the next dynasty of kings.

(2) Slowly and surely, it eventually opened for Muhammadan incursions into almost every part of the South followed by Mahratta inroads.

(3) Later, with the disappearance of an organized central government, Southern India came to be dotted over with chieftainships exercising more or less local authority.

The power of resistance against a formidable aggressor was thus gone for ever. Disunion spread in the land with the result that the South became the happy hunting ground for ambitious rival Nawabs, aided by groups of foreign merchant-settlers and military adventurers like Muhammad Yusuf and Haidar Alī.

More immediate results : loss of territories in the north and on the East Coast.

Among the more immediate results of the battle, were the loss of Raichur and Mudkal and the withdrawing of the Vijayanagar kings from the immediate vicinity of the five Muhammadan Sultāns. They came to be less aggressive than before, though this did not prove by any means an effective check to the ambitions of the Sultāns. In the nothern portion of the empire, certain of the feudatories, fired by personal ambitions or in order to better provide themselves against the attacks of the Sultāns, declared themselves independent. Among these were the chiefs of Adōni, Bankāpur and a few others. (*Ferishta* III, 134-6). Adōni was, however, taken by Alī Ādil Shāh in 1568 A.D. (*Ferishta* III, 134-5). As regard the possessions of the Empire on the East Coast, many of these were lost to it.

Rajahmandry and other places not far away from it were taken by Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh. He also annexed Orissa. (*Ibid.* III, 421-3; 423-6).

Imperial power still secure in the South.

In the South, however, the authority of the Emperor was still obeyed. It has been the custom hitherto to describe the South also as having rebelled against the Emperor. This was natural to writers who had to generalise from scanty materials at a time when epigraphic research had not yet been taken up. Following Ferishta (III,131), these writers have stated that the whole country was divided between Tirumala and his brother and their nephews. (See Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 269). As the Rev. Heras has pointed out, there is hardly any ground for this statement (*Aravīdu Dynasty*, 242-243), though certain Portuguese writers have also affirmed it. (*Ibid. f.n.*, 1). As mentioned above, Tirumala practically managed to hold together the greater part of the south. One of his objects in fixing upon Penukonda was possibly to save as much of the Empire in the South as possible and in this, he appears to have been generally successful. There is no denying, however, that the shock of the defeat, followed as it was by the destruction and subsequent desertion of the famous capital, was felt almost everywhere in the Empire. Echoes of this feeling are heard even in certain contemporary epigraphic records. (See *E.C.* XI, Holalkere 6 and 7, both dated in 1568 A.D., above quoted). As Couto and others state, it is possible that members of the Rāma-Rāja's family were sent round to take up their positions at important places, such as Anegundi, Chandragiri, etc., not as independent chiefs but in subordination to and on behalf of the Empire. Between these different members themselves, there appear to have been no differences of opinion in regard to what they were doing. This is supported by epigraphic records of the period, which disclose no enmity between them. Indeed, there is evidence to the contrary, which definitely shows that Tirumala was respected by his younger brother Venkatādri. (*E.I.* XVI, 257).

Decay of the Portuguese trade.

The fall of the Imperial capital told heavily on Portuguese trade. That trade, as we have seen, was an extensive and paying one. That was wholly lost to them. Filippo Sassetti, who was in India from 1578 to 1588 A.D., fully confirms this loss which is referred to by all Portuguese writers of the period. "The traffic was so large," he says, "that it is impossible to imagine it. The place was immensely large; and it was inhabited by people rich, not with richness like ours, but with richness like that of Crassi and the others of those days...... And such merchandise! Diamonds, rubies, pearls......... and besides all that, the horse trade. That alone produced in the city (Goa) a revenue of 120 to 150 thousand ducats, which now reaches only 6 thousand." Couto is even more doleful. "By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga," he says, "India and our State were much shaken; for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandise, by which they made great profits; and the Custom House at Goa suffered much in its revenue, so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal and it then languished and the gold pagodas, of which every year more than 500,000 were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were then worth 7½ Tangas, and to-day are worth 11½ and similarly every kind of coin." (Dec. VIII, C. 15, quoted by Sewell, in *A Forgotten Empire*, 210-11 from Lopes's *Chronica dos Reys de Bisnaga*, Introd. lxviii). Cæsar Frederick gives an equally vivid account of the trade that Goa lost and bears eloquent testimony to the disorganized state of the communications between that city and the Imperial capital. The surrounding country was so infested with thieves that he was compelled to stay six months longer at Vijayanagar than he had intended. When at last he intended to set out for Goa, he was attacked everyday and had to pay ransom on each occasion. The reader has only to compare this complaint with the following which shows the absolute security which foreign merchants enjoyed before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They (the Portuguese merchants resident at Vijayanagar), he says, used "to sleepe in the streets or under porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night." (*Purchas*, 98-9).

Conduct and character of Rāma-Rāja and his responsibility for the war and the destruction that followed.

How much of the destruction and disruption that occurred may be set down to Rāma-Rāja's sudden and wholly unexpected death on the battle-field and what might have been the fate of the battle itself if he had escaped as he tried to do, it is impossible to say. But this much is certain that his undoubted talents, his indomitable energy and his persistency would have stood him in good stead in his hour of trial. He would certainly not have allowed the forces to get disorganized; it should be remembered he had practically staked his all on the battle and that he never wavered in his desire to crush the enemy. To say that Rāma-Rāja was clogged to a degree in winning through what he willed, is to utter a truism. Indeed he had all but won even this battle when misfortune overtook him. If the Hindu account is to be believed, the divisions of Kutb Shāh and Nizām Shāh were routed, and retreated in confusion, covered by the armies of Ādil Shāh and Barid Shāh. Rāma-Rāja's troops, considering the engagement over and the enemy annihilated, gave themselves up to rejoicing and festivity, and were surprised in their encampment. (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. 90). It was just at that moment, when treachery had played its part, that Rāma-Rāja's litter was upset and he was captured and beheaded. (*Ibid.*) That he was a man of great spirit and conduct is evident from the course that events took during his time. The princes of the Deccan were glad to court his alliance; and even to purchase his forbearance. His policy of systematically playing off one against the other was successful until they were nearly exhausted. In turn he made enemies of one and all of them and they eventually made up their minds to crush him. The very fear he inspired in them made him blind to his own arrogance, perhaps the greatest defect in his character. Insulted pride, religious bigotry and political dread combined his enemies in arms against him. But he disdained to crave for peace. He prepared for war and marched against them and died like a soldier on the battle-field. In war, he was in his true element. The wars he waged, if the *Rāma-rājiyam* is to be believed, were a hundred in number. So many were the countries, so many the forts he took and so many the towns he captured that the bard is hard put to it to find a sufficiency of terms to describe his titles. (See *Sources*, Text, 186-7; also 180-5). If he had, as suggested by his brothers, left the command to them and kept in reserve and used part of his forces at the time of need, the day might have ended differently. He was too old to lead, to ride, or to avoid the inevitable perils of the battle-field. While our unstinted admiration can be extended to the desire he showed to take a personal part in the war, we cannot but blame him for risking the Empire itself as he did. He did not realize that he was staking too much and that he was not wise in putting himself at the head of the army at his age. As it was, his death meant rank ruin to the capital and its teeming population, which was wholly unaware of the fate that awaited them. If he was great as a soldier, he was little as a statesman. It was enough to have commanded the vengeance of his foes. The terror of his name would have done more than his sword; but he did not choose the path of common prudence. His presence on the battle-field helped to diminish his reputation and ruin his capital, country and subjects. An inscription dated 1565 A.D. (*Saka* 1487, *Rakthākshi Māgha Su*, 15 *Saumyavāra*), which describes Rāma-Rāja with all the imperial titles and as "seated on the jewel throne" and as "master of Kuntala," "lord of the throne of Vidyanagari" and "as ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom," is the last known record we have of him.

Rāma-Rāja's treatment of King Sadāsiva-Rāya.

A serious charge against Rāma-Rāja is the treatment he meted out to the Emperor Sadāsiva-Rāya and the manner in which he usurped the throne. Even after he attained age and was capable of ruling, he kept him closely confined and guarded, and himself ruled in his name. Though an usurper, he swayed the rule not, as the poet says, for "a while" but for nearly twenty-three years. "Yet," as we are reminded, "Heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs." Rāma-Rāja died before Sadāsiva's eyes and retribution came unsought and unasked. Though hard-hearted as a jailor, Rāma-Rāja does not appear to have been cruel as some other usurpers are known to have been. The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that his usurpation might have been necessitated more by "the incapability of the young sovereign than to his own ambition" and that from this point of view, "his usurpation provides a special side-light of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the Empire." (*The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 219-220). This sounds like special pleading and could be urged in favour of almost every usurper the world has known. In the present instance, there is nothing to show that Sadāsiva was an incapable prince and a great deal to prove that if he had had a chance, he would have made good. The

Māmidipūndi grant, dated in 1549-1550 A.D., speaks of him as "charming, the best of kings, the foremost of the famous, who is like Rāma in wielding the bow, and who is devoted to unlimited gifts." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 104). Making adequate allowance for poetic exaggeration, we have evidence here to suggest that he was neither a craven nor an imbecile. He was evidently a prudent man and refused to risk his life in fruitless rebellion. He knew the influence and power wielded by Rāma-Rāja. Rāma-Rāja was a grasping, ambitious and strong-willed Regent who would fain forget the existence of his sovereign. While there is thus nothing to suggest in justification of his conduct in this connection, it has to be conceded that Rāma-Rāja's treatment of Sadāsiva never became inhuman. Probably, prudential considerations prevailed even with him in this respect.

His pre-war position and eminence.

During the period anterior to the war in which he fell, Rāma-Rāja was undoubtedly held in the highest regard by his people. Contemporary inscriptions describe him as a great warrior and ruler. One of these speaks of him as having uprooted all his enemies and ruled over the earth as Bharata and Bhagīratha. In another, he is said to have been noted for valour, generosity and mercy. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 7 dated in 1561). As regards his generosity, a record of Venkata I states that he surpassed even the Kalpaka (wish-bearing tree of the gods) in his gifts. (*E.I.* XVI, 319). From literary sources, we learn not only of his military prowess and his many conquests but also of his interest in literature, music and the fine arts. Rāmayamātya, the governor of Kondavīdu, states in his work that he wrote the *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, settling several points of dispute among musical scholars, at his instance. He dedicated the work to him, having completed it in 1549 A.D. (See *Sources* under *Svaramēlakalānidhi*).

As a patron of literature.

But a poet who later attained to great celebrity and is even now regarded as one of the more famous Telugu poets was Bhattumūrti. He was the Court poet in Telugu during Rāma-Rāja's time and was entitled "Rāma-Rāja-bhūshana" or "ornament of Rāma-Rāja's court." Considerable discussion has taken place as to whether Bhattumūrti and Rāma-Rāja-Bhūshana signify the same poet or different poets. Competent authority inclines to the former view and this seems correct. (*Vide* K. Veerasilingam, *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, Roddam Hanumanta Rao, *Rāmarāja-Bhūshana* and *Bhattumūrti*, etc.). As he appears to have written most of his works in the reign of Tirumala, further mention will be made of him under that king's reign. Purandara Dāsa, perhaps the most popular of hymnographers that Kannada knows, appears to have lived at Vijayanagar between 1538 and 1564 A.D. He was a Madhva devotee and a disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya, who flourished in the two preceding reigns. He was specially attached to the temple at Pandharpur, to whom his hymns are dedicated. His hymns are sung wherever Kannada is spoken and are noted for the simplicity of their diction, the profundity of their Vēdāntic thought and for the heart-melting music that permeates them. (See Narasimhachār, *Karnātakakavicharita*, II, 232). It is said he was originally a rich man but he is said to have given away his wealth immediately he attained enlightenment and lived the life of a devotee, begging for his bread from door to door in Pandhārpur. Another Madhva devotee and hymnographer who also lived during this reign was Kanaka-Dāsa. Though he belonged to the Dharwar District, he seems to have been closely connected with the temple of Srī-Krishna at Udupi, where stories are still told of him. Though originally a disciple of Tōtāchārya, the Srīvaishnava *guru*, he subsequently appears to have been initiated into the Madhva faith by Vyāsa-Rāya. (*Ibid.* 237-8). There is a story that he belonged to the Ande-Kuruba caste and became great after obtaining enlightenment at the hands of Vyāsa-Rāya. (*Ibid.*) Though he was an author, he is known better by his hymns, some of which are as famous as those of Purandara-Dāsa. Among his works are *Mōhana-tarangini*, *Rāma-dhyāna-charite*, *Nalacharitrē*, *Hari-bhaktusāra* and *Nrīsimhāstava*. Another Madhva poet who flourished in this reign was Vādirāja-Tīrtha, who presided over the Sōde *math* at Udupi. He was a great controversialist and had travelled far and wide through India. The Rāja of Sōde (Saude) became a disciple of his and with his aid, he built a temple of Srī-Krishna at that place. (*E.I.* XII, 346). He was also a disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya and has left many works in Sanskrit and Kannada. Among his Sanskrit works are *Rukmanīsa-Vijaya*, *Tīrtha-prabandha*, which sums up his travels, etc., while, in Kannada, he wrote *Vaikuntha-varnane*, *Svapna-gadya*, *Lakshmiya-sōbhāne*, a commentary on *Bhārata-tātparya-nirnaya*, a work of Srī-Madhvāchārya, and a number of hymns, which are in popular use to this day. Mr. Narasimhachar has mentioned the date of his death as 1607 A.D. He quotes no authority for this statement. (See *Karnātaka Kavicharite* II. 301). An inscription in the Krishnamatha at Udupi, mentioning him and one of his pupils, is dated in *Saka* 1536, *Pramadin*, or A.D. 1614, which falls in the last year of the reign of Venkata I. (See *M.E.R.* 1901, App. No. 114 of 1901.). A grant in favour of Srīmad Paramahamsa Vādirāja-Tīrtha by Sadāsiva Rāya-Nāyaka in the reign of Tirumala, is registered in a lithic record which comes from Kautanahalli, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District dated in 1571 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 55). Probably he lived through the next three reigns. If so, he should have lived to at least his 84th year, taking it for granted that he was born in 1530 A.D., the last year of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's reign. As Vyāsa-Rāya was alive in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya also, there can be no reason why he should not have been his *guru*. A contemporary of Vādirāja-Tirtha and co-disciple of Vyāsa-Rāya was Vijayīndra-tīrtha, a great saint of the Sumatīndra-matha. He is said to have been patronised by Rāma-Rāja, who is said to have highly honoured him and presented him with many villages in recognition of his scholarship and eminence. (*E.I.* XII, 345-6; *Sources*, under *Rāghavēndravijaya*, 252). He was a a contemporary of Appayya-Dīkshita, the great Advaita scholar, who lived between 1554-1626 and whose critiques on Madhva philosophy, he controverted. Among his works are *Chakra-Mīmāmsa*, *Chandrikōdāhrita*, *Nyāya-Vivasana*, *Nyāyāmrita-Vyākhya*, *Appayya Kapōla-Chapītika*, etc. (*E.I.* XII, 345-46). He is known to have also defeated in controversy one Emmēbasavēndra, a Vīrasaiva teacher, who had his headquarters at Jambunātha Hill at Vijayanagar and a *matha* at Kumbakonam. The latter, together with its rich belongings, passed into the hands of Vijayīndra. (*Ibid.*) This Emmēbasavēndra has been identified with the person of that name who was author of the well-known prophetic piece *Kālajnāna*. It would seem that he lived in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who unsuccessfully endeavoured to put him down. (R. Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē* II, 233-44; see also *M.A.R.* 1917, Para 121). He was the donee of a grant made at Vijayanagar in 1542 A.D., by Salaka Tirumala-Rāya, one of the Salaka brothers. (See above). The copper-plates on which the grant was recorded passed into the possession of the Sumatīndra *matha* on the defeat of Emmēbasavēndra. In this *matha* there is a bell with the Basava (or bull) surmounted, which, it is said, was part of the property belonging to Emmēbasavēndra. It is still in use in this *matha*, being the only one such bell in a Madhva *matha*, where bells surmounted by Hanumān and Garuda are generally in use. Surēndratīrtha of the Sumatīndra *matha* also appears to have lived during this reign. He set up, in 1542 A.D., the image of Tiruvēngalanātha at Sante-Muddatapura. He is spoken of as the disciple of Raghunandana, who was himself the disciple of Mathitāmitratīrtha. This succession is confirmed by the traditional list of the Sumatīndra *matha*, where the name Mathitāmitratīrtha appears as Jitāmitra, of which it is a synonym. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 86; App. B. No. 720). Among other Vīrasaiva poets of the period were Basavēndra, author of the *Mahadēvi-Akkas Purāna*; Linga, author of *Chōlarājasāngatya*; and others, who have been set down to about 1550 A.D. (R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē*, II. 254-271). Among the Jain poets of the period, the chief were Salva, author of a *Bhārata-Rasaratnākara* and *Vaidyasāngatya*, and Doddayya, who wrote the *Chandraprabhācharitē*, (*Ibid* 234-254).

As a supporter of Srīvaishnavism.

Rāma-Rāja was a supporter of the Srī-Vaishnava faith and evidently did much during the period of his Regency to advance its interests. This was the more easy for him as Sadāsiva himself was an ardent Vaishnava like Achyuta and Krishna-Rāya. Sadāsiva honoured Tāllapāka Tiruvēngalanāthayya, son of Tirumallayyagāru, in 1545 A.D., with a gift of two villages in the present Ongole Taluk. As Tirumalayyagāru is described as the establisher of the two schools of Vēdānta, his son should have been a well-known teacher of Srī-Vaishnavism. (*Ins. of the Madras Presy.* II, 783, No. 337, and *M.E.R.* 784, No. 343). The Tāllapākam family of Srī-Vaishnava teachers supplied a number of songsters to the temple. Hundreds of songs, composed by Annamāchārya and Tirumalāchārya, members of this well-known family, and engraved on copper-plates, are still in preservation at the Tirupati temple. Both of these lived in the time of Sadāsiva, the former being the recipient of a gift from him, (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 72; App. B, No. 314). Tāllapāka Tiruvēngalanātha, a member of this family, was the author of a work called *Paramayōgivilāsamu*, a work quite different from that of the same name composed by Siddhi-Rāja Timmarājayya, a nephew of Tirumala I. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Paras 71-72; *Sources*, 211). He was evidently the son of Tāllapākam Tirumalayyangāru and was the recipient of a village from Sadāsiva in 1546-7. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 72; App. B. No. 419). A number of grants made during this reign show the great respect shown to Srī-Rāmānuja, the founder of Srī-Vaishnavism, during this reign. A grant dated 1567 A.D., registers the gift of several villages by one Chinna-Nāyaka to the temple of Ādikēsavaperumāl of Srīperumbudūr, where Srī-Bhāshyakāra (i.*e.*, Rāmānuja) is said to have worshipped and to the Rāmānuja shrine at the place for meeting the cost of the daily offerings to be provided for them in a particular *mantapa*. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22; App. C. No. 186). In a record dated in 1565 A.D., the local *mahāmandalēsvara* repaired the Srīperumbudūr shrine and increased its capacity and ordered that the surplus income derived from the enlarged tank should be utilized for providing certain offerings to the God Ādikēsavaperumāl and Emberumānār (Rāmānuja). He also ordered that his own share of the divine offerings should be given away to the pilgrims halting at the Rāmānuja-kūtam. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App. C. No. 187). In 1549-50 A.D., Sadāsiva similarly honoured Āchārayya, another Srī-Vaishnava scholar, son of Anantārya. Anantārya is spoken of as an illustrious and upright personage and his son, as a great Brahmavādin (Vēdāntist) and expounder of the meaning of the *Srī-Bāshya* to classes of distinguished pupils. (*Nellore Ins.* I. 98-103). In this grant Sadāsiva is represented as being surrounded by many assiduous and amiable scholars. (*Ibid*, 103). Rāma-Rāja is said to have displaced Gōvinda-dēsika, the *guru* of his father-in-law and the donee of the grant mentioned in *E.C.* III. Mandya 115, dated in 1516 A.D., by Tātāchārya, a famous Srī-Vaishnava teacher who lived during this period. (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, Para 53)., *Mahisūra-Narapati-Vijaya*, a manuscript work which mentions this fact, describes Rāma-Rāja as addicted to lust and gambling and as not being well disposed towards Brāhmins. (*Ibid*). This is a work written about a century later after Rāma-Rāja's death and is unique in its characterization of Rāma-Rāja. Neither the inscriptional records of the period nor the Muhammadan and Portuguese writers speak of him in this manner or even distantly hint at the existence of these drawbacks in him, though some of the Muhammadan historians criticise him for his pride. Apparently the writer of this work was a partisan and wrote of him in this manner because of his preference to Tātāchārya. This teacher is referred to in certain epigraphic records (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 6 of 1904, dated in 1543 A.D.; see also *E.I.* III. 239) as Tirumala Auku Tātāchārya or Tātārya in certain grants of the fourth Dynasty of Vijayanagar Kings. He evidently came from Owk in the present Kurnool District. The *Prapannāmritam* refers to him at some length and in doing so, states that he helped his disciple Doddayyāchār (see above) in obtaining the help of Rāma-Rāja for restoring worship in the *Gōvinda-rāja* (or the Vaishnava) shrine in the great Siva temple at Chidambaram, which had ceased, according to the work, some centuries before. (See *Sources* under *Prapannāmritam*, 202-4). Tātāchārya apparently stayed with Rāma-Rāja for a while at Chandragiri (see *Sources* under *Prapannāmritam*, 202) and eventually settled down at Conjeeveram. He was the author of the well-known work *Panchamata-bhanjanam*, written in refutation of Appayya Dīkshita's *Advaita Siddhi.* His son Srīnivāsayya, better known as Lakshmi Kumāra Tātāchārya and Kōti Kanyādānam Tātāchārya, became even more famous.

He was the *guru* of Venkata I, whose coronation he performed. (See below). He was evidently a man of ready wit, as is evidenced by the tales that go by his name. There was another Tātāchārya, Alvar Tirumalai Pengonde Narasimha Tātāchār, who was the donee of the grant mentioned in *E.C.* X Goribidnur 32, dated about 1550 A.D. Another great Srī-Vaishnava teacher and author of the time was Doddayāchārya of Cbōlasingapuram (modern Sholinghur) who wrote his work *Chandamārutam* in refutation of Appayya-Dīkshita's *Advaita-Siddhi.* (*E.I.* XII. 346, quoting *Prapannāmritam,* 127). Rāma-Rāja was also instrumental in honouring Kandāla Srīrangāchārya, another notable Srī-Vaishnava teacher of the time. It was evidently at the instance of this *guru,* that the local chief Konda-Rāja requested Rāma-Rāja to move Sadāsiva to grant the thirty-one villages donated to the Srī-Vaishnava institute at Srīperumbudūr, in the present Chingleput district, the birthplace of Srī Rāmānuja, where is installed an image of that far-famed Vēdāntic commentator and preceptor. The grant of these villages was made in *Saka* 1478, *Nala,* corresponding to 1556 A.D., and is registered in the well-known British Museum plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*E.I.* IV 1-22; see also *Ins. of the Madras Presy,* III, 1721, copper-plate No. 1). This copper-plate record seems to be identical with the one, said to be in the temple of Srī-Rāmānuja, recording a grant in the same year, *Saka* 1478, *Nala,* of a number of villages, as many as 28 being enumerated in it, to the temple by Sadāsiva-Rāya. (See *Ins. of the Madras Presy.* I. 419, No. 856-A). This grant is said to have been made by Sadāsiva in the name of Rāmānuja in the presence of God Vitthalēsvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra, at Vijayanagara. Certain other inscriptions in the Vitthalasvāmi temple dated in the same reign, record grants by Timma-Rāja, brother of Konda-Rāja, and provide for the carrying out of different Vaishnava festivals in it and the building of a *mantapa* in it in his father's name. The grants of certain other chiefs, also of the Srī-Vaishnava persuasion, have been found in it, thus indicating the rapid progress that Srī-Vaishnavism had made by the time in the Empire. (See H. Krishna Sāstri, *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 197 and inscriptions quoted in f. ns. 1-4). There appear to have been several other Srī-Vaishnava teachers of note, who did much to popularise Rāmānuja's religion among the chiefs in the Telugu country. Srī-Vaishnavism may be said to have become the prevailing creed in South India amongst most classes within the half century that followed Rāma-Rāja's death.

Last years of Sadāsiva-Rāya, 1565-1570 A.D.

Though Sadāsiva survived Rāma-Rāja by some five years, there was hardly any change in his position, except that he had perhaps a little more of personal freedom. On the abandonment of the capital, he was evidently first, at Tirumalai and then probably from about 1567 A.D. or so, at Penukonda, the new capital. (See *M.E.R.* 1901, No. 337 of 1901). Since we have no inscriptions of Sadāsiva subsequent to 1565 A. D.—and there are at least two records dated in that year at Penukonda (*M.E.R.* 533 of 1901)— it is possible that it was, from that date, recognized as the new capital, though Sadāsiva actually moved into it a little later. This inference is supported by the fact that there are one or two records which represent Sadāsiva-Rāya as still ruling in the city of Vijayanagar in 1568 A.D. (*E.C.* X1. Hiriyur 47 ; see also Hiriyur 75, which is set down by Mr. Rice to 1583 A.D., in which a grant for the merit of Tirumala is registered). In 1567 A.D., Sadāsiva journeyed to the south and stayed for sometime on the banks of the Cauvery at Srīrangam. From here, he made a grant, dated in 1567 A.D., at the request of his feudatory Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the ruler of Madura, of certain villages to the Tiruvēnkatanātha temple at

Krishnāpuram, built by that chief. (*E.I.* IX, 328-342, the Krishnāpuram plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya). This grant shows that Sadāsiva, despite the great reverse that the Empire had sustained in 1565 A.D., was still respected by his southern feudatories and that the Empire did not wholly break up as the result of the defeat at Raksas Tagdi. Other records of his, dated in 1567, 1569 and 1570 A.D., come from districts ranging from Nellore to Tinnevelly. (*M.E.R.* 64, 1908; 15 of 1910, 403 of 1922; 37 of 1887, dated in 1566 A.D., 78 of 1887, dated in 1567 A.D., 40 of 1887, dated 1566 A.D.; see also *S.I.I.* I. Nos. 47, 48; 44; *E.C.* III Seringapatam 149, dated in 1567 A.D., Mandya 54, dated in 1567 A.D.; *E.C.* VI, Kadur 18, dated in 1569 when Sadāsiva "was ruling a peaceful kingdom"; *E.C.* X. Chintamani 151, dated in 1570 and *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 52, dated in 1565; and *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 1568-69, Nellore 105, dated in *Saka* 1492 or A.D. 1570-1). What became of him is not known from the inscriptions. But as Anquetil du Perron, when speaking of Venkata I, says that "he caused Sadāsiva's son to be murdered" and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisnagar," (*l.c.* 166) it might be inferred that he was also assassinated. An inscription, dated in 1570 A.D., coming from Sorab, in the Shimoga District, dated in the reign of Tirumala, suggests that it was Venkata I that carried out the dark deed. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 55). There is, however, no direct evidence to connect his name with it, except that of Anquetil du Perron, who, writing a century later, has remarked that Tirumala's son murdered the ancient king of Bisnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father. (*Descriptive History and Geography of India*, 166). The "ancient king" referred to in this passage has been taken to mean Sadāsiva, his "father" referred to being Ranga. Sadāsiva is said to have had a son named Vitthala-Rāya, who is said to have made a grant to a temple in Tinnevelly. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 315;

Ins. of the Madras Presy. see under *Tinnevelly district,* III, Tinnavelly 275; *M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6). Sadāsiva had also a daughter, who being possessed, was cured by Parānkusa-Van-Sathakōpajīyamgāru of the Ahōbala temple in the Kurnool district. The Jīyamgāru was a great religious teacher and author and the agent besides of Rāma-Rāja at Ahōbalam. For exorcising the evil spirit, Sadāsiva presented him with a village. (See *Ins. of the Madras Presy.* II, 971, No. 579; also *M.E.R.* 1915, No. 65 of 1915).

An estimate of his character.

Thus died Sadāsiva by the hand, if not of his successor at least by that of his son, and thus perished Sadasiva's son too and with him the great and glorious dynasty to which he belonged. He reigned but did not govern. If he had tried to rule, probably he would have met his fate earlier. There is evidence, however, to believe that he was not lacking in personal courage and that he could, as Sabhāpati, his court-poet puts it, wield the bow as Rāma did of old, (*Nellore Ins.* I, 98-109, copper-plate No. 14, Māmidipūndi grant), a statement that is confirmed by Correa, (see H. Heras in the *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 247, *f.n.*, 1), who says that he was " a sensible man and a great warrior." The question then arises why he did not attempt to vindicate his right and put down Rāma-Rāja. There are at least three reasons why he did not or could not do so in the position he found himself. First, it was to put him on the throne that Rāma-Rāja had fought the Salaka brothers and gratitude required that he should not rebel so long as Rāma-Rāja did not fail to recognize the sovereign in him. And gratitude, as we know, is not merely the best of virtues, but also the most expensive. With Sadāsiva, evidently, it was something more than a feather. The penalty he had to pay had therefore to be something heavy: it proved to be an active exercise of his own sovereign powers. Secondly, he was evidently an young man when he succeeded to the throne and could not in any event have attempted anything useful against his benefactor. Thirdly, when, after a few years, he found the whilom upholder of his sovereignty, usurp the regal position, he should have found that the times were not propitious for him to break the fetters that bound the prison walls. A king, as the sententious maxim would have it, goes as far as he dares, not as far as he desires. The desire to go forward may have been there but Sadāsiva should have found it impossible to realize it. He should therefore have thought it more prudent to desist from working up a revolution. If he desired nothing, he certainly does not appear to have feared anything. He was, as king, evidently beloved by his subjects. There may be poetic exaggeration in what Sabhāpati says of him in the Māmidipūndi grant but we need not go so far as to deny that Sadāsiva was a good and amiable king, charming in his manners, devoted to learning, engaging in conversation and unlimited in his gifts to those who deserved it. There is nothing to show that he merited the sad end that overtook him. He was destined to die, so that another might usurp his throne and found a new dynasty. It would seem to follow from inscriptions quoted above that Sadāsiva-Rāya died somewhere about 1570 A.D. Nellore 105 is dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta, chaitra ba.* 7, Monday, while Sorab 55 is dated in *Saka* 1493 *Prajōthpathi, Kārtīka janana yōga.* Sadāsiva should therefore have died between April 1570 and November 1571 A.D. According to a record from Bārakur, however, he should have continued to live up to 1586 A.D., though only as a puppet king. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 140). It has been suggested that the information furnished by this record is "doubtful," as this date would take him into the reign of Venkata I, between whom and Sadāsiva, Ranga II has to be accommodated. (*A.S.I.* 1908-9, 199). Rice has set down a record from Kurubarahalli, Sidlaghatta taluk, which mentions Sadāsiva-Rāya as still ruling in 1580 A.D.; the original of this record, however, mentions no *Saka* date. (*E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 2). He also sets down another record of the time of Sadāsiva-Rāya to 1583 A.D. (*E.C. XI*, Hiriyur 75). As both of these records are really undated, they cannot be taken to affect the argument. If he died in 1570-1 A.D., then how and where did he dīe? It has been suggested that he ended his days in Srīrangam, where he was in 1568 A.D., on a visit. (*E.C.* IX, 330). But as he lived two years later, and as some later inscriptions quoted above describe him as ruling from the city of Vijayanagar, the traditional capital, it has to be inferred that he returned to Penukonda, the new capital and lived there until he was removed by the assassin's hand. The Rev. Father H. Heras has suggested that he should have been kept in prison at Chandragiri, where probably he met his fate. But there is no evidence whatever to support this hypothesis. On the other hand, the existence of an inscription dated in 1567-8 at Penukonda and the statements made in other records that he was ruling from his capital, go to show that he should have been residing at Penukonda at the time of his death. According to Cæsar Frederick, Sadāsiva was put to death by a son of Tirumala. (*Purchas*, X, 97). As Tirumala was the man to be directly benefited by this infamous act, it has been suggested that he may have connived, or rather winked at it. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty* 245). The Rev. H. Heras thinks that it was Venkata I (he calls him Venkata II) that killed Sadāsiva-Rāya. (*Ibid*, 246; but see above).

Nature of Sadāsiva's reign: remission of taxation.

There is some evidence to believe that in the earlier part of his reign, Sadāsiva had some voice in the administration of the Empire. During this period, he is, consistently with his position, described as its sole ruler. This period overlaps with the next two periods, when

Rāma-Rāja describes himself as his sovereign's *agent* and later describes himself as sovereign, without mentioning his master's name. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 81, dated in 1545 A.D.; Magadi 71 dated in 1547; Channapatna 177 dated 1547; Hoskote 39 dated 1549; Nelamangala 72 dated in 1551; Magadi 67 dated in 1556; and Tumkur 44 dated in 1562). It will be seen that this period practically ends about 1556 A.D., though occasionally we hear of Sadāsiva still spoken of singly as ruling the country. In the second period, Rāma-Rāja is spoken as *agent* of Sadāsiva, who is also mentioned in the grants. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 167 dated 1546; and *E.C.* VI, Tarikere 41 dated in 1547; *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 30 dated in 1544; *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 126 dated in 1545; *E.C.* X, Kolar 147 dated in Date which he is, as in certain others, still spoken of as merely Mahāmandalēsvara). This period may be said to date from 1557 A.D., when we have a grant by Sadāsiva for the merit of Rāma-Rāja. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 1). In the next period, both are mentioned, almost as equals, and their geneologies—of Sadāsiva and Rāma-Rāja—are given at length. (*e.g.*, *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 18 dated in 1558). In this period also grants are accordingly made in both their names, for both their merits and in order that merit may be to both. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 48 dated in 1549 and *E.C.* V, Belur 183 dated in 1548). During the first period, the internal administration of the State was conducted on the traditional lines. Remission of taxes of a kind that weighed heavily on the poor, were abolished. The tax on the barbers was first remitted by Rāma-Rāja as agent of Sadāsiva and its removal was given effect to throughout the Empire by feudatories and provincial governors. (*E.C.* VI, Tarikere 13 dated in 1545; *E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 6 dated in 1555).

Remission of Barber's tax.

A number of inscriptions recording this remission have the figures of the barber's instruments, like the razor, the strop, mirror and scissors engraved on them. The Telugu poet Rudrayya, author of *Nirānkusōpākhyam*, secured an interview with the king (Sadāsiva) through the influence, it is said, of Kondoju, the favourite barber of Sadāsiva, who was instrumental in obtaining the remission of the taxes imposed on them. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 43). The poet composed a verse in his praise which is still extant. This remission included forced labour, fixed rent, land-rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birada*, etc. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 41 dated 1544; Tiptur 126 dated in 1545). In 1551 A.D., Sadāsiva appears to have ordered the grant of rent free lands to salt makers with rules as to the removal of saline earth by them. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 8 and 9 dated in 1551). In 1562, Rāma-Rāja remitted in favour of certain people, the tax for riding at marriages. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 17 dated in 1562). In the same year, Sadāsiva is said to have put a stop to riding at marriages in future. (*Ibid*). An inscription dated in 1557 A.D., speaks of Rāma-Rāja's administration as a righteous one. (It is said to be *dharmapārupatya*, literally just overseeing) (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 1). It was presumably one in consonance with current ideas of what might be termed just and honorable alike to the people and the government. Neither Sadāsiva nor Rāma-Rāja could have been otherwise than popular, seeing that they abolished unpopular taxes and earned a good name for their administration.

Feudatories, Ministers and Generals.

The government was carried on by Rāma-Rāja with the aid of his younger brother Tirumala as prime minister and Venkatādri as Commander-in-chief. Of these two, Tirumala appears to have wielded considerable independent powers. Thus, we hear of his bestowing certain privileges on the Pānchālas of Belur in 1555. (*E.C.* V, Belur 5). In some records, he is spoken as Rāma-Rāja-Tirumala, after his grand-father Rāma and termed Mahāmandalēsvara. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 1 dated in 1559).

In a few others he is referred to as Gutti Tirumalaiya. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 31 dated in 1556 A.D.). He is called in certain other records as *Yara-Timma*, a corruption for *Hirē-Tirumala*. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 94 dated in 1564; *E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 40 dated in 1556; *E.C.* XI, Challakere 1 dated in 1557 and *E.C.* XI, Challakere 54). In a record dated in 1558, he is spoken of as "learned as Bhōja-Rāja" (see below) and "devoted to his brother." (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186). Among the feudatories of the period were the Nandyāla chiefs, of whom there appear to have been quite a number in the Mysore country. Thus, we hear of one Avabhalēsvara-Dēva of Nandyāla, whose grants are dated in 1544 and 1551. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 34 dated in 1541; *E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 121 dated 1544; Krishnarajpete 27; Hunsur 25, dated in 1544; *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 72 dated in 1551). Probably he has to be identified with Aubhalarāja, a cousin of Rāma-Rāja of the Nandyāla branch. Another chief of this family was Mahāmandalēsvara Timmaya-dēvamahā-arasu, who is mentioned in records dated in 1551 A.D. (*E.C.* Heggaddevankote 66 and Chamarajnagar 110). He is spoken of as the son of Narasingadēva-mahā-arasu of Nandyāla. Another inscription of his, also dated in 1551, has been found in Melkote. (*M.A.R.* 1906-07, Para 30). A still another was Nārāyanadēva-mahā-arasu, son of Narasinga-dēva, two of whose records dated in 1544 and 1545, have been found at Melkote. (*Ibid*). Evidently Timmayadēva and Nārāyanadēva were brothers, Nārāyana being identical with Naraparāja, son of Nandyāla Narasinga of the Āravīdu collateral branch, which is known familiarly as the Nandyāla family, because of their original connection with Nandyāla in the Kurnool District. The Timmayadēva mentioned above, however, does not figure in the genealogical table of the collateral branch as it appears in Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri's paper on the Second (? Third) Vijayanagar dynasty. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, Table at the end of the article). Nor is he mentioned in the table of the collateral family of Āravīdu chies, attached to the *Sources of Vijayanagar History.* (See XII, Table IV). Mahāmandalēsvara Vīrarāja Srīrangarāja of the same family was in charge of Mulbagal Rājya in or about 1547 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 4). Several inscriptions of this family have been traced in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, dated in 1544 and 1555 A.D. (See *M.A.R.* 1906-07, Para 39; *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, 929, under *Markapur Taluk*; also *Ibid* I, 575, under *Badvel Taluk, Porumamilla*, No. 13; *Cuddapah Taluk* No. 17-A, etc.). Then we have Mahāmandalēsvara Komāra Konda Rājayya-Dēva-Maharāsu. (*E.C.* VIII, T.-Narsipur 108 dated in 1556). He is probably to be identified with China-Konda, another cousin of Rāma-Rāja. He is probably the same as Mahāmandalēsvara Konda-Rājayya, who had charge of the Magadi country in 1558 A.D. and whose agent there was Korlakunte Kondama-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 28). There is a Mahānāyaka Kondama Nāyaka mentioned in another record dated in 1558. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 47). We have mention of one Pāpai-Dēva-Chōla-Mahā-arasu described as the son of Vengalarāja and grandson of Manubōla-Aubala-Rāja in a record dated in 1544 from the Chitaldrug District. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 22). Among other feudatories were Chennādēvi, daughter of Dēvarasa-Odeya, who was ruling over the whole of the Mangalore country, with her capital at Bhatkal, about 1546; Krishnappa-Nāyak of Madura; Komāra Timmanāyaningaru and his son Chinnappa Nāyaningāru of the Velugōti family ruling the Nāgarjunikonda-sīmā and the Kocherla-Kōta-sīmā in 1544 and 1569 A.D., respectively; Chinna-bomma-Nāyaka and Kalla-bomma-Nāyaka, the Nāyakās of Vellore; and the Getti-Mudaliars of Tāramangalam. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-09, 198 and 199 and *f.n.*, 8 to 12). Bhayirarsannāji was in charge of the affairs of Kalasa between 1522 and 1555

A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 40 and 60). Mahāmandalēsvara Prattikonda Kondaya-Dēva-Mahā-arasu, who made a grant in 1540 for rebuilding a tank, was evidently in charge of a part of modern Chitaldrug District. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 35). Mahāmandalēsvara Nārāyana Rāja was overseeing the Hoskote country in 1559 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Hoskote 2). Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Rājēsvara Srīranga-rāya-Mahā-arasu, son of Tirumala, was governor of Gulur-sīmē in the Nelamangala country in 1561 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 73). A Rāma-Rāya-Srīranga-Dēva-Mahā-arasu is refered to in a record dated in 1554 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 67). Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the betel-bearer of Sadāsiva, is mentioned in three records coming from Davangere Taluk as making grants for a *chatra* (feeding house) at Harihar in 1554, 1561 and 1562, (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 22, 18 and 30). Rāma-Rāja appears to have encouraged the entertainment in his service of Muhammadans, though some of them do not appear to have requited his favours with gratitude at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. Thus Ain-ul-Mulk, at whose request Rāma-Rāja induced Sadāsiva to sanction the Bevinhahalli grant dated in 1551 A.D., (*E.I.* XIV, No. 210, 16), has been identified with Mullik Einool Mulk Geelany, who is mentioned by the chronicler of Gōlconda, whose account is translated by Briggs. (*Ferishta*, III, 381). He was known as a friend of the Brāhmans, for one of whom he begged for the grant mentioned in the Bevinahalli record. The chief of this name who lies buried in a very elegantly built tomb, 2 miles east of Bijāpur, is a different personage who was killed in a rebellion he led in 1556 A.D. Another Muhammadan chief in Rāma-Rāja's service was Dilāvar Khān, who was his agent at Kolar in 1558 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 147). Vithalēsvara-Dēva-Mahā-arasu, another Mahāmandalēsvara, was in charge of the Sivanasamudram country (*i.e.*, Bangalore District) in 1544. His agent, one Rachur (Raichur) Narasimhaiya, granted that merit might accrue to his master, a village in that province to the god Allālanātha of Jukkur. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 30). He is probably the same chief mentioned as Rāma-Rāya Vitthalēsvara, who remitted the barbers' tax in the Davangere country in 1544 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 29). His son Tirumala-Rāya is mentioned in a record dated in 1553. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 9). This same Rāma-Rāja Vitthala is mentioned in several other records. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 34 dated 1550; Pavagada 39 dated 1554). His son Tirumala, above referred to, was ruling over Penukonda-rājya in 1554. (*E.C.* XII, Madhugiri 78.) This Vitthalēsvara has to be distinguished from the great Vitthala, the conqueror of the Tiruvadi.. Mahāmandalēsvara Komāra Kondarājayyadēva-Mahārāja, the ruler of Vinukonda-sīmē, is evidently identical with the Kondarāja of the British Museum plates of Sadāsiva. (*E.I.* IV, 4). He appears to have been known also as Rāmarāja Konētirāja Kondarājayyadēva-Mahārāja. (*M.E.R.* 1916; Para 70; App. B. No. 531). Vitthala, the conqueror of Tiruvadi-rājya, was assisted by his brother Chinna-Timmayadēva-Mahāraja and the latter appears to have held that province jointly with Vitthala. During the governorship of Vitthala was issued the *earliest* copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva so far known, dated in 1537 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. A. No. 6; also *M.E.R.* 1917, Para 45). Sūrappa-Nāyaka appears to have been in charge of a part of South Arcot. He is said to have repaired the temple of Alagiya Singaperumāl at Ennāyiram, which had been built by Rājēndra-Chōla and had gone into ruins. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 74; App. B. No. 334 dated in 1543 A.D.). He was evidently in charge of the Tiruvadi-rājya. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. C. No. 41). He was the son of Pottappa-Nāyaka and is called the "lord of Manināgapura," the place from which the Gingee chiefs are said to have emigrated. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. C. 312; see also *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 83). He was still living and in authority in 1562. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 53; App. B, No. 411). The Mattli chief Varadarāja, son of Sōmarāja Pottarāja and son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, is mentioned in a record of his dated in 1544 A.D., from Conjeeveram. He was evidently a personage of some note as he is given the titles of *Kāvēri-Vallabha, Katikāsūrahasa, Ōtte Hurājulagunadanda* and *Gajasimha*. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 49; App. B, No. 528 of 1919). Achyutappa Tummichi-Nāyakkar of the Madura country, evidently a close connection of Tumbichi-Nāyaka, was subjugated by Achyuta. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 115; Nos. 292, 293 and 294 of 1923). The Princes Rāma-rāja Timmarāja and Chinna Timma appear to have exercised authority in the Chandragiri province. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 34; App. A, No. 12, the Srīperumbudūr Copper-plates of Sadāsiva-Rāya dated in 1477 or 1555 A.D.). They obtained a grant in favour of the Vēdic scholar Purushōttama Bhatta from the king in 1555 A.D. Aliya Rāma-Rāja's own son, Kumāra Krishnamarasayya, was also governing a district under Sadāsiva in 1561 A.D. (*Ibid* 1925, Para 34; App. B, No. 380 of 1925). According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, he was the elder son of Rāma-Rāja by Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. His younger brother, according to that poem, was governor of Raichur. (See *Sources*, 184-5). Some other subordinates of Sadāsiva will be found mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 52; *M.E.R.* 1917, Paras 45-7; *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 43; and *M.E.R.* 1927, Para 84).

FOURTH (OR ĀRAVĪDU) DYNASTY.

Fourth (or Āravīdu) Dynasty 1570-1759 A.D. Accession of Tirumala I the first *de jure* ruler of the dynasty.

The assassination of Sadāsiva was followed by the accession to the throne of Tirumala I, the first *de jure* ruler of the fourth or the Āravīdu dynasty. Before describing his coronation and the other events connected with his reign, it would be advantageous to take a bird's eye view of the earlier chiefs of this dynasty.

Brief history of the earlier chiefs of the fourth dynasty.

Of the history of the earlier chiefs of the fourth dynasty, we have only scanty information. Literary and inscriptional records agree in assigning an hoary ancestry to them. (See *Rāmarājīyamu* in *Sources*, 79, 102, 181; *Bālabhāgavatamu* in *Sources*, 204; Kudligi Sringēri-matha grant of Venkata I dated in 1587, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83; Avanimatha copper-plate grant of Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI, dated 1645 *E.C.* X Mulbagal 60; Tumkur grant of Tirumala I, dated in 1571 *E.C.* XII Tumkur 1; and Tirumalapura grant of Venkata I, *E.C.* XII Chiknaykanhalli 1589). Leaving aside the legendary part of the genealogy traced from Chandra (moon) through Bharata, Nanda, Chalikka, Bijjalēndra and Vīra-hemmali-Rāya, the lord of Mayapuri, we come to Tāta-Pinnama, who was evidently a historical personage and the founder of the family. He was called "Tāta" or grand-father to distinguish him from his great-grand-son who was also known as Pinnama. It is said that at sight of him groups of his enemies trembled. The *Rāmarājīyamu* styles him *Cheruku-Racha-Nāyaka-saptānga-harana*, he who took and captured the seven constituents of royalty of Cheruka-Racha-Nāyaka. The identity of the latter has not so far been made out. His son was Sōma-Dēva (sometimes written Sōmi-Dēva), who is described in inscriptions as the capturer, from the enemy, of the seven forts in one day. The names of these forts are mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* to be the following:—Ganginenikonda; Kandanvolu (Kurnool); Kaluvakolu; Kota-Kāchūru (evidently Rāchūru-kōta); Mosalimadugu, which no king could take; Yatagiri town; and Sātāni-kōta. It is also mentioned in this work that he set up a triumphal arch before the eastern gate of the first of these forts and that these seven were taken in the order mentioned. The copper-plate records state, by way of evident exaggeration, that Sōma-Dēva took all these *seven forts in a day*, which is nowhere countenanced by the author of the *Rāmarājīyamu*, who appears to have gathered full information about the family before composing his work. As most of these places are on the northern frontier of Vijayanagar, it is possible that Sōma-dēva did take part in the wars of his time and display his valour in the manner described in the poem. As Āravīti-Bukka, his grand-son, was a general of Sāluva-Narasimha (1486-1497), Sōma-Dēva might be set down to about the time of Harihara II. (See *Sources*, 80 *f.n.*). The *Rāmarājīyamu* states that Sōma-dēva defeated the proud Muhammad on several occasions in the battle-field and that when he was captured he begged his freedom, by falling at the victor's feet and agreeing [illegible] name his son after Sōma-Dēva. Sōma-Dēva, it is said, distributed the 6,000 horses he took from Muhammad among those who asked for them. This Muhammad has been identified with the Bāhmani king of that name who ruled between 1358 and 1375 A.D. Among the chiefs whom Sōma-Dēva is said to have defeated are Nadabala Nāyaka, Gujjulu-Viri-Nedu, Rudrapa, Gaura-reddi, and Gangi-nāyaka. He is said to have also taken Akulapadu, Mudgal, Anegondi and Kuntīsara. He is credited with many titles, the most notable of which is *Vīrakshētra-bhāratimalla*, which he is said to have acquired because of his capture of the last mentioned four places. He is said to have ruled from Āravītipura and to have been famous for his gifts. (See *Sources*, text, 82). He was succeeded by the brave Rāghavadēva of the inscriptions and Rāghavēndra of the *Rāmarājīyamu*. He is said to have given away, according to the latter work, many villages as *agrahāras* to Brāhmans. His far-famed son was Pinnama. His son was Bukka, who is said to have firmly established the kingdom of Sāluva-Narasimha. (*Sthiri-kritam, E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83). The *Rāmarājīyamu* styles him *Sāluva-Narasimharāya-Rājyapratishtapanāchārya.* (See *Sources*, Text, 103). He is said to have been a great devotee of the God Venkatāchalapati on the Tirupati

Hill. How long Āravīti-Bukka, as he is known in literature, lived, is not clear. Kumāra-Durjati states that he was present at the coronation of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, which took place in 1509 A.D. If this might be accepted, then he cannot have died before that date. (See *Sources*, 129). He married Abbala-Dēvi and Bulla-Dēvi, called Ballāmbika in the copper-plate records. By the former he had many sons, of whom Singa was the eldest, who subsequently became the chief of Nandyāla (*i.e.*, Nandyāl). By Bulla-Dēvi, he had a son named Rāma-Rāja, known to history as Rāma-Raja I. Rāma-Rāja is credited with many great feats, of which three appear to be of outstanding merit according to the copper-plate grants and the *Rāmarājīyamu*. He is said to have taken the hill fortress of Adōni, despite the fact it was defended by a garrison of 7,000 horse and an army of foot by one Kasappudaya, (or Kacha of the *Bāla-bhāgavatamu*), who is said to have "vied with Indra in power." He also attacked and captured the lofty fortress of Kandannavoli-durga (*i.e.*, Kurnool), which is said to have been defended with great dīligence by Savai Bibbi, (possibly Yusuf Ādil Shāh 1489-1510 A.D.), and captured his seven constituents of royalty. He made Kurnool his capital and ruled from there. His relations became jealous of him and would appear to have tried to poison him through the agency of a boy, who hesitated to hand him the cup containing the poisoned water. On this, Rāma-Rāja, of his own free will, snatched it from him, quaffed it all, as if it were nectar. His faith in God Hari was so great that the poison could do no injury to him. He married Lakkāmbika and by her left three sons, Timma-Rāja, Peddakonda-Rāja and Srī-Ranga-Rāja, known to history as Srī-Ranga I. Of these, the last seems to have continued to hold sway over Kurnool and probably Āravītinagara, while Timma-Rāja became the ruler of Owk and Pedda-konda-Rāja of Adoni. It would seem that all these places were within the jurisdiction of Rāma-Rāja I, when he died. The main line, accordingly, continued in Srī-Ranga-Rāja I. By Tirumalāmbika, he had three sons, Rāma-Rāja, who became famous as Aliya Rāma-Rāja, the son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, and has been designated Rāma-Rāja II; Tirumala-Rāya, afterwards Tirumala I; and Venkatādri, the Commander-in-Chief of Aliya Rāma-Rāja. Of Aliya Rāma-Rāja, we have seen above how he became prominent in the reign of Sadāsiva and how he practically usurped the sovereign powers. Rāma-Rāja II married Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and had by her two sons Krishna and Pedda-Timma. Pedda-Timma is said to have won victories against the Nizām Shāh. Rāma-Rāja also married Appalāmba, daughter of Peddanandi-Rāja of the Jillelu family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma (or Lakshmāmba), the daughters of Timma of the Pothi-Rāja family. By Kondamma he had two sons, Konda and Timma. Of these, Konda fought against the Nizām Shāh and ruled with Anegundi as his capital, while Timma became Governor of Raichur, on its recapture from the Ādil Shāh. Konda married Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Sūrappa, a Commander of forces, and had a son Rāma (Rāma III). Rāma in his turn married the three ladies Narasingamma, Obamma and Janakamma. Timma-Rāja married Pochamma. By Lakshmāmba, Rāma-Rāja had a son Srī-Ranga-Rāja, the Srī-Ranga-Rāya IV of modern geneologists. Srī-Ranga IV married Lakshmamma and had by her, two sons, who were known as Pedda-Venkata and Chinna-Venkata. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 181-190).

Early career of Tirumala I.

Tirumala, as we have seen, was Prime Minister of Sadāsiva and was practically all powerful in the State. From about 1543 to 1551 A.D., he was in charge of Udayagiri-rājya. (*Nellore Ins.* II, 867, Nellore 104; III 1377, Udayagiri 30). In 1552 A.D., he appears as Governor of Kochcharlakōta-Sīma. Two years later, he was appointed to Nāgarājunikonda-Sīma, and under him there was the Velugoti chief Komāra-Timma-Nāyannagāru, now represented by the Zamindars of Venkatagiri. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. B. No. 584 of 1909). Probably he was in direct charge of this province, while Prime Minister at the capital. For he is called the able Minister of Sadāsiva and *Mahāmandalēsvara* in 1554 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73; App. B. No. 341). He was also evidently in similar charge of Gooty in 1555 A.D., on account of which he came to be known as Gooty Tirumalaiya-Dēva. (*Nellore Ins.* 880, Nellore 112; *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 49; App. C. Nos. 1 and 176; App. B. 575, 577, and 739 *E.C.* XII, Sira 31). From certain records dated in 1565-66 A.D., it might be inferred he was in the enjoyment of the *Jagīr* of Kondavīdu. (*Nellore Ins.* II, 946, Ongole 29). In a record dated in the same year (*E.C.* X Goribidnur 52) he is made to appear as the equal of Sadāsiva. This records a grant in Sadāsiva's reign and made by his command, but by *order* of Tirumala, *for the merit of both.* Five years later in 1569-76 A.D., he is described, in one record, as "ruling the Earth" with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja.* (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 10). In a record dated in the following year, 1570-1 A.D., he is besides spoken of as *Vīra-Pratāpa.* From that to the Tumkur Copper-plates, which record for the first time his coronation, the transition seems almost imperceptible. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1). There is one record, however, of an earlier date, (1551 A.D.), which speaks of him as the ruling king in that year. The Budihal plates, in which this statement occurs, (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 42 dated Saka *guna giri vēda indu*) seems clearly wrongly dated. There is no mention in them of either Sadāsiva or Rāma-Rāja and he is spoken of as a ruler of the Kingdom. There is nothing to show—beyond its date—that it is a forgery as has been suggested. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 180, *f.n.* 1).

Tirumala's coronation.

On the death of Sadāsiva-Rāya, Tirumala was crowned king. The Tumkur copper-plate grant dated in 1571 A.D., a contemporary record (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1) describing the event, says that "at the time of his coronation-anointing, the earth, bathed in the streams of water poured out with his numerous gifts, ranked as the queen." Later copper-plate records—of the reigns of Venkata I, Venkata II and Ranga VI—repeat this remark. The Rev. H. Heras has inferred from this statement that his queen was not present at his coronation. As the coronation appears to have taken place at Penukonda, where according to the Tumkur copper-plate record, Tirumala adorned the golden throne of Karnātaka and ruled his Empire, it cannot have been impossible for his queen to be there by his side, even if she had been at Chandragiri previous to that. Nor could it be suggested that the times were such that it was insecure for the queen to proceed to Penukonda *five years* after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. As a matter of fact, his queen Channama-Dēvi was alive then and such a semi-religious ceremony could not have been performed without the queen. The phrase of Svayambhu, the Court-poet, about the earth being bathed at the time, *first* occurs in the Tumkur grant and is repeated by Krishna-kavi-Kāmakōti, his son, in the grant of Venkata I. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknaykanhalli 39, dated in 1589 A.D.), and by others, in the sense that the grants and gifts made on the auspicious occasion by Tirumala were so many that the earth overflowed with water in giving them by pouring of water, and seemed as though the Goddess Earth was also being anointed. It would be a clear misapprehension of the poetic idea involved in this description if it were taken as meaning that the coronation took place without the queen! It is possible that

Vengatāmba, the daughter of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and the first queen of Tirumala, was dead at the time and that Channama-Dēvi had taken her place. As she was alive in 1571 A.D., the year following Tirumala's coronation, it is possible that she was crowned queen with her lord Tirumala I as King Tirumala, who was probably well advanced in years at the time, though it is impossible to state if he was "close upon ninety" as suggested by the Rev. H. Heras.

Its date: about 1570 A.D.

The coronation probably took place somewhere about 1570 A.D. Three of the latest records of Sadāsiva are dated in April and May 1570 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Siddlaghatta 88 dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta, Vaisakha* 5 *Soma, i.e.*, May 1570; *E.C.* X, Chintamani 15, dated in *Saka* (1492), *Pramōduta, Vaisakha Sud.* 12, *i.e.*, May 1570; and *Nellore Ins.* II, 869, Nellore 105, dated in *Saka* 1492, *Pramōduta, Chaitra Ba.* 7. *So. i.e.*, April 1570). One of the earliest records of Tirumala I, definitely mentioning his coronation and rule from Penukonda, is dated in November 1571. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1 dated in *Saka* 1493, *Prajōtpatti, Kārtika* 12, *Saumya, i.e.*, November 1571). It would seem to follow from these two sets of records of the time of Sadāsiva and Tirumala, that the cononation of the latter should have taken place between May 1570 and November 1571 A.D. We may not be far wrong, if we set down the event to about the middle of 1570 A.D.

Setting up of a royal pedigree.

Tirumala's coronation apparently marks the beginning of the *de jure* rule of the Āravīdu dynasty. At any rate, the Court-poet Kavi-Sāsana Svayambhu, the son of Sabhāpati, made up a pedigree for him and his ancestors immediately after his coronation and incorporated it in the Tumkur copper-plate grant of 1571 A.D. Chidambara-kavi elaborated it in the Mangalampundi grant of

Venkata I dated in 1602-3 A.D. (*Nellore Ins.* I. 25, C. P. No. 6). The Vilapāka and Kondyāta grants of Venkata I and Venkata II repeat it. (*E.I.* IV. 272). These were drawn up by Rāma Kāvi, son of Kāmakōti and grand-son of Sabhāpati. The Utsur grant of Ranga VI dated in 1647-8 A.D. similarly elaborates it (*Nellore Ins.* I. 44, C. P. No. 7), while the Kallakurchi grant (*I.A.* 153) is identical with it. The Utsur and Kallakurchi grants of Ranga VI were also composed by the same Rāma Kavi. Thus. it would seem that except the Mangalampundi grant, which, however, agrees in its first twenty verses with the Utsur grant, the more important copper-plate grants of this dynasty were composed by the son and grandson of Sabhāpati. They were, as Court poets, evidently interested in working up a pedigree suitable to the position that the descendants of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya (albeit in the female line) had attained since his death. Such an ancient pedigree, connecting them with the ancient Nandas, Chalukyas and Kalachuryas, was evidently thought necessary to give stability to the rule of the Kings of the Āravīdu Dynasty.

The succession contested.

The succession to the throne was not, however, left uncontested. Though inscriptional records do not throw any light on the point, Ferishta just hints at it and foreign travellers openly mention it. Who contested the succession actually and which of the feudatories joined them or took sides, it is nowhere mentioned. The Rev. H. Heras quotes the author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala I. "There were," he says, "several wars over the question of the succession to the throne; for, there was no more issue of the royal family and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present." (See the *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 242 *f.n.* 2). Though Rāma-Rāja had five sons, none of them found it possible to succeed him. Tirumala was an old man and was practically in possession of the Empire, and was evidently helped by his brother Venkatādri. It is possible some of the sons of Rāma-Rāja, helped by some of the feudatories, disputed Tirumala's right to set them aside. The wars over the successsion would only refer to some such fight. Ferishta quotes a letter from Tirumala himself to the chief of Bankāpur, in which he bemoans that most of his dependents had "become rebels from their duty." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 136). Cæsar Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, says that the diamond fields had been left unworked because of the troubles that have been in that Kingdom." (*Purchas*, X, 97). He also narrates some interesting details. "The first cause of this trouble was," he says, "because the Sonne of this Temaragiv (Tirumala-Rāya) had put to death the lawful King.................. ....for which the barons and noblemen in the kingdom would not acknowledge him to be their king and by this means there are many kings, and great division in that kingdom." Anquetil du Perron confirms both the assassination of Sadāsiva and the subsequent troubles. "Many troubles," he says, "sprang from these revolutions; the nobles refused to acknowledge the new King" (*l. c.* 166). How long this recalcitrant attitude of the feudatories continued is not quite clear, but the Tumkur record of 1571 describing his conquest of the eighty-four *durgas*, curbing of the Avahalu Rāja, conquering the Utkala (Orissa) King, and the Sultan of Warrangal, would show that he had not only put down the insurectionaries but also recovered the lost countries on the East Coast and made war northwards as far as Warrangal. In any case, it stands to reason that he cannot have carried on warfare outside his own Empire, if he had not first restored peace in it. The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that those mentioned in the Tumkur grant "were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience." (See *Āravīdu Dynasty,* 153). Whatever might have been the case with the eighty-four hill chiefs, it cannot be argued that the Utkala King and the Sultān of Warrangal were "the rebel chiefs" whom he reduced to obedience. The former was an independent monarch north of the Krishna even during the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his independence had been recognized by Krishna-Dēva-Rāya under the treaty that ended his final campaign. (See under *Krishnā-Dēva-Rāya*). As regards the Sultān of Warrangal, it is not clear who is referred to under this name. In Krishna-Dēva's reign Warrangal had been recaptured by Chiraph Khān from the Muhammadans and had been restored to one Panchalarāya. There is no record since that time to show that it had become subordinate to the Vijayanagar Kings. Nor is there anything in the Tumkur plates to countenance the suggestion that the chief of that place was a subordinate of Tirumala. It styles him "Suratrāna of Urigola," evidently a title which has to be classed with the others metioned with it—chief gem in the garland Āravītipura, Tribhuvanamalla of Tengi, the lord of Kalyānapura, Chalikka-Chakravarti, etc. (See *E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1). While some of these titles might indicate actual chiefs defeated by Tirumala, others seem to be mere titles borrowed from the "office copy" of old dynastic pedigrees.

Tirumala's wars and conquests.

It is possible that with the aid of Venkatādri, Tirumala put forth considerable energy in reconquering part of the East Coast territories over-run by the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golkonda. In 1569 A.D., Alī Ādil Shāh and Mustafa Nizām Shāh mutually agreed to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other. Under this pact, it was settled that the Sultān of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy

Berar and that the Sultān of Bijāpur should be permitted to conquer as much of the dependencies of Vijayanagar as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of the Nizām Shāh. (Briggs, *Ferishta,* I, 135). Acting on this pact, Alī Ādil Shāh first reduced Terkul and then laid seige to Dhārwār, and took it after a siege of six months. He next laid siege to Bankāpur, which was stoutly defended by Velappa-Rāya and his son. Velappa applied for help also from Tirumala, but the latter could offer little or none because of the insurrectionaries nearer home. Velappa heroically held out for a year and three months and when his son fell, he surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects. (Briggs, *Ferishta,* I, 135-9 ; III. 432). Mustafa Khān, the general of Alī Ādil Shāh, then entered and took possession of it. Mustafa appears to have next turned his attention against Tirumala himself and advanced against Penukonda, his capital. But Chennappa Nāyadu, a general of Tirumala, attacked him and beat him off. (*M.E.R.* 1902; App. A. 336 of 1401). If this lithic record is to be believed, Mustafa's attack should have been a well organized one, as it speaks of several Mussalman chiefs being engaged in it. Chennappa took care to put the Penukonda fort in order after the attack. He repaired and extended it and set up the inscribed slab containing these details in the Ānjanēya temple at its north gate. (*Ibid*). Though this record is dated in 1577 A.D., in the reign of Srī-Ranga II, incidents referred to in it might be taken to refer to the time of Tirumala I, who was evidently still living then. Another record of Srī-Ranga, dated in 1580 A.D., refers to a temple of Kēsavasvāmi built by him, evidently after repelling Mustafa's attack on Penukonda. This temple is no longer in existence (see *M.E.R.* 1902, App. A, No. 341), its site being occupied by a Reading Room. This attack on Penukonda and (since it is now known that

Tirumala might have lived up to 1578 A.D.,) the second attack that was made on it in 1577 A.D., may also be noted here, though the details relating to it will be found more properly under the reign of Srī-Ranga II. Thus he might have retaken Rajahmundry (Vēngi) and even driven out the intruding Orissan king, who might have shown a tendency to re-cross the Krishna. Hence the reference to the "reconquering of the Utkala king" in the Tumkur copper-plates. He might have even tried his hand against Kalyāna, which Rāma-Rāja had once before taken. As regards his victory over Ganga of Konaranikōta, he was evidently some local chief put down by him. Similarly, the Rāja of Roddi was evidently either a subordinate or a feudatory nearer home, for Roddi has probably to be identified with Rodda-nādu, a district of Penukonda-rājya, referred to in several inscriptions of Achyuta and Sadāsiva. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Nos. 89, 569, 571, 73 and 97).

His sons as viceroys.

Tirumala seems to have continued the time honoured custom of his predecessors of appointing princes of the Royal house as Viceroys of the Provinces. Tirumala, according to inscriptions and literary works, had four sons named Raghunātha, Srī-Ranga, Rāma, and Venkata. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājiyamu*, Text, 214 and *Vasucharitramu*, Text, 220; also Kuniyur plates of Venkata II *E.I.* 252, dated in 1634; and the Avani copper-plates of Srī Ranga VI, dated in 1645 A.D., *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). Of these, the first figured as a brave warrior in the great battle of Raksas-Tagdi and is no more heard of. (See Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 247). He is described as a great warrior in the *Rāmarājiyamu* (*Sources*, Text, 214), in which he is stated to have so vehemently fought against the Muhammadans that he won the admiration and applause of those who witnessed the battle. The *Vasucharitramu* seems to confirm this when it affirms that he courageously opposed the continued forces of the Adil Shāh and the Nizām Shāh on the bank of the Krishna and drove them off with great slaughter. (*Sources*, Text, 220). This poem speaks of him as a devout Vaishnava. (*Ibid*). The probable dates of these fights in which he was engaged cannot be determined. If he had survived the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, then he may be taken to have lived until about 1573 A.D., when, with his own death and the death of his brother Rāma, Srī-Ranga II became *Yuvarāja* and co-ruler. Srī-Ranga (Srī-Ranga II) appears to have been Viceroy of the home province of Penukonda, though at first he appears to have been in charge of Udayagiri. A grant of his brother Venkata I states he conquered Kondavīdu, Vinukonda, and other forts and began to rule at Penukonda. Apparently his Viceroyalty over Penukonda commenced after these conquests, which he doubtless accomplished on behalf of his brother. It would thus seem that a good part of the Nellore and Guntur countries, were reoccupied in Tirumala's time. (*E.I.* XII, 186; see also *E.I.* XI, 328; XVI, 319, 297 *E.I.* VII, Shimoga 83; *E.I.* XII, Chiknayakanahalli 39; and *M.E.R.* 1911, No. 23). He probably became Viceroy at Penukonda in or about 1573 A.D., when he became *Yuvarāja*. (See below). His brother Rāma or Rāma-Rājayya-Dēva (Rāma-Rāja III) was Viceroy of the Seringapatam country. The *Vasucharitramu* mentions that his rule extended over the territory between the Cauvery and the Arabian Sea with his capital at Seringapatam. (See *Sources*, Text, 221). The *Rāma-Rājīyamu* states that he opposed and beat off the forces of Nizām Shāh with a prowess that would do credit to Bhīma, the epic hero. (See *Sources*, Text, 215). He appears to have governed Penukonda before he was transferred to Seringapatam. Several records of his, attest to his rule at Seringapatam. One, dated in 1569 A.D., is the earliest of these. He is styled in it *Mahāmandalēsvara*. It records the gift of Kollegal to one Rāma-Nāyaka, a dependent of his in the Sivanasamudra-sthala in the Hadinādu-sīme.(*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. E, No. 15). Another record, dated in 1577 A.D., mentions three of his officers, who repaired a tank bund and set up a flower-garden for the use of a temple. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. C. No. 43). A third comes from Yelandūr and is dated in *Saka* 1675, *Yuva* (which is wrong). Taking the cyclic year as correct, the date of this record would be 1574 A.D., which seems correct for Rāma III. In this record, which is dated in Tirumala's reign, he is called Chikka-Rāya (the usual title of the crown prince) and mention is made of one Ankusa-Rāya, who is referred to below. (*E.C.* IV, Yelandur 16.) In another record (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 48) which is roughly assigned by Mr. Rice to 1631 A.D., but which must be set down to somewhere about 1570 A.D., he is referred to as the son of Tirumala. In the Nagarkatte copper-plate record which comes from Krishnarajpet (see *E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 77), we have a further reference to him and his subordinate Immadi-Ankusa-Rāja, who is spoken as the grandson of Rāma-Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāja. This Rāma-Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāja is called the purifier of the *gōtra* of Rājādhirāja Vishnuvardhana. Evidently he was a descendant of and claimed kindred with the old Hoysala dynasty. He was in charge of the Nagamangala country, in which he made the gift, according to these plates, of an *agrahāra*. The plates, however, do not appear to have been correctly dated, as the dates *Saka* 1465 *Virōdhikrit*, do not agree, *Saka* 1465 corresponding to *Sōbhakrit* and *Virōdhikrit* being *Saka* 1473. Taking the cyclic year as signifying the intended date, the plates will have to be assigned to 1551 A.D. If this is the correct date, it is rather strange to see in it Rāma III described with the imperal titles and as ruling from Penukonda. The latter may be accepted as correct, for he was at first governor of Penukonda and the ascription of the imperial titles may be set down to the fact that he was *Chikka-Rāya*, ruling more or less independently over the province in his charge. It should be added that a lithic grant similar to the Nagarkatte copper-plates is dated in 1573 A.D. Rāma is given in it also the imperial titles and described as ruling from Penukonda and as seated on the jewelled throne. Another record of his, assigned by Mr. Rice to 1581 A.D., confirms this statement. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 15). This registers a grant by one of his agents to Rāmānujāchārya of Melkote and describes Rāma III as a mere *Mahāmandalēsvara and Rājādhirāja.* The date (1581 A.D.) assigned to this grant by Mr. Rice seems wholly untenable, as we have no record of Rāma III after 1573 A.D. It does not appear that he lived after that year; his death in or about that year should have hastened the appointment of Srī-Ranga as *Yuvarāja.* His nomination as *Yuvarāja* is also duly noted in the *Vasucharitramu.* (*Sources*, Text, 221). In a record dated in year 1573 A.D., Srī-Ranga is described as *Mahārāya*, apparently because he was associated with Tirumala in the government as *Yuvarāja*. This record registers the grant of Koilkuntha-Sīma to the Nandyāla chief Narasinga-Dēva as a *Nayankara* by Srī-Ranga II, without any reference to his father, who was still living. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, Para 75; App. B Nos. 698 and 699, dated in 1573 and 1571 A.D.). Tirumala was evidently only emperor in name at the time. This is confirmed by a record dated in *Saka* 1494 (or A.D. 1527) which registers a gift by Srī-Ranga II to his *guru* Tirumala Komāra Tātāchārya for the merit of his mother Vengalāmma.

Venkata I, the fourth son of Tirumala, appears to have governed the Tamil country. According to the *Vasucharitramu*, he was stationed at Chandragiri and from there ruled over many feudatories. (See *Sources*, Text, 221). These are spoken of in the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsavali* as those holding sway over the Tundīra (old

Pallava, Chōla, and Pāndya countries. (*Ibid*, Text, 303). Evidently the Nāyakas of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura were included in his jurisdiction.

Feudatories, Ministers and Generals.

Prominent among the chief feudatories of Tirumala I were the Nāyakas of Tanjore, Madura, Vellore, and Gingee; the Wodeyars of Mysore; the Nāyakas of Kēladi and other chiefs. It is unnecessary to detail the history of these feudatories here. An important point to note about them is that during this period they all stood firm with the Imperial house. Bol Chāma-Rāja-Wodeyar IV was the ruling contemporary king; Rāma-Rāja-Nāyaka, grandson of Sadāsiva-Nāyaka was the Kēladi chief; Vīrappa-Nāyaka ruled at Madura; and Komāra Krishnappa at Gingee. A feudatory of some interest was the Matla chief Tirumala-Rāja, who claimed Chōla descent. At his request, the Emperor Tirumala I granted the village of Penagaturu, re-named Yellamarājēndra-Samudra, to certain Brāhmans. This chief's father had been a feudatory in the time of Sadāsiva and he and his ancestors were according to the *Kākustha Vijayamu*, a work written at the close of the 16th century, evidently closely related to the royal house of Vijayanagar. Matla Ananta, the author of this work, was the brother of Matla Tirumala-Rāja of the above quoted record. He probably lived about 1565-66 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Para 70). Ananta's two other brothers were Varada and Chinna-Timma. His father was Yella, after whom the village granted was very likely re-named. His grand-father Konaya is styled "the foremost of chiefs born in the Chōla family of the solar race." Hence the Matla chiefs called themselves "Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāja." (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 61; App. A. No. 1). Matla Ananta built the *gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at lower Tirupati. The two images on the walls of this temple represent his father and mother, Matla Tiruvēngalanātha-rāju and his consort Channamma. (*Ibid*, as corrected in *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 51; App. B. Nos. 763 and 764. For further details about Matla Ananta, see under *Venkata I* below). Tirumala's general Channappa Nāyadu and his able defence of Penukonda, we have mentioned above. Another general of his was Dannāyaka Narasappa, who is mentioned in a record of 1572 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 99). An agent of his in the Sira country was Chaivapa Nāyaka, who is referred to in a record of 1569 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 10).

As a donor to temples, etc.

Tirumala appears to have been a great donor to temples and learned men. The Tumkur copper-plates, dated in the year following his coronation, mention the gifts bestowed by him in a laconic but compendious manner when they state that "in Kānchi, Srī-Ranga, Sēshāchala (*i.e.*, Tirupati), Kanakasabha, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, and Ahōbalādri (in the Kurnool District), and other places, again and again did he bestow gifts in temples and bathing places, of gold, *tulā-purusha*, and others besides minor gifts." (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1.) The Budihal copper-plates, whether spurious or not, repeat these gifts *ipsissima verba*. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 42.) Grants dated in the reigns of his son Ventaka I reiterate the making of these gifts in identical terms. (See the Vellangudi plates of Venkata I *E.I.* XVI, 319; the Tirumalapur plates of the same King, *E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39; and the Kudligi Sringēri-*matha* plates of the same king, *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83). He seems to have lavishly kept the traditional virtues of the Royal House in the matter of maintaining the religious centres of life in an adequate manner. He was evidently a pious Vaishnava, though tolerant to a degree like his forbears. In the Panagalūru grant, he is described as a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari, *i.e.*, Vishnu" (*E.I.* XVI, 245).

As a patron of literature.

As a patron of literature, Tirumala I appears to have been even better known. In the Malur copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya, Tirumala is spoken of as "learned as Bhōja." This comparison would justify the deduction that he was something of a poet himself as Bhōja of ancient days certainly was and that he could well appreciate poetic talent in others and reward it. In the grants of his sons Srī-Ranga II and Venkata I, we have statements fully confirmatory of this description. Thus in one of the former, we find him praised as wise. (*E.I.* XII, 357); in one of the latter, the description is repeated. (*Nellore Ins.* I, 25; C.-P. No. 6). In a grant of Venkata II, the appellation re-appears, (*E.I.* III, 252) while in one of Srī-Ranga VI, he is termed "the learned Tirumala." (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 60). The suggestion, therefore, that he was deeply interested in learning and was himself possibly learned, cannot be doubted. The Penagalūru grant, which was issued at the request of the Matla chief Tirumala-Rāja, was in favour of Brāhmans learned in the *Sāstras* and the *Vēdānta*, certain of the *Vrithis* gifted being reserved for the encouragement of the study of the *Rig* and *Yajur Vēdas*. (*E.I.* XVI, 245). This grant incidentally furnishes a picture of Tirumala as he should have probably lived during the years following his coronation. From it, we are left to infer that he spent his days "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the *Vēdas* and are highly educated." (*Ibid* 257). This description need not be taken literally, for we know from other sources that he was still engaged (in 1571 A.D., the date of the Penagalūru grant) in wars and that he could not yet afford to wholly spend his living in literary discourses and pursuits. There were, all the same, gathered at his court, the most eminent poets of his time. The greatest was undoubtedly Bhattu-mūrti, surnamed *Rāma-Rāja-*

Bhūshana, because he had been the Court poet of the great Aliya Rāma-Rāja. No thoughtful critic now denies the identity of Bhattu-mūrti with *Rāma-Rāja-Bhūshana*, a title which displaced his original name. He was the author of the *Vasucharitramu*, *Harischandra-Nalopākhyanamu* and the *Narasabhūpālīyamu*. Of these, the first named is one of the most famous in Telugu literature and vies with the *Manucharitramu* in popularity. This is dedicated to Tirumala I. It narrates the story of Vasu, king of Prasthana, who, whilst hunting in a forest, discovers and falls in love with Girikanya, the daughter of the Kōlāhala mountain, and marries her. (See K. Veeresalingam Puntulu, *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, new edition; Wilson, *Meckenzie Collection*, 295). Its very plot suggests its romantic character and its being not a bad imitation of Allasāni Peddana's great and glorious work, the *Manucharitramu*. It is replete with exquisite descriptions, though its erotic character in places betrays the taste of the times. A talent of a wholly different kind is shown by Bhattu-mūrti in his *Harischandra-Nalōpākhyānamu*. It is a single poem with a double meaning throughout; interpreted in one manner, it narrates the famous story of Harischandra, and in another, the adventures of Nala. In a less capable hand, the style would become worse than artificial, though Bhattu-mūrti with his infinite capacity for good poetry and undefined resources for phraseology, is able to narrate both the tales in a manner at once striking and picturesque. Neither of the narratives is impeded in its progress by the want of skill on the part of the author and their imagery is often so good that it is a surprise how the poet could have managed to present it with such ease and simplicity. Acute critics who have closely examined the poem are unanimous in praise of this poem and the departure initiated by Bhattu-mūrti caught on and we have had even imitators in this line of composition, for example the *Rāghava-Pāndavīyamu* of Pingalisūrana, who was probably a contemporary of Bhattu-mūrti. This work simultaneously narrates the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata.* Though artificiality in poetry is justly to be decried, the talent displayed by the poet in the composition of the poem, extorts admiration. Another work of Bhattu-mūrti is *Narasabhūpālīyamu,* which treats of poetics. This was dedicated by him to Pōchirāju-Naraparāju and hence its name *Kāvyālankāra-chūdāmani.* This Naraparāju was a nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Tirumala and distinguished himself in one of the wars against Barīd Shāh, in which he captured the camp equipage of that Sultān. He is spoken of as a great warrior and as a splendid bowman. Among the exploits attributed to him in this work is his shooting at the fish in the *yantra*, much like Arjuna, the epic hero. He is described as a devotee of Narasimha and as ruling from Toragal. (See *Sources*, Text, 225-227). He married Tirumalāmba, a daughter of Tirumala, and had by her a son named Srī-Ranga-Rāja. (*Ibid*). Another poet of the period was Konērunātha-Kavi, the author of the *Bālabhāgavatha* (also called *Padya-Bālabhāgavata* because it is entirely in poetry). His patron was Chinna-Timma-Rāja, younger brother of Vitthala, the great leader of the expedition against the Tiruvadi-Rājya. Chinna-Timma evidently accompanied his brother in his expedition, for he is described in this poem as *Tiruvadi-Sthāpanāchārya* and as dictator of the Pāndya country. (See *Sources*, Text 209). In the introductory verses of the *Bālabhāgavathamu*, Timma-Rāja, son of Rāma-Rāja I, is called *Prabandha-Nāyaka* of the *Padya-Bālabhāgaatha,* (*ibid*, Text, 207), while later on his son Chinna-Timma-Rāja, whose exploits are set down at greater length, is styled *Kruthi-Nāyakundu.* (*Ibid*, Text, 208). Evidently, the work was written in the time of Chinna-Timma, a cousin of Tirumala I, and dedicated to him (as *Kruti Nāyaka*) but connected with his father's name as *Prabandha-Nāyaka.* This work is written in a highly popular metre and is intended for easy recitation by boys and girls of the main themes of the *Bhāgavata*, so dear to Vaishnavas generally. Another nephew of Tirumala, was both a poet and a patron of poets. This was Siddharāju Timma-bhūpāla, who was the son of Kōnamāmba, sister of Tirumala. He was the governor of Kondavīdu and wrote the *Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu* in Telugu. This work is devoted to a narration of the lives of the Ālvārs and is particularly interesting as a simple narration of the lives of pious and inspiring Srī-Vaishnava devotees of the South. (See *Sources,* Text, 212). A poet who emigrated from the distant Kondavīdu country to the Seringapatam Viceroyalty during this period and served at the Court of Immadi Ankūsa-Rāya, was one Ēkāmranātha. He was the author of *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam* both in Sānskrit. As we have seen, the Immadi-Ankūsa-Rāya, to whom these two works are dedicated, was a feudatory of Rāma III, son of Tirumala and Viceroy of Seringapatam. (See above). The Nāgarkatte grant, which is wrongly dated, though, taking the cyclic year, it should belong to 1551 A.D., states that Immadi-Ankūsa-Rāya was the grandson of Rāma Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāya, who is styled the purifier of the *gōtra* of Rājādhirāja-Vishnuvardhana. The statement that he was the grandson of Pedda Jagadēva-Rāya is confirmed by the facts set out in the introductory part of the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam.* (See *Sources,* 228 and *Madras MSS. Lib. Descriptive Catalogue,* XX, Nos. 11535 and 11816). Though in this work and in the other work *Satyāparinayam,* Pedda-Jagadēva-Rāya is described as belonging to the fourth caste, the Nāgarkatte plates connect him with the *Gōtra* of Vishnuvardhana. Pedda-Jagadēva evidently took part in the warfare of the period, anterior to Tirumala's rule, as we know that he fought against Burān Nizām Shāh and defeated him. Among his sons were Jagadēka-Rāya and Ankusa-Rāya, the former of whom evidently helped Srī-Ranga II in repelling an invasion of the Muhammadans against Penukonda in 1577 A.D. (See below). Pingalisūrana, mentioned above, lived at the Court of the Nandyāla chief Krishna-Rāja, whose son Mahāmandalēsvara Venkādri-Rāja is known to us from a record dated in 1571 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 699 of 1917). He was the author of three great works *Prabhāvati-Pradyum-namu*, which struck a new vein in Telugu literature, and *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* and *Rāghava-Pandavīyamu*. Another poet of the time was Cherukūri Lakshmidhara, who wrote the commentary called *Abhīshatārthadāyani* on Jayadēva's *Prasanna-rāghava* which he dedicated to Siddarāju Timmarāju, the author of *Paramanyōgi- vilāsamu*, above named. He was also the author of *Anārghva-rāghava* ; *Shadbhāshachandrika*, a Prākrit grammar ; and many other works. A work of his, but attributed to Tirumala himself, is the *Srutaranjani*, which is a commentary on the *Gīta-Gōvinda*, the great lyrical drama of Jayadēva. It is now generally acknowledged that this work was actually written by Cherukuri Lakshmidhara and set down in some copies of the work to Tirumala and his patron. (See *A.S.I.* 1908-9, 196; *Sources*, 212-3 ; and *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 182 ; also Hultzsch, *Report on Sanskrit Mss.*, IV. 130, No. 2112). Whether he was the real author of this work or not, it is fairly certain that Tirumala enjoyed a real reputation among his contemporaries as one learned in Sānskrit and capable, indeed, of bearing the burden of authorship. The phrase "learned as Bhōja-Rāja" in the Malur copper-plate grant of Sadāsiva-Rāya cannot, therefore, be dismissed as mere empty praise indulged by Sabhāpati Svāyambhu, the composer of that record. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186).

Penukonda, the new capital.

Penukonda, the new capital, evidently received some attention at the hands of Tirumala. His general Channappa, as we have seen, repaired the fort and improved its defences. According to tradition, the town is said to have been founded by Kriyāsakti, the great Saiva teacher, who is said to have built Bukkapatnam as well. Virūpanna, Bukka's son, was its first known Governor. (See above; also *E.I.* VI, 327). The original fort had been built, according to a record in the eastern side of its northern gate, by Ananta-Dēva-Vodeya, the minister of Bukka I, in 1354 A.D. Since the earliest periods of Vijayanagar rule, it had been considered as the second capital of the kingdom and had been the seat of a Viceroyalty and sometimes the place of confinement of serious rivals to the throne. The story of the imprisonment of Dharma-Rāya (Tamarao of Nuniz) and of his assassination by Narasana-Nāyaka has already been narrated above. (See above under *Narasana-Nāyaka*). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya is said to have added to its defences and resided in it. He kept it always in a good state, evidently as a stand by, in case of need. The repairs and extensions effected by Channappa at the instance of Tirumala, converted it into a real *Ghanagiri* (*i.e.*, impregnable hill), a name by which it is frequently known in inscriptional records. The statement of the *Vasucharitramu* that it was made the "lord of the hills" by the imparting to it of the *Girīsathva*, by offering as slaughter the skulls of the slain soldiers and the bodies of slaughtered elephants, seems thus not a mere poetical exaggeration. It would seem to indicate that those defending the hill fortress successfully beat back an attack on it, the invading Muhammadan forces attacking it being done to death by the victorious defenders. To keep up the continuity of its connection with the older capital of Vijayanagar, the kingdom itself is referred to in the Tumkur copper-plate grant (1571 A.D.) as the

"Penukonda-rājya belonging to Hastināvati" (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar). (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 1).

Alleged abdication of Tirumala in favour of his son Srī-Ranga II

A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri that Tirumala I abdicated the throne in favour of his son Srī-Ranga II. The *Vasucharitramu*, which he quotes in support of this statement, only states that he made Srī-Ranga *Yuvaraja* and no more. (See *Sources*, Text, 221; See *A.S.I.* 1902-10, 181-2). The *Srutaranjani*, a work attributed to Tirumala himself, no doubt states that he transferred the burden of the administration to his sons, and spent his time amidst poets and learned people, but this cannot, especially in the light of other available evidence, be held to support the theory of abdication. The fact seems to be that he practically made over charge of the administration to his three sons, who were Viceroys, and himself watched their rule. This would only mean that his sons were co-rulers with him and that Srī-Ranga II was actually associated with himself as *Yuvarāja*. This position was by no means unusual with the rulers of the Vijayanagar house, as it certainly was not either with the Chōlas or the Hoysalas.

Date of Tirumala's death, 1578 A.D.

Mr. Krishna Sāstri has likewise suggested that Tirumala's rule was a short one and did not extend beyond two or three years. He sets him down to 1571-1573 A.D. The Rev. H. Heras has also taken the same view and has, indeed, headed the chapter relating to Tirumala as "the short reign of Tirumala." He evidently would put him down to a period below a year. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 250). This deduction does not appear to be well founded. There is a record of Tirumala I dated in 1578 A.D. which comes from the Kolar District. (*E.C.* X, Malur 57). The Masti copper-plate grant which registers a grant by the Yelahanka chief Hiriya-Kempe-Gauda and yields this date, was issued in the regin of Tirumala I, who is given his *full imperial titles* in it. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this record might be referred to Tirumala II, because he was ruling over Chandragiri and in this grant, Tirumala is actually described as ruling from his jewelled throne at that place. It is possible that the grant might have been sanctioned while Tirumala I was temporarily at Chandragiri, which was a subsidiary capital of the Empire as well. But as Tirumala II is styled only *Mahāmandalēsvara* in two other records (*E.C.* III, 39 and 40) both dated in 1585 A.D., the Masti record cannot reasonably be set down to Tirumala II. Further, recently another record (Mulbagal Srīpāda-Rāya-math copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1499) of Tirumala, dated in 1578 A.D., registering the grant of a village in Bairākur to a Brāhman, has been traced. The date of this grant, of which the original is not forthcoming, seems astronomically correct (8th March 1578). This grant also describes Tirumala with all his imperial titles, though it describes him as ruling from his jewelled throne at Chandragiri. (*M.A.R.* 1927, pp. 85-6, No. 89). This record seems to suggest not only that Tirumala I lived at least up to 1578 A.D., but also was actually ruling the Empire. This and the Masti records seem to dispose of the suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that Tirumala I should have died about 1571 A.D. The authority on which it is based—the apocryphal prophecy contained in an inscription in Taylor's *Catalogaue Raissone* of the *Mackenzie Mss.*—seems to be too fragile to depend upon on a point like this. Probably we may not be far wrong if we set down the year 1578 A.D., as the year of the death of Tirumala I. This would mean a rule of some 7 years, which is by no means an incredible period. He might have been advanced in years at the time of his death, probably nearing his ninety-eighth year. If a man could have lived up to ninety-two, there can be no objection to his having lived another six more years. The possibilities are that Tirumala lived from time to time, during his last years, at Chandragiri, from where probably the Masti and the Mulbagal copper-plate grants were issued.

Tirumala's personal appearance.

According to a famous stray verse attributed to Bhattumūrti, Tirumala's Court poet, Tirumala is said to have possessed only one eye. The poet's comparison of his sovereign to Sukrāchārya, who had only one eye and was all-knowing, is thus complete, for Tirumala had also only one eye and was highly learned. The fact that he had only one eye is confirmed by Cæsar Frederick, according to whom he lost the other one in the great battle of Tālikota. (See *Sources*, 221-222, quoting *Purchas*, X 93).

An eastimate of Tirumala's rule.

Whether as Prime Minister of Rāma-Rāja or as ruler of the Empire, after him, Tirumala appears to have impressed his contemporaries as an energetic sovereign. The Tumkur grant certainly conveys the idea that he did not rest until he re-established the Empire on a secure basis. "Having delivered the Earth," it says, "from the ocean of his enemies, he received the name of *Dharani-Varāha*, and the earth, forsaking all others, clung to him." There seems little or no exaggeration in this description. After the trials of the year 1565 A.D. and what followed it at the old capital, the people should have desired a king who could educe order out of the chaos that confronted them. Tirumala, whatever may have been his fault in not rallying the forces after the disaster at Raksas-Tagdi on a fresh position or even in not attempting to defend the hills and approaches round about Vijayanagar City, cannot be said to have failed in soon re-establishing peace and security within his realm. The title of *Dharani-Varāha*, as we have seen, was originally applied to Kings of the second Dynasty and there is an appropriateness in Svayambhū, the poet and composer of the Tumkur grant, applying it to Tirumala. There seems to be a gentle hint in the words "the Earth, forsaking all others, clung to him," to the supercession of Sadāsiva and to Tirumala's taking over the sovereignty for himself. The idea underlying seems to be that the Goddess Earth, tired of the vicissitudes she had recently undergone, exchanged her lord, *i.e.*, she gave up Sadāsiva and wedded Tirumala. Hence it is that the poet in the previous lines describes the Goddess Earth as being crowned with Tirumala. The fickleness of the Goddess Earth is a favourite theme of the poets in India and Svayambhū suggests that the revolution was justified by the circumstances. It is possible that in this respect he echoes the feeling of his times. Tirumala's murder of Sadāsiva, though thus justified, cannot in any sense be commended. It was not merely a crime but also a political blunder. It was a crime because Sadāsiva was an inoffensive and good natured sovereign who allowed all the latitude Rāma-Rāja or his brother Tirumala desired, and to have despatched him because of his being an impediment in the way of Tirumala realizing his ambitions, argues rank treachery. It was a political blunder because it alienated the sympathies of the feudatories throughout the Empire and that just at the very moment when their united voice and will were required to regain the lost position. That this is no mere imaginary criticism is proved by the fact that he was unable to help the Dhārwār chief against Alī Ādil Shāh, with the result that later on he invited an attack on himself at Penukonda. The evils of the transfer of capital—taking it for granted that such transfer could have been avoided by more energetic action than Tirumala displayed—were manifolded as the political effects of this sad and mistaken crime. He may have been "a devoted brother" to Rāma-Rāja as the Malur plates put it (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 186), but he proved an ambitious kinsman and a disloyal subject, who evidently aimed at subverting the sovereignty merely to satisfy his personal ambitions.

Coinage of Tirumala I.

Tirumala is said to have introduced what has been called the "three Svāmi pagoda," as it contains on its obverse three figures, one standing, the other two seated. As he was a devotee of Srī-Venkatēsvara of Tirupati, the three may represent that deity and his two wives. Some writers have identified the three figures with Lakshmana, with Rāma and Sīta. (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64). This identification does not appear to be well-founded. Tirumala's many records do not refer to his coin, which seems strange.

Statues of Tirumala I and his Queen Vēngalāmba.

In the temple on the Tirupati Hill, close to the first Gōpura, there are statues made in stone of King Tirumala and his queen Vēngalāmba. As these statues have not got their names inscribed on them, it has long been a question as to whom they represented. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri has identified them as those of Tirumala I and his queen Vēngalāmba. Judging from the statues, Tirumala should have been a well-built, handsome figure, tall and majestic and soldierly in bearing, and his queen Vēngalāmba, a woman, a little less tall, but of great grace and beauty. (See *A.S.I.* Plate LXXVI for a lithotype reproduction of these statues).

Srī-Ranga-Rāja II, 1574-1586 A.D.

On the death of Tirumala I, whenever it happened, Srī-Ranga-Rāya II succeeded him on the throne. He was, since 1571 A.D., Yuvarāja and co-ruler with his father and as such, inscriptional records speak of him as already reigning from that date. (*M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 50; No. 380 of 1919 dated in *Saka* 1493 or 1571 A.D.). The year 1571 A.D., evidently then marks his accession to the throne as co-ruler. It has been suggested, however, that this date might refer to his accession in his own right as successor to Tirumala. This seems altogether impossible, as the latest record of Sadāsiva, which has proved acceptable, is dated in *Saka* 1492 (or A.D. 1570-1), and Tirumala's reign as *de jure* sovereign has to be accommodated between these two dates *i.e.*, *Sakas* 1492 and 1493, or 1570-1 and 1571-2 A.D. (*Ibid*). Moreover, we have records in *Saka* 1494, *i.e.*, 1572-3 A.D., of Tirumala I (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 54; App. C, No. 185 dated in *Saka* 1494; and *M.A.R.* 1909-10, Para 99 dated in 1572 A.D.), which militates against this suggestion. These latter records indicate that Tirumala cannot have relinquished his sovereignty within a year after the issue of his Penagalūrū grant dated in 1571 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. A, No. 1) but having regard to these above quoted records, where he is mentioned with his full imperial titles, should have continued, at least nominally, as the reigning Emperor, leaving the actual administration in the hands of Srī-Ranga II. If, indeed, the Masti and Srīpādarāya-*matha* grants of *Saka* 1499 (or 1577-8 A.D.,) are to be believed, then probably Tirumala did not actually die till that year, though he might have lived longer than that as we do not hear of him after that year. (See under *Tirumala I*). There are inscriptional records of Srī-Ranga II dated from 1571 to 1585 A.D.—in almost every year—and he appears to have been in active occupation of the throne during these fifteen years. At the same time, there has so far come to light one lithic record of his, dated in 1599 A.D., which describes him with his full imperial titles and represents him as still ruling the Empire of the Earth—in the reign of Venkata I. It registers the grant of an *agrahāra*, to the west of Kunigal, by Venkata Krishnājamma, the wife of Immadi-Hire-Kempayya-Gaudaraiyya, the Yelahanka-nād-prabhu, for the merit of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. It is dated in *Saka* 1521 (so in the original) cyclic year *Vikāri*, *Jyēsthaba*. 13, which seems correct. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 12). It is difficult to reconcile the date furnished by this record, (*i.e.*, 1599 A.D.,) for the last year of Srī-Ranga's reign with that furnished by numerous other records which stop at 1585 A.D. The difference of fourteen years between the two is rather large and 1599 A.D., takes us right into the middle of the reign of Venkata I. One of two inferences is possible. Either that Srī-Ranga lived down to the year 1599 A.D., and was still *nominally* king in that year or that the record was engraved long after Srī-Ranga's rule was over and that the date on it represents the date of engraving of the record and not of the making of the gift. There is also a copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1514, *Pramādi, Vaisāka-Su* 12 in the reign of Srī-Ranga II. *Saka* 1514 and *Pramādi* do not agree and so the date as given is obviously wrong. As the cyclic year may be taken to be the intended date, the date of the grant would correspond to *Saka* 1501, or A.D. 1579, which seems quite correct for Srī-Ranga II. *Saka* 1514 given in the record corresponds to 1592 A.D., and would obviously prolong the reign of Srī-Ranga II, by six years, beyond 1586 A.D. For the present, we might take 1585-1586 A.D., as the last year of Srī-Ranga's reign, especially as there are inscriptions of his in *Saka* 1507, *Pārthiva*, and *Saka* 1508, *Vijaya*, corresponding to 1585-6 A.D., and 1586-7 A.D., (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 53 ; App. C, No. 70 *Saka* 1506 ; *M.A.R.*, Para 122, inscription at Dyamenahalli, Arsikere Taluk dated in 1585; see also *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 187; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73), and none of Venkata I with titles indicating supreme sovereignty, have been found dated prior to *Saka* 1505. (See *E.C.* XII, Sira 3, dated in 1583, where he is given the full imperial titles). Moreover, the earliest mention of the coronation of Venkata I is contained in his Dalavai-Agrahāram plates dated in *Saka* 1508. (*E.I.* XII, 161). Finally, in certain copper-plate records belonging to his reign, Venkata I is definitely stated to have occupied the throne only after the *death* of Srī-Ranga II. His coronation, which took place in 1586 A.D., can only have come after his *death* and not while he was still alive. Thus in the Dalavai-Agrahāram plates, dated 1586 A.D., (verses 23-26), it is stated that King Srī-Ranga (II) then (after his rule) went to heaven (*i.e.*, died) and after that event, Venkatapati-dēvarāya, began to rule the earth (verses 27-39). Similarly in the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant of Venkata I, dated in 1587 A.D., it is stated that his anointment to the throne took place after "Srī-Ranga (II) attained to the feet of Murāri." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83).

His coronation.

That Srī-Ranga's coronation actually took place at Penukonda, the new capital, is known from a number of later records. In the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* copper-plate grant of Venkata I, dated in 1587 A.D., it is stated that he took up his residence at Penukonda and was anointed to the throne, in accordance with the rules, by the chief Brāhmans, (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83), while in the Mangalampād grant of the same kind, dated in 1602-3 A.D., it is mentioned that his installation was performed according to the prescribed rules by the best of Brāhmans. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 30; C.-P. No. 6). These grants agree, however, in the statement that on that occasion "he everywhere rained gold" and "the fierce forest-fire which was the poverty of the good was quenched." (*Ibid*, 30-1). Evidently, Srī-Ranga should have been lavish in his charities to deserve such a handsome description, which cannot be wholly poetic. (See also *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83, where it said that Srī-Ranga on this occasion "distributed gifts on every side.").

The Administration of the Empire.

The administration of the empire continued as in the reign of his father. His younger brother Rāma III continued as Viceroy (*Mahāmandalēsvara*) of Seringapatam.

(a) The Seringapatam Viceroyalty—Rāma III, Viceroy.

In 1575 A.D., Alī Ādil Shāh, while on a visit to the frontiers of his province, appears to have taken Chandragutti in the Shimoga District and rebuilt (probably repaired) the fortress at the place. At the request of Sankara-Nāyak, one of those chiefs who had rebelled against the Imperial House, he proceeded to Kanur (probably Kadur) but failed in his attempt to take it. Sankara-Nāyak prevailed on some of the chieftains on the West Coast to submit to Alī Ādil Shāh. According to Ferishta, among those who then agreed to pay tribute to Alī were Siva-Nāyak of Jenah, the Rāni of Barcelor and a few others. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 139-141). An edict of Rāma III dated in 1576 A.D. proclaimed that no taxes should be levied on the barbers of that province, evidently enforcing the famous order of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. (*M.A.R.* 1911 1912, Para 111). Another record of his, dated in the same year, granted, for the merit of his father, a stone charter formally conveying a grant made to the *chatra* at Terakanāmbi by his father Tirumala I. Venkappa Nāyak, his *dalavāi*, joined him in the issue of this charter. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 21). He may be identified with Dalavāi Rēmati Venkatayya, mentioned in the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya-Vamsāvali.* (See *Sources*, 303). Again, in 1578 A.D., he issued another stone charter conferring a rent free village on one Rāma-Rāja-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 23). He was more or less independent in his charge of the Seringapatam province, for he is, in records dated about this period (1576-8 A.D.,), called also Mahārāsu. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 27, dated in 1557; Mandya 37 dated 1576). Almost the last grant of his in his province was one made by him and (his wife) Vābajamma in favour of God Nārāyana at Melkote in 1581 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 158). Vābajamma mentioned in this record, was probably the wife of Rāma-Rāja III. According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, he is said to have married one Narasingamma. (See *Sources*, 213). It is not possible to say if this was different from Vābajamma. His elder son, Tirumala II, appears to have succeeded him in the Seringapatam charge. The first record so far known of him is one dated in 1584 A.D., which records the grant of Timmasamudra village to a number of Brāhmans by an agent of his in the Seringapatam province. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47, as revised in *M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 111). In a record dated in the succeeding year (1585), he is actually called *mahāmandalēsvara* and in as much as it records the grant by him, for the merit of his father, of four villages to Brāhmans, it has to be inferred that his father should have died about that time. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 39-40). Thus the suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that he might have died about 1577 A.D., does not appear to be well founded. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 291). Another grant of his is registered in a record dated in 1586 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 44). He continued in this charge even during the reign of Venkata I, for we find grants of his in this area dated in 1589 and 1591 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 25; Mandya 5). In the first of these records, dated in 1589, he is termed *Vīrapratāpa*, indicating his independent rule, while, in the last, dated in 1591 A.D., the grant is said to have been made by his minister for the merit of Rāma-Rājayya (*i.e.*, father of Tirumala II). A kinsman of his, Chinna-Timma-Rājayya, son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and brother of Srī-Ranga IV, was evidently in charge about 1580 A.D., of parts of the Kolar district. A grant of his is registered in a record dated in that year. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 153). There were evidently a number of local chiefs scattered throughout the Mysore country during this period. Among these was Mahāmandalēsvara Srīpati-Rāja-Vallabha-Rāja, who made a grant in favour of the Pānchāla or artizan classes of the Būdihal-Sīme in 1573 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknaykanhalli 8). He is said to have made a grant to a Jain *basti* at Būdihal in 1579

A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknaykanhalli 22). Tammaya Gauda, the Sugatūr chief, was another. Some of his grants, dated between 1575 and 1585 A.D., are known. (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 65 dated in 1517; Kolar 66 dated in 1578; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 44, No. 7 dated in 1579; *E.C.* X, Siddlaghatta 51). Another was Venkatappa-Nāyaka, son of Sindu-Gōvinda, described as a white-bodied Bhīma, boon lord of Manināgapura, defeater of the *Turuka* army, grandson of Bājappa-Nāyaka and son of Krishnappa Nāyaka. He was evidently in charge of the area round Yedatore, in the Mysore District, where the grant of an *agrahāram* by him is recorded. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore dated in 1576 A.D.). Bayia (Bairē) Gauda, the Avati-nād Prabhu, was another. (*E.C.* X, Chik-Ballapur 27 and 28 dated 1575 and 1574 A.D.). There was one Venkatādri-Nāyaka at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 12 dated in 1580 A.D.). A grant of his dated in 1584 A.D. is also known. (*E.C.* V, Belur 212). The Harati chief also figures as a subordinate in this reign. (*M.E.R.* 1917-1918, Para 76 ; App. B, 721). Mahānāyakāchārya Rangappa-Nāyaka was a subordinate not only in this reign but also in the next one. (*Ibid*, App. B, Nos. 721 and 728). Immadi Ranga was a later subordinate of Venkata I. (*Ibid*, No. 736). Later, about 1693 A,D., chiefs of this line appear to have asserted their independence,. (*Ibid*, App. B, No. 766). In that year, the Harati chief, Rāyappa Ranga, assumed the title of *Mahārāja*, though the later chiefs contented themselves with the designation of *Mahāmandalesvara* and omitted all mention of their Vijayanagar suzerain. (See *Ibid*, App. B, Nos. 737, 740, 741 and 743). They probably became independent not long after the Mysore Rājas declared their independence of Vijayanagar. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* II, 194). Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore succeeded to the Mysore throne in 1578 A.D. He soon came into conflict with Tirumala II, the Viceroy. According to the Hanasoge copper-plate grant of Immadi-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar, dated in 1761 A.D., Rāja-Wodeyar "speedily subduing Tirumala-Rāja, seated himself on the jewelled throne in Srīrangāpura, and gaining the Empire, received obeisance from all Kings." (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 17). The *exact date* of this event—the driving out of Tirumala II from Seringapatam, the Viceregal seat—is not known from contemporary records. As we have seen above, the latest date available for Tirumala II in the reign of his Viceroyalty, is 1591 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 5 and 25). The next definite record we have is one dated in 1622 A.D., in the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV, in which it is distinctly stated that Venkata I granted in *Saka* 1534 cyclic year *Paridhāvi* (or A.D. 1612), Ummattūr and Seringapatam as an hereditary estate. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur 62). In a record, dated in 1639 A.D., in the reign of the Vijayanagar King Venkata II and the Mysore King Kanthīrava-Narasarāja I, it is stated that the Mysore kings "again obtained the Karnāta portion of the Earth, to protect it," thereby suggesting that they had a right to its possession. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198). This is obviously a reference to the formal recognition by Venkata I of the conquest of Seringapatam by Rāja-Wodeyar in or about 1610 A.D., for the recognition was in 1612 A.D., and the conquest itself might have been accomplished not long before it. It is thus evident that towards the close of the reign of Venkata I, Seringapatam was actually lost to the Imperial Government and in the disturbed times that followed his death, it was safe in the keeping of Rāja-Wodeyar. Though we have had to anticipate a little here, it is clear from what we have stated above, that in the reign of Srī-Ranga II, Rāja-Wodeyar drove away Tirumala II from Seringapatam, his Viceregal seat, and practically annexed it to his own dominions. As we have no records of Tirumala II beyond 1591 A.D., and as the recognition of Rāja-Wodeyar's claim to Seringapatam was formally admitted by Venkata I in 1612 A.D., it would seem to follow that Tirumala II was "subdued" by Rāja-Wodeyar between these two years 1591 and 1612 A.D. We may not be wrong if we set down the event to about 1610 A.D.

Loyalty of West Coast Chiefs.

On the West Coast, Bhairava-Wodeyar of Karkala recognized the suzerainty of Srī-Ranga. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 104, inscription at Hariharapura, Koppa Taluk, dated in 1573 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1927, Para 65, No. 54, Ins. dated in 1574 A.D.). The Kēladi chief, Rāma-Rāya-Nāyaka, was similarly loyal to the Imperial House. His country was evidently peaceful at the time. As a dutiful scion of the family, he restored the *agrahāra* established by his grandfather in Sadāsiva-Rāya's time. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 5, dated in 1577 A.D.).

Portuguese incursions into Vijayanagar Dominions.

The Portuguese, however, did not allow any rest to the generality of the dependents of Vijayanagar in this area. On the pretence of claiming to collect arrears of tribute, they frequently attacked several of these and wrought much loss of life and destruction of property. Thus they had attacked Gersoppa in 1569 A.D. and taken it, despite the valiant resistance offered by Bhaira-Dēvi, the Queen. An attempt to retake it in the following year having failed, she was induced to combine forces with Alī Ādil Shāh in a fresh attack on the place. This attack also shared the same fate. The Portuguese simultaneously advanced against the chief of Tolar and took the fortress of Barcelor (Busrur). A few other places were dealt with in the same way but without any decisive results. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 293-298 and the Portuguese authorities quoted therein).

Chandragiri Viceroyalty.

In the Chandragiri province, Venkata II, the grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja and son of Srī-Ranga IV, was in charge as Viceroy. He is referred to in the Triplicane record of 1585 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. A. No. 237) as Rāma-Rāja-Venkatapati-Rāju, *i.e.*, Venkata (or Venkata, the grandson of Rāma-Rāja), who could be no other than Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whose grandson was Peda-Venkata (the Venkata II of history). That he is the person referred to and not Venkata I (as stated by the Rev. H. Heras, see *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 280-281) is proved by another record dated in 1582 A.D., which describes him as Rāma-Rāja-Venkatayyadēva-Mahārāja. This record registers a grant to the Srīperumbudur temple by his Dalavāi Gōpāla-Tirumalai-Nāyakar. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App. C. No. 194).

Penukonda still the Imperial Capital.

During this reign, the capital continued to be at Penukonda practically throughout the whole period. Ferishta has observed that after the attack on the place by Alī Ādil Shāh in 1576-7 A.D., Venkata I (he calls him Venkatādri) "committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandurgeery," (*i.e.*, Chandragiri), in the present Chittoor District. This statement has been widely copied and has been interpreted to mean that the capital was permanently transferred by Venkata I to Chandragiri as the result of Alī Ādil Shāh's attack in 1567 A.D. (*Anantapur District Gazetteer*, 21; *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, 37). The Rev. H. Heras has categorically refuted this statement by quoting inscriptional records from 1572 A.D. to 1585 A.D., the last year of Venkata I, to show that he ruled from Penukonda as capital. There is little doubt that this statement is, in the main, correct. He is not only discovered in these records as ruling from Penukonda, but also as seated on the diamond throne there. The further remark of the Rev. H. Heras that "no inscription has hitherto been described stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri" has to be endorsed as entirely well founded. A careful collation of all the known records of Srī-Ranga II, running from 1571 to 1585 A.D., (about fifty records) shows that the description uniformly is that he was at Penukonda "ruling the Empire of the Earth," "ruling the Kingdom," "ruling the Empire of the World," "seated on the diamond throne at Penukonda and ruling the kingdom of the world", etc. Sometimes the word "jewelled throne," takes the place of the "diamond throne," but there is no change in the name of the capital even in a single case. That Penukonda was in effective occupation in 1576-77 A.D., the year of Alī Ādil Shāh's war, is proved by some of these records. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73; App. B. No. 446 dated in 1577 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1259, Rapur, 41 dated in 1575-6-7; *E.C.* Yedatore 57 dated in 1576-7; *E.C.* Kolar 146, dated in 1576-7; *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 1185; Podili 27; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 57; App. A. No. 13, C.-P. Grant dated in 1576-7). In a record dated in *Saka* 1499, *Khara*, (which do not agree) mention is made of one Savaram Channa as the Governor of Penukonda. He had the title of "Svāmidrōharaganda" or "the husband of the king's enemies" (*M.E.R.* Para 35; App. A., C.-P. No. 10 from Srīperambudūr District, whose date may be 1577 A.D.). A more conclusive case against Ferishta's statement can hardly be imagined. Lest it should be misunderstood that a record mentioned by Messrs. Butterworth and Vēnugōpal Chetty has been missed, reference may here be made to an inscription of Srī-Ranga (II) dated in the "Thāthu" year (?) corresponding to S. S. 1489 (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 399, Note). They add, "probably the year *Dhātu* and S. S. 1499 should be read" and remark "Ranga-Rāja was then living at Chandragiri." The latter is an addition of their own and there appears nothing to show that even the "translation" furnished to them of this record, of which the original is not given in that work, contains the statement that Ranga lived at Chandragiri in *Saka* 1499 (or

A.D. 1577), the corrected date. It is hardly necessary to add that in stating that Ranga was, in 1577 A.D., living at Chandragiri, Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty were setting down Ferishta's statement which had passed into current history.

Venkata I, the younger brother of Srī-Ranga II, was governing the Padaivīdu-rājya, roughly corresponding to the old Pallava country. A gift of land for his merit was made to the temple of Talasayana-Perumāl at Kudalmallai, in the Padaivīdu-rājya. He is referred to as the king's brother Venkatapatidēva-mahāraja, (*M.E.R.* 1910 App. B. No. 255, dated in 1579 A.D.) whereas his cousin Venkata II is referred to as Rāma-Rājayya Venkatayyadēva-Mahārāja in the Srīperumbudūr record already quoted. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 54; App. C. No. 194 dated in 1582 A.D.).

According to a couple of records dated in 1568 A.D., Venkata 1 is said to have conquered Ceylon, evidently a reference to an expedition against part of Northern Ceylon for enforcing the tribute. (*M.E.R.* 1898-1900 Para 82; and *M.E.R.* 1906 Para 49). This must have been the expedition which occurred in 1564-5 A.D., in Sadāsiva's reign. (See *M.E.R.* 1900, No. 19 of 1900; Sathyanātha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 71-2). As Srī-Ranga II also claims to have conquered Ceylon (*M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 35), we may take it that Venkata I undertook the expedition in association with Srī-Ranga II before the latter began his reign.

Nāyakas of Gingee, Madura and Tanjore.

Under Venkata I as Viceroy were the Nāyakas of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. Kumāra-Krishnappa Nāyaka succeeded Tirumala Nāyak but died towards the close of 1572 A.D. Krishnappa was succeeded by his son Vīrappa, who acknowledges his suzerainty to Srī-Ranga II in a record dated in 1579 A.D. (*M.E.R.* No. 187 of 1895). About 1583 A.D. he refused to pay the usual tribute (about 600,000 *pagōdas*) and rebelled. Achyuta-Rāya, the Nāyaka of Tanjore, joined Venkata I and a battle was fought at Vellaprakāra. Basava-Rāya, the General of Venkata I, who had fought at Raksas-Tagdi, was killed and Venkata's army was destroyed, while that of Achyuta fled from the field. (*T.A.S.* 1-48, and 161-64). But it is doubtful if this version of the fight given in the Pudukōttai plates of Srī-Vallabha and Varatunga-Pāndya can be relied on. As Vīrappa acknowledged the suzerainty of Venkata I a few years later, it is at least open to doubt if the defeat that he inflicted was so crushing. Possibly the parties agreed to the restoration of the *status quo ante*, and the payment of the tribute was agreed to by Vīrappa.(See Rev. H. Heras, *the Āravīdu Dynasty*, 286).

Achyuta-Rāya-Nāyaka, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was, on the other hand, thoroughly loyal. He recognises the suzerainty of Ranga II in the Ariviligmangalam plates, which confirm the grant, in 1577-78 A.D., of a village granted to Vijayēndra-Tīrtha, the *guru* of the Sumatīndra-*matha*. (*E.I.* XII, 357). Achyutarāya-Nāyaka's father Sevvappa was still alive at the confirmation of this grant. Another grant made by Sevvappa and confirmed, is recorded in the Navalur grant of Srī-Ranga II, dated in 1575 A.D., in favour of Surēndra-Tīrtha, the *guru* of Vijayīndratīrtha of the same *matha*. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 115). (See *Sources* under *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Charitra*, 323). There is no reason to believe that he was other than steadfast in his loyalty to the Imperial House, with which he was connected on his mother's side. Similarly, Sūrappa-Nāyaka, the Gingee Chief, mentioned in the poem *Bhāvanāpurushōthama*, proved himself useful to Ranga in repelling a Muhammadan invasion, the date of which cannot be determined. His title of *Karnāta-simhāsanasthāpanāchārya*, firm establisher of the Karnātaka king on his throne, seems to imply this. (See *Sources* under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272 *f.n.*).

Chinna-bommu Nāyaka of Vellore.

Chinna-bommu Nāyaka of Vellore was equally faithful to Srī-Ranga II. He is mentioned in several records of the latter dated 757 A.D. (*M.E R.* October 1887 ; No. 43 of 1887 ; 41 and 42 of 1887 ; *M.E.R.* 1913 ; No. 399 of 1912). Another record dated in 1582 A.D., mentions the construction of the Kālakantēsvara temple at Adaipalam in the North Arcot District, by Appaya-Dīkshita, the great philosophic teacher, who flourished at Chinna-Bommu's Court. (*M.E.R.* 1912, App. B. No. 395 of 1911). Two other Nāyakas mentioned with him are Agastyappa and Thimma, who were probably members of his family. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 62 ; App. B. No. 399).

Udayagiri Rājya.

It is not quite clear who was in charge of the Udayagiri-Rājya during this reign. Several records of Srī-Ranga II dated in 1573, 1575 and 1582 A.D., suggest that there was no prince of the Royal family acting as governor in this Province. Grants made in these years mention the ruling Emperor and the Velugōti chief Timmappa, who is spoken in the first of these records as the *kāryakartha* of the king. He was the Imperial Agent in the Province and it was directly under the eye of the Emperor. (See *Nellore Inscriptions*, 11. 822, Nellore 54 ; Podili 27 ; and Nellore 124). Another subordinate in this area was Nāgapa-Nāyaningāru, son of Krishnama-nāyaningaru. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, No. 542 of 1909 dated in 1574). The Venkata-Rāju mentioned in the Amimābād inscription has been identified with Venkata I, brother of Srī-Ranga, and it has been suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri, that he was probably governor of Udayagiri at the time. If so, he must have been transferred to it from the Padaivīdu province about 1580 A.D. (See above).

Srī-Ranga's early career.

Srī-Ranga II evidently served in certain of the provinces as Viceroy. Certain records dated in 1564-5 A.D., suggest that he was engaged in an expedition against Ceylon, probably with his brother Venkata I (see below; also *M.E.R.* 1904-5, Para 35). He is also said to have subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar tribes inhabiting the Kongu and the Malainādu and that the treasure he took from them, he distributed amongst the poor. (See *M.E.R.* 1905, Para 35). This campaign against the Kallars and Maravars should have occured while he was yet in Madura, either before or after the expedition to Ceylon in 1564 A.D. In the Urayanchēri copperplate grant dated in 1576 A.D., he is spoken of as having stopped at Udayagiri and conquered the inaccessible forests of Kondavīdu, Vinukonda, the eighty-four forts and to have had many titles, some of them reminiscent of his predecessors and a few suggestive of his personal victories over his enemies, such as "Āvahalu-Rāya-māna-maridi," who crushed the pride of the Āvahalu king, his identity being unknown; "Mānyapuli," tiger of the hills, etc. (*Ins. Madras Presidency* I, Anantapur 17;. C.-P. No. 23 of 1911). The facts mentioned in this record are nearly the same as appearing in the Devanhalli plates dated in 1584 A.D., and in Tumkur 1, Chiknayakanhalli 39 and the Vilapāka grant (*E.C.* XII and *E.I.* IV, 269). The Urayanechēri grant registers the gift of the village from which the grant takes its name to one Lakshmipatibhatta, it being renamed Vengalāmbā-pura, after Srī-Ranga's mother. From this grant, we learn that Srī-Ranga had two queens Tirumala-Dēvi and Krishnamāmba. The *Rāmarājīyamu*, however, mentions only the former of these, under the name of Timmamāmba. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 213; Text, 215).

Wars and expeditions.

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Srī-Ranga is said to have led expeditions into the territories of the Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and the Gōlkonda Sultāns and to have resuscitated the fallen glory of the Karnāta Empire. (*Ibid*, Text, 214-15). This statement evidently refers to events which should have happened after the destruction of Vijayanagar and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda. Probably he took part in warding off Alī Ādil Shāh's attacks on Penukonda in 1566-7, 1567-8 and 1576-7. A.D. Channappa, the minister of Tirumala, who registers all these events in a lithic record dated A.D. 1580 at Penukonda (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 341) states that he even conquered the Ādil Shāh, who had come to capture the new capital. The generals of Alī Ādil Shāh whom he defeated on the latter two occasions were Rambikēsamkhānu and Vāmibinamale Khānu. These have been identified with the Kishāwar Khān and Roomy Khān mentioned by Ferishta. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 184-185). The attempted capture of Penukonda in 1576-7 A.D. is, as we have seen, testified to by Ferishta, though the latter's statement that Venkatādri (probably Venkata I) fled to Chandragiri, seems wholly baseless. (See below). According to Ferishta, the siege of Penukonda had to be raised for want of provisions. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 431). We have an independent reference to possibly the last two campaigns, in the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* (see *Sources* 231-233) and in the chronicle of the anonymous historian of Gōlkonda, whose account is included by Ferishta. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 431-435). According to Ferishta, the Alī Ādil Shāh's attack took place in 1575-6 A.D., immediately after his return from the West Coast. At that time, according to the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, Srī-Ranga II was on a tour towards Chandragiri. On learning of Alī's advance, he hurriedly returned and with the aid of Hande Malakappa defeated Alī's forces, which retired. This statement cannot be held to refer to the events connected with Alī's campaign of 1575-6 A.D., for according to the *Annals*, the Sultāns of the north again invaded Srī-Ranga's territories and in the course of this campaign, Srī-Ranga was defeated and taken prisoner and all the country north of Penukonda annexed by them. With this, it is stated, that Malakappa transferred his allegiance to the northern Sultāns and obtained a confirmation of the grant of his territories and was honoured with the title of "*Pādshah Vazir*" (*i.e.*, Vazir at the Badshāh's Court). This story seems highly exaggerated, for we do not hear of Srī-Ranga's capture by any of the Sultāns of the north and if he had been really captured we should have certainly heard of it from Ferishta. This part of the account in the *Annals* seems an exaggeration intended to justify the transfer of allegiance on the part of Malakappa, whenever it occurred. The writer of the anonymous Gōlkonda chronicle furnishes us with more correct details. According to him, Srī-Ranga applied to Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh, the Sultān of Gōlkonda, for help against Alī Ādil Shāh. To draw off Alī Ādil Shāh from Penukonda, Ibrahīm sent a detachment under Shāh Muhammad Anju, his General, to attack and plunder the borders of the Bijāpur Kingdom, while he himself moved with his forces towards Penukonda in aid of Srī-Ranga. He was subsequently joined by Anju in the Bijāpur territories and they were joined by Srī-Ranga. The effecting of this junction had the desired effect and Alī Ādil Shāh raised the siege and returned to Bijāpur. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 435). It was probably during this war that Venkatappa-Nāyaka, described as the son of Sindu Gōvinda, a white-bodied Bhīma, boon of lord of Manināgapura, defeater of *Turuka* army, grandson of Bāyappa-Nāyaka and son of Krishnappa-Nāyaka, distinguished himself on Srī-Ranga's side. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 59 dated in 1576 A.D.) It is evidently to this event that the *Rāmarājīyamu* should be referring when it says that "Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijiapur *i.e.*, (Bijāpur") the reference being to Anju's attack of Bijapur territories on behalf of

Srī-Ranga. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 183, *f.n.* 3). Shortly afterwards, a Gōlkonda envoy visited Penukonda and an alliance was agreed to between Ibrahīm and Srī-Ranga. It will be seen that in this attack, which ended so satisfactorily to Srī-Ranga, he was not taken prisoner according to the Gōlkonda chronicler. It was undoubtedly the campaign that Alī personally undertook after his return from the West Coast. There is no mention in Ferishta of any further attempt on his part to lead his forces against Penukonda. A further attack on it, in the year 1575-6 A.D., seems thus ruled out and with it the story of the *Annals* that Srī-Ranga was taken prisoner in it by Alī Ādil Shāh. (The attack of 1577 A.D. was led not by Alī but by his generals who were four in number. See below). Moreover, there are inscriptions dated in 1575-1576 and 1576-7 A.D. which specifically state that Srī-Ranga was ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda, which seems to negative the suggestion of his captivity. (See *E.C.* X, Kolar, 146, dated in 1575; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 52, App. A. copper-plate No. 23 dated in 1576 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1259-61, Rapur 41 dated in 1575-6; Arivilimangalam grant dated in 1577-8, *E.C.* XII, 341; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1143, No. 688, dated in 1575-6; *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 1185-6, Podili 27 dated in 1575, which however mentions *Vidyānagar* as Srī-Ranga's capital, probably meaning Penukonda belonging to Hastināvati (*i.e.*, Vijayanagar), the established formula for mentioning the new capital. The Rev. H. Heras' suggestion that this mention of Vidyānagar as the capital, is probably an attempt at concealing his capture, is too fantastic and needs no formal refutation. See *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 271, *f.n.* 4).

Alī Ādil Shāh, however, made another attempt on Penukonda in 1577 A.D. Though he did not personally lead his forces, there were evidently four of his generals engaged in this attack. This siege is not mentioned in

Ferishta and hence it is a question if the incidents mentioned in regard to it in the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam*, (see *Sources*, 229-230), by Ēkāmranātha, the court-poet of Immadi-Ankusa, the grandson of Jagadēva-Rāya of Channapatna, can be accepted as correct. In these two works, it is stated that Jagadēva-Rāya, son of Peda Jaga-Dēva and uncle of Immadi Ankusa, valiantly defended Penukonda against a Muhammadan Khān, and gave protection against an attack led by Mūrtijā Khān and Nuru Khān, and killed Sūjata Chērna Mulk. In the last edition of this *Gazetter*, it was stated that Jagadēva-Rāya was the son-in-law of Srī-Ranga but the *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* does not mention his wife's name. The *Satyāparinayam* says that he was married to Giriyāmba but her parentage is not mentioned in it. Apparently it was not high enough to require mention. Jagadēva-Rāya's services were well recognized by Srī-Ranga. He was rewarded with a large tract of country extending from Bārāmahāl in the east to the Western Ghats in the west. He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630, when it was taken by Chikka-Dēva-Rāya. Konēru-Rāya, to whom two villages were granted by Srī-Ranga II in 1579 A.D., as *netara-Kodagi*, for his services in warfare, probably also took part in the successful defence of Penukonda. (*M.A.R.* 1923, 44, No. 7).

Capture of Vinukonda Kondavīdu, etc., by Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, 1579 A.D.

About the close of 1579 A.D., Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh on the pretence that the promised tribute was not paid to him, but really to re-occupy certain lost territories, crossed the Krishna and attacked the north-eastern part of the Empire. Vinukonda, Kocharlakōla, Cumbum and other fortresses surrendered, but Kondavīdu held out stoutly. The chiefs in charge of it—Kandi Timma, Mudna (Muddanna) Chinna and Kasturi Ranga—sallied out and attacked the invading forces. Though the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda claims that Haidar-ul-mulk defeated them and pursued them as far as Guram (possibly Gurramkonda), which he occupied, there seems little doubt that this is an exaggeration. Evidently the defenders beat off the investing forces, who were compelled to turn westwards from their objective. However, Haidar-ul-mulk next attacked Bellamkonda and a few other minor forts and thence retraced his steps to attack Kondavīdu. It was defended evidently by the troops of Srī-Ranga and the Orrissan King, whose general Harischandra (identified with Harischandra Mukunda) was, it is said, taken alive captive by Haidar-ul-mulk. (See Gangādhara-kavi's *Tapatī-samvaranam*, in *Sources*, 238-39). This, however, did not help much. Though he expended much time on the fortress, it proved of little avail. He urged for and got reinforcements from Gōlconda. Syed Shāh Tacki, the new general, advanced with his forces and tried to take the place by escalade. Having failed in this attempt, he moved his guns to the hill and opened them on the gate-way. A desperate fight followed, in which many fell on both sides. Though the defending forces drove back the storming party with heavy loss, the fort was eventually taken by the exertions of the elephants, who forced open one side of the gate. According to the anonymous Gōlconda chronicler, Kapuri Timmarāj, son-in-low of Rāma-Rāj, fell into the hands of the victors and was taken prisoner. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, 111, 436-8). He was the principal general, probably in charge of the fort. An inscription, dated in 1592 A.D. in the reign of Mohamed Kuli Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda at Aminabad, in the Sattenapalle Taluk, Guntur District, gives some additional details of this campaign. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 64; App. B. 541 of 1909.). It says that his father, in 1580 A.D., sent out an expedition which took Udayagiri and drove out Venkata-rāju (identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with Venkata 1, *A.S.I.* 1909-1910, 185) from the fortresses. Next, it is said, Vinukonda, Bellamkomda, Tangada and the outlying country, were secured. Finally Kondavīdu, described as the capital of the Karnāta kings, (evidently a prominent town of importance) was taken. There can be little doubt that the campaign of 1579-80 A.D. described by the anonymous chronicler and that referred to in the Aminābād record are identical. That Kondavīdu was in effective occupation at the time of Srī-Ranga is proved beyond all doubt by the existence of a record dated in his reign in 1574 A.D. at the place and registering a gift to the Durga temple at the place. (*M.E.R.* 542 of 1909.) We have seen it had been recaptured by Ranga with Udayagiri and other places dependent on it. This campaign of Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh was evidently to retake these places, in which he appears to have been completely successful. The Rev. H. Heras suggests that the Kondavīdu province was thus lost "for ever" to Vijayanagar. This seems an over-statement as he himself acknowledges in the very next sentence of his work. (See the *Āravīdu Dynasty* 275.). Not only this was not so and a good part of the province was in the hands of Srī-Ranga II and his successors as evidenced by inscriptions (*Nellore Inscriptions* II. 892, *Nellore* 124, dated 1582-83, which record in Srī-Ranga's reign the grant of a *meras* for a tank), but also there is proof enough to believe that Srī-Ranga II re-took the lost territories.

If we may believe the Devanhalli copper-plate grant dated in 1584 A.D., we have to draw the inference that Srī-Ranga marched in person to Udayagiri, stopped there for a time and from there re-conquered the inaccessible fortresses of Kondavīdu, Vinukonda, etc., including the eighty-four durgas, or hill-fortresses. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 57; App. A. No. 23.) It cannot be that the statement made in this grant as to the re-capture of these places has to be referred back to their original capture before 1575, which conquest also is mentioned in the earlier years of Srī-Ranga. Inscriptions of Srī-Ranga found on the southern side of the Krishna, at Kondavīdu, show that this part of the empire had been reconquered once before by Srī-Ranga. The viceroy in this area in Srī-Ranga's time was Rāma-Raja-Jagarāya, son of Timmarāja, the Channapatna chief (see *M.E.R.* 1916-17, Para 50; App. C. Nos. 162, 89, 113, of 1927 dated in Saka 1496, 1498 and 1499, or A.D. 1574-5 1576-7 and 1577-8.) As will be shown below in the reign of Venkata II, it is because of a second request by Srī-Ranga of Udayagiri and the other places, that the Chiefs in this area rebelled against Mohamed Kūli Kutb, son of Alī Ādil Shāh, who as mentioned in the Aminābād inscription, led another expedition against them in 1591 A.D. The death of Alī Ādil (See *M.E.R.* 1910 Para 64; App. B. No. 541 of 1909.) Shāh by the hand of an assassin was followed by the accession of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh II, his son. He being a minor, his mother the famous Chand Bibi became Regent. The minister Dilawar Khān became all powerful. One of his generals led an expedition against Shankar Rajāh, the chief of Kadur, but it ended in dismal failure. Despite this want of success, it is claimed by the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda that most of the petty Rajās of Bijanagar had now bent their backs to the Muhammadan yoke. (Briggs, *Ferishta* II 453.) As suggested by the Rev. H. Heras, this can only be held to refer to a limited number of chiefs on the northern borders of the Kingdom. (See *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 276.)

Invasion of Ahōbalam by Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda, assisted by the Hindu Chief Malakappa, 1584-1585 A.D

About 1584-5 A.D., Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh, assisted by *Hande* Malakappa, the traitor, invaded the country around Ahōbalam in the present Kurnool District, and even occupied the precincts of the famous temple. According to a lithic record to be seen in it, Ibrahīm and Malakappa devastated the surrounding country, reached Ahōbalam and completely ruined it. It has been suggested that the Hande Chiefs were Vīrasaivas and that they probably joined the Muhammadans in plundering the Vaishnava shrine, reducing it to ruins. Urged by Srī-Vam-Sathakōpajiyyangāru, the religious teacher at the place, King Srī-Ranga deputed Kondarāju-Venkatarāju-Tirumala-Rāju to expel the two invaders. This commission was duly carried out by Tirumala-Raju, who on the evacuation of the temple, restored it to the Jiyyangāru. This commander of the Jiyyangaru set up a *Jayasthamba* (or pillar of victory) in the temple to mark the expulsion of these invaders, as the inscription on it bears testiomony to this day. This *Jayasthamba* is really the *garudasthamba* executed by Sūrappa-ōbulayyadēva-Mahārāya. The Abhirāma of this record is Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh of Golconda, whose forces were driven out from it. This invasion of Ibrahīm and his expulsion from Ahōbalam is naturally not mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III 339.) The devastation of the country all round the temple then effected seems to have been so complete that even now it bears a desolate appearance about it. Kondārāju-Tirumala, the Commander, was also known as Venkatarājudēva-Chōla-Mahārāju and among his titles were *Dēva-Chōda-mahārāja* and *Lord of Uraiyur*, which show his connection with the Matla Chiefs of this period. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 18 and 53; and App. C. No. 70.).

Srī-Rangā's piety and gifts.

Srī-Ranga II was an ardent Vaishnava and a liberal donor of gifts to temples and learned people. At his coronation, he appears to have made numerous gifts to the Brahmins. His interest in the Melkote temple has been referred to above. Many gifts in his name, and for his merit, have been recorded in his reign. (9-9. *E.C.* V, Belur 1, dated 1578; *E.C.* X, Bowringpete 77 dated 1579; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 44, No. 7; *Nellore Inscriptions*

III. 1259, Rapur 41 dated 1575,; *E.C.* X, Kolar 153, dated 1580; *E.C.* IV, Yedatore 59, dated 1576.)

The great Srīmushnam temple was enlarged and benefited in a variety of ways. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 73. The temple of Srī-Rāmānuja at Srīperumbudūr and the great teachers connected with it received warm encouragement by gifts of villages. (See below *M.E.R.*; 1924-25 para 35; App. A. copper-plates Nos. 10 and 11). He appears to have shown some favour to the artisan classes, who did so much to help in the beautification of the temples by their work. A record, dated 1572 A.D., registers the grant of certain privileges by the people of Tiruvāmattur (in the South Arcot District) to the artisan classes—blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and carpenters—in accordance with the practice prevailing in the Padaivīdu, Gingee, Tiruvannāmalai and Kānchi countries. They gave an undertaking to this effect to the official Committee of Management connected with the execution of Royal Orders (*Rājakārya Bhandāra*). (See *M.E.R.* 1921-22, para 54; App. C. No. 65.) A similar undertaking in favour of the artisans of Naduvi-karai-pattra, another portion of the present South Arcot District, is registered in another record of his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, para 54; App. B. No. 378 undated.) The tax on the anvil levied on them in the Budihal country was remitted by Srīpati-Raja Vallabha-Rājayya, the local *mahāmandalēsvara* in 1573 A.D. (*E.C.* XII Chickanayakanhalli 8; for another record in their favour, see *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 620 of 1204.) That the restoration of grant to the Jain temple (*basti*) at Budihal in 1579 was ordered by the same Srī-Vallabha is also recorded. (See above; *E.C.* XII, Chicknayakanhalli 22.)

But the greatest service he appears to have rendered to the pious public was the prompt manner in which he cleared the Muhammadans from the Ahōbalam temple and restored worship in it. This was a famous temple during the days of the 3rd and 4th dynasties of Vijayanagar kings and its invasion by Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh and the Hande chief, Malakappa must have meant a severe blow to its popularity. Its *kanchu gumbhum*, or interior *gōpura* and *Jayasthamba* (or pillar of victory) and the large monolithic pillar are objects of great architectural interest in it. Near the *Kanchu gumbhum* stands on a slab, the record of Srī-Ranga II, dated in 1584-5 A.D., which sets out the details of the expulsion of the forces of Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh and Malakappa. This act of Srī-Ranga, as much religious as political, should have greatly endeared him to his people. (See above; also *M.E.R.* 1915, para 53; App. C. No. 70.) Srī-Ranga II took considerable personal interest in the temple at Melkote. An inscription, dated 1575 A.D., states that an assemblage of Srī-Vaishnavas, with himself, prince Komāra Rāma-Rāja, his younger brother, who was in charge of the Mysore viceroyalty, Tātāchārya, his Royal *Guru*, and others, provided for the recitation of the *Yatirāja Saptati*, a poem by Vedānta-Dēsikar in praise of Srī-Rāmānuja, at the temple. An inscribed slab giving effect to this rescript was put up at the time in the Bāshyakāra temple at the place. According to two other records at the place, dated in 1585 A.D., Ettur Komāra-Tirumala-Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Srī-Ranga-Rāja, was accorded certain privileges in the temple. (*M.A.R.* 1906-7, para 50.) This *guru* is referred to in a couple of other records, dated in 1577 and 1641 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 74; App. C. No. 209 and No. 174.) Evidently he was all powerful as *guru* at Srī-Ranga's court. A number of inscriptions found in the Yathoktakāri temple at Kānchi show that his influence was indeed great in the Kingdom. He belonged to the family of *Vēdamārgha-pratishthāpanāchārya-Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya-Periya-Tirumalaswāmi.* He was the son of one Ayyāvayyangār (*M.E.R.* 1920-21. para 53; App. B. No. 30 of 1921).

He carried out large construction works in the Vishnu temple at Kānchi, for which he had as his agent one Tiruppani Singaraiengar. (*Ibid*, App. C. No. 10 of 1921.) Tirumala-Tātāchārya's influence extended as far as Kumbakonam, as the name of that place appears, added to his, in certain records. (*Idid*, No. 31 of 1921.)

As might be expected, the great Vaishnava temples received particular attention. Apart from those at Tirupati and Srīrangam, these were the shrine of Srī-Rāmānuja at Sriperumbudūr, so closely connected with the resuscitator of Vaishnavism, the temple at Srīmushnam in the present South Arcot District and the temple at Triplicane, Madras. A copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 1514 *Pramādi* (wrong) registers the grant by Srī-Ranga of a village, renamed after his mother Vēngalāmba, for the benefit of the Rāmānujakūta at Sriperumbudūr, and for a flower garden there. This gift was at the request of one Tirumala-Nambi Srīrangamma connected with the Tātāchārya family, who was famous for her piety. (*M.E.R.* 1924-5, para 35; App. A.C.P. No. 11.) The date of this grant, taking the cyclic year as the intended date, should be set down as *Pramādi*, corresponding to *Saka* 1501 or A.D. 1579. Another record at Sriperumbudūr, dated probably in 1577 A.D., records the grant of a village, made at the request of Savaram Channa, the governor of Penukonda, to a great teacher at the place called Tirumalāchārya, who was a renowned scholar and expounder of the *Srī-bāshya*, the famous commentary of Srī-Rāmānuja on Bādarāyana's *Brahmasūtras*. This Tirumalāchārya was a descendant of Ananta-guru (Ānandālvar), a direct disciple of Rāmānuja, who is referred to in the *Prapannamritam* (Chapter 46) as one to whom the propagation of the Vaishnava faith by Ramanuja was made. (See *M.E.R.* 1924-25, para 35; App. A. C. P. No. X.) The surrounding wall of the great temple at Srīmushnam was built by one Rāyasam

Venkatayya during this reign, (1582-3). (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 73; App. B. No. 446). Venkatayya was the subordinate of Vaiyappa-Krishnappa-Kondama Nāyaka, who did much for the Chidambaram temple during this period. Kondama's son was Krishnappa, under whom was one Achyutappa-Nāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, para 73; App. C. No. 266 dated in 1583 A.D.) This Achyutappa also did much for the Srīmushnam temple. Among other things, he established shrines, presented villages, reclaimed lands, dug canals, cleared forests, constructed tanks and planted groves. He also presented many jewels, built high towers, enclosure walls, pavilions etc. He further renewed the ancient festivals and provided for music on a lavished scale. In return he was made a *nirvāha* and *samprati* of the temple with the right to put his seal on the store room of the temple—evidently the highest honour the temple authorities could confer on him. He was also made the *talāri* (*i.e.*, head-man) of Srīmushnam. (*Ibid*, App. C. No. 270, dated 1583 A.D.) To the temple at Triplicane, also devoted to Vishnu, Tirumala, the general of Venkata II and grand-son of Aliaya Rāmarāja II, granted a couple of villages and a flower garden in 1585 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. A. No. 237.) Evidently Srī-Vaishnavism was in the ascendant and the deification of Srī-Rāmānuja was completed about this time.

Domestic Life.

It has been long the custom to state that Srī-Ranga II died leaving no issue. The *Chikkadēvarāya-vamsāvali* asserts this definitely by stating that he died "without issue." This, however, does not appear to be correct. At any rate, some doubt is cast on it by one inscription which comes from the Tumkur district. In a record dated in 1573 A.D., Mahāmandalēsvara Sripati-Rāya Vallabha-Rājayya-dēva Mahārāsu calls himself the son of Srī-Ranga. The words actually used are *nammatan-*

degalu Ranga-Rajayya-navarige punyavāgabēkendu bittēvu i.e., we have remitted this tax to you in order that merit may accrue to our father Ranga-Rājayya. (*E.C.* XII Chickanayakanhalli 8.) This indicates that Sripatirāja-Vallabha-Rāja was a son of Srī-Ranga. The fact that the latter was a *Mahāmandalēsvara* and that he was governing the country round Kolar and Tumkur, which was usually reserved for princes of the Royal House, would seem to suggest that he was a son of Srī-Ranga. It has, however, to be remarked that "Ranga-rājayya" is mentioned without any Royal appellations added to it, though they are given to him in full in the recital part of the grant. Also it has to be added that in a record dated in 1579 (*E.C.* XII Chicknayakanhalli 22) the genealogy of Vallabha-dēva is thus set out:—Srīpati-Rājayya's son Rājayyadēva-Mahārasu's son Vallabhadēva-Mahārasu, *i.e.*, he was the grand-son of Srīpati and son of Rājayyadēva. If this be so, the statement in the earlier record that he was the son of "Rangarājayya" is inexplicable, unless we are prepared to interpret Rājayya-dēva as the abreviated form of "Rangarājayyadēva-Mahāarasu." Srī-Ranga's two queens, Tirumaladēvi and Krishnāmba, have been referred to above. (See *E.C.* XII, Chickanayakanhalli XIII.) The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that he had two daughters, of whom one was married to Mikar Tima, governor of Kondavīdu, mentioned by the Gōlconda chronicler and the other was married to Jaga-dēva-Rāya of Channapattana. The former is really described as the son-in-law Aliya Rāma-rāja and not of Srī-Ranga II and as regards Jaga-dēva it is doubtful if the statement made to this effect by Messrs. Rice and Sewell (*List of Antiquities* I. 101) can now be held to be correct, in view of the direct evidence on the point furnished by Ēkāmbranātha's works, *Jāmbavati-Kalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam*. (See above).

His titles.

The full imperial titles are given to Srī-Ranga-Rāyā in his records. A rather unusual title mentioned in one record dated 1581 A.D. is *Bhujabala-dēva*, which is reminiscent of *Bhujabala-dēva* of the days of the second dynasty. (See *M.E.R.* 1923-28, para 53; App. B. No. 323 of 1923.) An unusual number of titles are given to him in his Urayancheri grant as also in the Devanhalli grant, some of which have been above referred to. An inscription from Elavanasur in the South Arcot District calls him *Vīrakēsari.*

Ministers, Feudatories and generals.

It is known from literary works that Pemmasāni Pedda Timmaraja was a minister of Srī-Ranga and continued in the same post in the time of his successor. Most of his (see Prabhakhara Sāstri, *Chātupādya-manimanjari,* 42) feudatories have been mentioned above. Pemmasānipedda-Timma is probably identical with Pemmasāni-Timma, or Timmaya Mantri, who is mentioned as the minister of *Srī-Ranga* in the *Chāruchandrōdayam* of Channamarāju. (See *Sources,* 251). Timmaya-mantri was the patron of this poet. According to the latter, Timmaya was greatly honoured by Srī-Ranga who recognised his worth by presenting him with elephants, horses, palanquins, etc. He evidently continued as a minister under Venkata I. This Timmaya-mantri (*alias* Pemmasāni Timma) had a brother named Pemmasāni-Peddavīra, whose life was saved at the battle of Midagesi, by Lingannamantri, brother of Chennamma-Rāju, the poet above named. Among the titles of Timmaya-mantri were *Manne-Mārtānda*, *Gandarāditya* and *Gandaraganda.* (*Ibid,* 242-3.) Sri-Rangarājāyya, son of Salākarāja-Chikka-Tirumalarājayya, one of those who opposed Sadāsiva's accession and was defeated by Aliya Rāma-Rāja, held a subordinate's position in a portion of the present Kolar District. (*A,S.I.* 1909-10, 185.)

As a literary patron.

Like his forbears, Srī-Ranga II encouraged poets and scholars. His court poet was Rāyasam-Venkatapathi, the author of the Telugu poem *Lakshmivilāsamu.* He held also the secular position of the *nirvāhaka* (manager) of the Imperial Secretariat. He mentions the defeat Srī-Ranga inflicted on Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh, evidently at Ahōbalam, where it is said the Royal insignia of Ibrahīm was captured. He states that he was presented by his Sovereign, with a village, the office of Rāyasam (or writer-of despatches) and with gold and valuable ornaments set with precious stones. (See *Sources*, 230-31). He evidently wielded a facile pen. His poem is well written, in a simple chaste style.

Other poets of the period. Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh as a patron of Telugu poets.

Among other poets of the period were Ēkāmbranātha, who lived at the court of Immadi-Ankusa, already named; and another was Ponniganti-Talaganārya, the author of the unmixed Telugu work *Yayāticharitram,* which he dedicated to one Amīr-Khān, the general of Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh. This poet mentions one GatātaKhān, brother of his patron, who was evidently something of a linguistic king as he knew the Arabic, Persian, Guzerāti, Telugu, Kanouji and Āre (*i.e.*, Marāthi) languages. Another brother of Amīn-Khān was Fazl-Khān, who was evidently a great diplomat. He was the person who brought about the treaty of peace between Srī-Ranga and Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh. (See *Sources*, 236-238.) A work dedicated to Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh himself is *Tapatīsamvaranopākhyanamu*, by Addanki Gangādhara-kavi, who furnishes interesting details, (See *Sources*, 238-9.) There are a number of stray Telugu verses current testifying to the personal interest evinced by Ibrahīm Kutb in Telugu poets and poetry. He was evidently highly popular with the literary men of the period, whom he is even said to have called together at his Court with a view to judge their comparative merits! (See Prabhakara Sāstri, *Chātupādyamanimanjari,* 41-46.) In one of these verses, he is compared to the epic hero *Rama,* of course poetically, his own name being split up into *Malki-Ibharāmudu*! (*Ibid* 45.) His capture of Udayagiri, his driving out of Venkatarāju from it, his taking of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, and Kondavīdu are all mentioned in another verse. (*Ibid* 42.) His donations and gifts to poets were, it is said, innumerable and generous. (*Ibid*, 44-45.)

Stray verses in praise of Velugōtivāru, who figure in the inscriptions of the Nellore District during this period, and of Matla-vāru, praising their valorous deeds, are also to be set down to contemporary Telugu poets whose names are unknown. (*Ibid*, 57 and 65.)

His death, 1585-6 A.D.

Sri-Ranga II appears to have died about the year 1585-6 A.D., cyclic year *Pārthiva*, up to which date, as we have seen, his records run.

A justification of his Policy.

The Rev. Henry Heras in summing up his account of the reign of Srī-Ranga has been rather severe in his judgment of him. He suggests that he was more pious than politically minded. While conceding that he might have been more energetic in his military policy, especially against the encroaching Muhammadan Sultāns, it has to be admitted that he did more than might have been expected from him in the circumstances he found himself. After the great and disastrous battle of Raksas-Tagdi, these Sultāns had been ever anxious to attack Penukonda, the new capital. That they should have attacked it thrice is, therefore, no wonder; the greater wonder is that on each occasion, they should have been so successfully beat off by Srī-Ranga. The statement in the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* that he was defeated on one occasion and taken prisoner is not confirmed from Muhammadan sources, which naturally might have made much of it, if it had been true. The fact that the Muhammadan forces suffered is evident both from inscriptions and literary sources of unimpeachable veracity. It is true that he had to contend against odds but that he triumphantly drove off the successive invasions of the Muhammadans on Penukonda entitle him to the praise that the *Rāmarājīyamu* gives him when it states that he "resuscitated the glory of the Karnāta Empire which had waned." (See *Sources*, 213.) Considering what followed Raksas-Tagdi, and remembering the renewed attempts of the Muhammadans on Penukonda and the manner in which they were foiled by Srī-Ranga, this statement of the *Rāmarājīyamu* is not merely striking but also literally true. The manner in which he won over Ibrahīm, the Gōlconda Sultān, and compelled Alī Ādil Shāh to withdraw his forces appears to have impressed his contemporaries. Hence the praise bestowed on him in the Kaniyur grant of Venkata II that he "was renowned in the eight regions" and has "crossed the milk-ocean of policy" *i.e.*, the science of politics. (*E.I.* III, 253. These are not mere laudatory expressions as the Rev. H. Heras would have us believe. They indicate the impression his rule left on the people of his own times. He deserves a word of commendation for the promptitude with which he drove out the Muhammadans and the traitor Malakappa of the Hande family from Ahōbalam. Nor could we forget the rapidity with which he proceeded in person against the Gōlconda Sultān on the East Coast and recovered Udayagiri and other fortresses after the attack on them in 1580 A.D. His Devanhalli grant, dated in 1584 A.D., shows that he recovered these places, accompanying his forces in person. He was energetic, able and diplomatic as well. His own position was such that he could not defend the distant West Coast frontiers against either the Portuguese or the Bijāpur Sultān. Nor could he, with justice to himself, be expected to have proceeded against some of the recalcitrant feudatories at a time when his attention was required nearer home. It must be said to the credit of the generality of the feudatories, that they held firm. The case of Hande Malakappa was one of those exceptions which prove the rule. He got his punishment in the Abōbalam campaign of Srī-Ranga, for we no more hear of him after that.

Venkata I, 1586-1614.

Srī-Ranga II was succeeded by his younger brother Venkatādri, perhaps the most famous and most powerful king of the Fourth Dynasty. He is known to inscriptional records as Venkata-dēva or as Venkatapati-Rāya. The Rev. H. Heras has designated him as Venkata II, Venkata I, according to him, being Venkatādri, the son of Achyuta-dēva-rāya of the Third Dynasty. (See *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 300-1.) It seems, however, best to call the latter Venkatādri and style the successor of Srī-Ranga II as Venkata I. The adoption of this suggestion would enable us to avoid unnecessary confusion in the study of the records of the period, and enable us to keep to the system of enumeration adopted by epigraphists since they commenced their labours in the field of Vijayanagar History. Venkata I ruled for nearly 28 years.

His titles and early career.

Among his titles was the unusual one of *Vīra-Vasanta-Rāya*, which is known from a couple of lithic records from Salem and North Arcot Districts dated in 1568 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 82.) Another record from Tinnevelly calls him *Bhujabala-Vīra-Vasanta*. As the Salem record is dated in the third year *of his reign* in 1568 A.D., it has been suggested that he had been already made crown prince in 1565 A.D., in the reign of Sadāsiva. (*A.S.I.* 1909-1910, 187 ; see also *ante*). It is more probable that he was more or less ruling independently in a part of

Tinnevelly at the time this record was engraved. (See also *M.E.R.* 1905-06, Para 49; App. B, No. 163 of 1905, dated 1567 A.D., in which also he is represented as making gifts independent of the then ruling sovereign.) As this is so far the only record giving a regnal year to him, this seems the more reasonable interpretation to give than to suggest that he was selected as crown prince so early as 1565 A.D. He evidently took part in the campaign against Ceylon as he is in a couple of records, dated in 1568 A.D., credited with the conquest of Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1899-1900, Para 84.) In 1567 A.D., we find him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* in the Kurnool country. If he has been correctly identified with Venkata-Rāja of the Amīnabād inscription, then he should have been in charge of Udayagiri fort in or about 1580 A.D. (See *ante.*) In 1583 he was evidently at the capital more or less as co-ruler with Srī-Ranga II. In a record dated in that year, he is given the full imperial titles. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3.)

Whom did Venkata I actually succeed?

Venkata I was the fourth and the last son of Tirumala I. As the copper-plate grants of Venkata I state that he succeeded to the throne on *the death* of Srī-Ranga II, it would seem to follow that Rama III, Venkata's immediate elder brother, was dead at the time and that his two sons, Tirumala II and Srīranga III, were too young to succeed to the throne. As we have seen, we have records of Rāma III in the Mysore State, dated in 1584, 1589 and 1591 A.D. In the last of these, a gift is registered for the merit of Rāma-Rāja. It might be that he was dead by then and Tirumala II, his elder son, succeeded him in 1584 in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47; M.A.R. 1911-12, Para 111; *E.C.* III, Mandya 25, dated in 1589 A.D. and Mandya 5 dated 1591 A.D.) The question is how long before did Rāma III die? Mandya 25, dated in 1589 A.D., refers to a grant by his son Tirumala II, who is described as the son of

Rāma-Rāja (III) and grandson of Tirumala-Rāya (I.) (See the Text of the inscription in *E.C.* III, Mandya 25.) This would seem to indicate that he was dead by then. As Seringapatam 47, dated in 1584, indicates that Tirumala was already in power and even making grants, it is possible that Rāma III died between 1584 and 1589 A.D. The last record of Rāma III known in the Mysore State is dated in 1581 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 158.) Probably about 1584 A.D., he returned to Penukonda, leaving his son Tirumala II to take his place at Seringapatam and died there between 1584 and 1589 A.D. As his coronation is first referred to in the Kudligi-sringēri *math* copper-plate grant dated in 1587 A.D., and it is there stated that his coronation took place after the death of Srīranga II, the latter should have died before 1587 A.D. Between 1584 and 1587, Rāma III was perhaps in Penukonda and when Srī-Ranga II died *about* 1585-6,he probably as Chikka-Rāya assumed the sovereignty, but died before his coronation could take place. A Jesuit letter dated December 21st 1602, quoted by the Rev. H. Heras, referring to Tirumala II says:—

> "After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a "kingdom." (Letter of F. N. Pimenta, in the *Litterae annuae of Goa*, quoted in the *Āravidu Dynasty*, 301, *f.n.*, 2.)

This letter seems to indicāte that Rāma III had assumed the sovereignty for a time after Srī-Ranga's death and that having died, perhaps suddenly, his younger brother Venkata I succeeded him, his accession being unanimously approved by the people. Father Pimenta states that Rāma's sons were excluded "on account of their age." The reason does not appear to be quite convincing for we know Tirumala II was already old enough in 1584 A.D., to succeed his father in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. But he certainly could have been no match to his uncle Venkata I, whose age and experience of administration should have commended themselves to the people. Moreover, the succession to the throne should have been governed by the rule of primogeniture, according to which Venkata I, was undoubtedly the rightful heir. However it might be, there can be no doubt that Venkata I fully justified his election, "if election it was" by the unanimous vote of all the classes of the people, as Father Pimenta puts it.

There are no records of Rāma III as sovereign. His records are to be found mostly in the Mysore State, except one at Srīsailam in the Kurnool District. His last record in Mysore is dated in 1581 A.D. The Srīsailam record (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 43 of 1915) ascribes to him the sovereign power and registers the carrying out of certain repairs to the bund across the Bhōgavati on the west side of the temple and the presentation of a flower garden to it by an agent of his. The record is dated in 1577 A.D. It is possible he wielded—as crown prince--certain independent powers. Venkata I is similarly represented, as we have seen already, in a record dated in 1567 A.D., *i.e.*, ten years earlier than the Srīsailam record of Rāma III. This record, though dated during the reign of Sadāsiva, registers a gift by Venkata I *wihout specifying that it was made with the approval of that king.* (*M.E.R.* 1906, App. B, No. 163 of 1905.) As Rāma-Rāja III could not have ruled for any length of time—enough even for carrying out his coronation—the court genealogists have evidently dropped him from their lists and represented Venkata I as succeeding direct, as it were, to Srī-Ranga II.

Coronation of Venkata I 1586-7 A.D.

His coronation ceremony was conducted with great pomp and ceremony, by the great Tātārya, who is described in the earliest grant recording the anointing as "the *guru* of his own *gōtra*," and "by other *Brahmans*." (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83, dated in 1587 A.D.) The Tātārya referred to here was Kumāra Tirumala Tātāchārya, who was one of the most prominent figures of his reign. (See below.) According to Du Jarric, the coronation took place, in accordance with custom, at Chandragiri, evidently meaning the Tirupati Hill, which is not far away from Chandragiri. (See H. Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty* 303, *f.n.*, 1.)

The extent of the Empire.

A fairly clear idea of the extent of the Empire as it was in the reign of Venkata I is given by Du Jarric. The greater part of India south of the Krishna was still included in the Empire. "Besides the western kingdoms of Malabar (evidently he means Travancore), he says, there were "several others towards the north, such as Oner (Honavar), Battikalla (Bhatkal) and so on that acknowledge the imperial authority. It has on the east two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, namely from Cape Comorin to the kingdom of Oricia (Orissa), and this length comprises the coast of Coromandel and Meliapor (Mylapore) of San Thome." (Du Jarric I-654, quoted by H. Heras in the *Aravīdu Dynasty*, 307.)

A very large number of inscriptions, both lithic and copper-plate, of the Fourth Dynasty belong to his reign. As far as this State is concerned, they have been found in almost every district of it. Among his copper-plate grants are the following arranged chronologically:—

Sl. No.	Authority	Description of grant.	Date
1	*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, 83.	Kudligi-Sringeri *Math* grant.	*Saka* 1509, *Sarvajit*, *Kārtika Su.* 12(=A.D. 1587.)
2	*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli, 39.	Tirumalapur grant ...	*Saka* 1511, *Sarvadhāri*, *Māgha Su.* (=A.D. 1589.)

Sl. No.	Authority	Description of grant	Date
3	*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur, 38.	Hiriyur grant ...	*Saka* 1510, *Sarvadhāri, Pālguna Su.* 3 (=A.D. 1589.)
4	*E.C.* XI, *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 113.	Hiriyur grant ...	A.D. 1589.
5	*M.A.R.* 1909, Para 101.	Ālamgiri grant ...	*Saka* 1511, *Sarvadhāri, Māgha Su.* 12 (=A.D. 1589.)
6	*M.A.R.* 1921, Para 68.	Chintanapalli grant ...	*Saka* 1511, *Virodhi, Mārghī Su.* 12 (1589.)
7	*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 87, App. A. Nos. 6 and 7.	Kāyaru grant ...	No. 6 dated A.D. 1591.
8	*M.E.R.* 1916-17, App. A, No. 8.	Venkatesapura grant...	*Saka* 1512, *Vikrit, Dhanus Su.* 12 Friday (=A.D. 1590.)
9	*M.A.R.* 1915, Pages 21-22, No. 8.	Singanhalli grant ...	*Saka* 1516, *Jaya, Māgha Su.* 15 (=15th June 1595 A.D.)
10	*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 59, App. A. No. 9; *E.I.* XVI, 319.	Vellangudi Plates ...	*Saka* 1510, *Vilambi* (=1598 A.D.)
11	*E.I.* XVI, 297 ...	Padmaneri grant ...	1598 A.D.
12	*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 93.	Sarjapur grant ...	1801 A.D. (same as No. 2 above,
13	*E.I.* IV, 269 ...	Vilapaka grant ...	1601-2 A.D.
14	*N. Ins.* I, 25 ...	Mangalampad grant ...	1602-3 A.D.
15	*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 87, App. A, No. 7.	Marugamangalam grant	*Saka* 1534, *Paridhāvi, Māgha Su.* 7 (=1612 A.D.)
16	*M.E.R.* 1921-22, App. A, No. 9.	Tirumalai grant ...	*Saka* 1535 *Pramādicha, Vaissakha Su.* 12 (=1613 A.D.)

Penukonda, his capital.

Penukonda continued to be the capital of the kingdom for many years after the accession of Venkata I. A number of inscriptions dated in his reign attest to this fact and so the suggestion (see *M.E.R.* 1903-4, Para 25) that from the beginning of his reign he ruled from Chandragiri is based on a misconception. Even the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda states that Venkata I, on coming to the throne, removed to Penukonda. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 454.) According to the Kudligi Sringeri-*math* grant, dated in 1587, he established himself at this place in succession to Srī-Ranga II. According to this grant, both Srī-Ranga and Venkata I ruled from it. (*E.C.* VII Shimoga 83.)

Inscriptions dated in 1589, 1593, 1598, 1598, 1600, 1603, 1605, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1612 testify to this fact. (*E.C.* XII Chiknayakanhalli 39; *M.E.R.* 1920-21, No. 322 of 1920, and *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 377; *E.C.* XII Tumkur 66; Sewell *Lists of Antiquities*, I. 134; *M.E.R.* 1903-4 App. A. No. 235 dated 1903; *E.C.* XII Pavugada 85; *M.E.R.* 1920-21, No. 382 of 1920 and *M.E.R.* 1903-4, No. 236 of 1903; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, App. B. No. 564; *M.E.R.* 1915-16 No. 67 of 1915. *M.E.R.* 1914 No. 184 of 1913 and *E.C.* VIII Tirthahalli 166; *E.C.* XII Sira 84, *Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1284, and *E.C.* III T.-Narsipur 62.). Penukonda was thus not merely the place where Venkata I ruled from but also the recognized capital during his life time. It is, however, known from other sources, notably from the Jesuit records of the time, that he spent a great deal of his time at Chandragiri, which was thus slowly ousting Penukonda from its position of pre-eminence. Hence we find marked omissions of the name of the capital in certain of his records. This was probably due to the uncertainty of the king's actual place of residence at the time of the issue of the royal orders. Thus in an early record, dated in 1583, when he was probably only co-ruler, he is simply described as "ruling the earth" without the mention of the name of the capital city. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3.) In another, dated in 1698 A.D., though he is said to be ruling over the four oceans and the kingdom of the world, the capital is not referred to. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 241.) Similarly in a record dated in 1906, he is described to be ruling the kingdom, though its capital is not particularized. (*E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 5). In a record dated in 1614 A.D., he is spoken of as seated on the jewelled throne, ruling the kingdom of the world, but there is no mention of the capital. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 157.) Again in a record dated in 1617-18 A.D., he is said to be seated on the diamond throne and ruling the earth. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I. 454, Gudur 112). The Rev. Henry Heras has suggested that after the Bijāpur inva-

Chandragiri his favourite residence.

sion of 1592 A.D., Venkata I went back to Chandragiri and established the capital there. He suggests that it was due to weakness on his part, to fear of the encroaching Muhammadans, to premature old age and to a sort of home-sickness. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 310-11.) These inferences do not seem to be well founded. There is scarcely any doubt that he preferred Chandragiri for his residence. There are not in fact many inscriptions mentioning Chandragiri as the capital. Indeed the only two records so far traced are dated in 1603 and 1605 A.D. respectively and these come from Vaikunta and Siddhout, in the modern Cudappah district. In these records, Venkata I is described as ruling the "Chandragiri-Sīma." (*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, 576 Cudapah 16; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564.) As we have seen above, there are many records dated after 1605, and up to 1612 A.D. which mention Penukonda as the capital of the kingdom. These records would seem definitely to negative the alleged transfer of the capital to Chandragiri in 1592 A.D. There are other records dated long after the reign of Venkata I, in 1619, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1626 (*E.C.* III. T.-Narsipur 62; *E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli; *M.E.R.* 1915, Para 55, App. C. No. 53; and *M.E.R.* 1920-21, Para 54, Nos. 374 and 376 of 1920) all of which mention Rāma Rāja IV as the ruling king, and which definitely refer to Penukonda as the capital from which the then king ruled. The first break comes in 1629 A.D., when a record of Rāma IV states that he was ruling from *Vellūru* (*M.E.R.* 1925-26 Para 44 No. 305 of 1926.) This must be Vellore in the North Arcot district. But we have again records dated in 1633 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86) in the reign of Rāma IV and in 1634 in the reign of Venkata II which mention Penukonda as the capital (*M.E.R.* 1925-26, Para 44, No. 299 of 1026.) There are later records dated in the reign of Venkata II, in A.D. 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, and 1642 mentioning Penukonda as the capital. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 19 and Tumkur 60; *Nellore Inscriptions* 753; Kavali 50; *E.C.* X, Kolar 246; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 123-4, No. 129 *Nellore Inscriptions* II, 751; Kavali 49; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 45; *M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 52, App. B. No. 502 of 1919.) In the reign of Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI, there are inscriptions dated in 1643, 1645, 1647, and 1649, mentioning Penukonda as the capital. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, App. B. No. 691 of 1917; *M.A.R.* 1924 Pages 64-5, No. 75; *M.E.R.* 1916, App. No. 1; *E.C.* IX Hoskote 71.) Ten years later, in 1659, we find him still ruling from Penukonda. (*E.C.* V Belur 196.) But in a record, also dated in 1659 A.D., we are told that Srī-Ranga VI was a daily worshipper of God Kēsava at Belur. (*E.C.* V, Belur 80.) In a record dated in the next year (1660), he is said to be seated on the jewelled throne at Vēlāpuri ruling the empire of the world. He made a grant of a village from Belur city (*E.C.* V, Belur 81.) Two other grants dated in 1660 from Belur are known. (*E.C.* V., Belur 82 and Belur 122.) The transfer should have occurred in 1659-60 A.D. In confirmation of this we have several other grants dated in 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663 (*M.A.R.* 1925, 24-25, No. 11; *M.A.R.* 1927, 40 No. 10; *M.A.R.* 1919 Para 94; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123; *M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 5; *M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 114) by him which are described to have been made by him in the presence of Chennakēsava at Belur. The Vēlāpuri referred to in these records is undoubtedly Belur itself. But later inscriptions show that he might have been hovering between Belur and Penukonda in 1663 and 1664 A.D. A record dated in 1663, for instance, records a gift from his jewelled throne at Penukonda, (*E.C.* V, Hassan 40) though as we have seen above, he made gifts in the same year from Belur. Similarly, though we have records dated in 1664 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 12; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116) stating that he was ruling from Belur, there is another of the same year (*E.C.* V, Hassan 39), which records a gift in the Belur country, though the place from which he ruled is not mentioned. From 1665 onward, we have a number of records which indicate that he was again ruling from Penukonda. (*M.A.R.* 1924, Pages 91-92, No. 5 dated in 1665; *E.C.* IX, Magadi 2 dated in 1669; Magadi 5, 2, 30 dated in 1674 and *E.C.* IX, Hoskote 105, dated in 1693). The latest records we have of his rule from Penukonda are two dated in 1712 and 1713 A.D. (*E.C.* IX Magadi 42 and 3.) There is also a much later grant of Srī-Ranga-Rāya which mentions Penukonda as the capital. It is dated 11th May 1759 A.D. This cannot refer to Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI. (*M.A.R.* 1923, Page 55, No. 36.) Penukonda seems to be referred to in certain other records which do not mention it by name but by the older appellation of "Hampe Hastinavati" (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 79, dated in 1587 A.D.), and "Vijayanagar". (*M.E.R.* 1916-17, App. B. No. 452 of 1926, dated in 1613 A.D.; *Nellore Inscriptions* I, 269, Atmakur 53, dated in 1602-3 and *E.C.* III, Seringapatam 157, dated 1614). Similarly there are records dated in 1627 and 1635 in which Rāma IV and Venkata II are respectively mentioned as ruling from Vijayanagar (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 32 and *E.C.* X, Goribidnur 45). Considering that we have records dated as late as 1712 and 1713 A.D. mentioning Penukonda as the capital, the mention of these older names should be construed as referring to Penukonda itself and not to the older capital. Indeed, as we have seen before, Penukonda was known as Penukonda *alias* Vijayanagar or Hampe Hastināvati. This formula should have been purposely adopted to keep up the continuity of the Empire and its possessions. The capital was Vijayanagar wherever it was situated because the *State* of Vijayanagar had its head-quarters located there. Hence it is that the foreign travellers called the capital of the Vijayanagar kings, wherever it was, as Bisnagar. Hence it is, that in the map of India by Sr. Sanson d'Abbeville, published in 1652, and republished by the Rev. H. Heras (in his work *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 313), Chandragiri is marked as "Bisnagar or Chandegary" *i.e.*, Chandragiri. Chandragiri had, by about this date, become fairly famous as a favourite residence of the "Vijayanagar" kings from Venkata I to Srī-Ranga VI. As we have seen above, in 1659, Srī-Ranga VI, the ruling king, was hovering between Belur in the Hassan District and Penukonda. But the residence at Chandragiri should have become well-known by that time to be entered on the map as the alternative name of "Bisnagar." Again, Mendelslo, a traveller from Holstein, visiting the Coromandel coast in 1639, wrote that the king "resides sometimes at Bisnagar, and sometimes at Narasinga." (*Voyages and Travels*, 94, quoted by Henry Heras, in the *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 313). The Rev. H. Heras suggests that "Bisnagar" here indicates "Vellore" and that "Narasinga" is "Chandragiri." Vellore, as we have seen above, is referred to *in only one record* dated in 1629 A.D. and that records dated in 1633 and 1634 and from 1636 to 1642 and again from 1643 to 1647 mention Penukonda as the capital. The place referred to as "Bisnagar" by Mendelslo should therefore be "Penukonda," which, as we have pointed out above, is called "Vijayanagar" in a couple of records dated in 1627 and 1635, which is not far removed from 1639, the date of Mendelslo's visit. Knowing as we do that the kingdom of "Narasinga" and the kingdom of "Bisnagar" were synonymous in the mouths of foreign travellers, because they were so treated by the people of the day even in southern India since the days of Sāluva Narasimha I, they should be taken as *alternative* names to the Vijayanagar kingdom as it was even during the days of the Fourth Dynasty of Kings. Mendelslo may, however, have used the name "Narasinga" in its restricted meaning of "Chandragiri," which by his time became famous as the alternative residence of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty since Venkata I. There was the more reason to call it "Narasinga" because Sāluva-Narasimha I was closely connected with it, as will be seen, from what is stated below.

Penukonda was thus the recognized capital throughout the time the Fourth Dynasty lasted. About the year 1603 or 1605 A.D. according to inscriptions and from 1597, according to the letters of Jesuit missionaries (see Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 312) during the reign of Venkata II, Chandragiri became the favourite royal residence, so much so that the kings of this dynasty came to be popularly known afterwards as "Chandragiri Rājas." Many Jesuit letters of this period show that Venkata lived at Chandragiri from 1597 to 1604. In the latter year, he stayed for a while at Vellore, which had just then been captured from Singa-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, chief of that place. (See below). In 1607, he appears to have been again at Vellore, though in the same year he was again at Chandragiri. This was probably a visit paid to the latter place in that year, for we find him from 1607, more or less permanently stationing himself at Vellore, where he allowed the Jesuit missionaries also to settle almost next door to him. We find him in Vellore in 1608 as well and it has been suggested that he died at this place in 1614 A.D. (See H. Heras *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 464-485.) Then, again, about the year 1629 A.D., in the reign of Rāma IV, Vellore became another place of royal residence. But there is no evidence to believe that it was, even as such, more than an occasional one. In 1659 A.D., Belur, in Hassan district, appears to have become the capital; the jewelled throne of the kingdom is suggested to be there. Evidently it continued there till at least 1663 A.D., for we have records in Belur mentioning it as the king's residence. From about 1664 A.D., Penukonda is again mentioned as the capital and from then to 1693 and even to 1712 and 1713 A.D., we have mention of it as the capital of the kingdom, which should have become by then only one in name.

Chandragiri, the alternative Capital.

Chandragiri which thus became the favourite residence of Venkata I was evidently a place of great importance at the time. It was, in one sense, the second important city in the Empire and had been always looked upon as practically unassailable. It had been considered a safe asylum for Royal prisoners; for treasure to be secreted, evidently for being made use of when required, and as the seat of a prince-Viceroy, it had always been well fortified and guarded. There is evidence to believe that during the time of Sāluva-Narasimha, it was the place where the reserve of the army was concentrated. Tradition ascribes the construction of the fort to one Immadi-Narasimha, whom it wrongly sets down to 1000 A.D. and styles a Yādava king. Evidently the reference is to Sāluva-Nārasimha's son, who might have added to the fortifications and made it stronger. Tradition says that Krishna-Dēva-Rāya also improved it. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I. 139.) Probably the Mahal or Palace, of which parts still remain, was built by him and added to by Achyuta. (*Ibid*, 150.) According to an inscription in the Kōdandarāmaswāmi temple in Chandragiri town, the place is said to have had at one time 74 temples. As Mr. Venkayya has suggested, a great number of these must have been destroyed by the Muhammadans. An inscription of the reign of Achyuta mentions the fort and the two temples in it. One of these, Kampa-Īsvaramudaiya-nāyanār, must have come into existence during the time of Kampa of the First Vijayanagar dynasty. The ruins of six other temples are to be seen between the first and second walls of the fort. In the fort there was evidently in olden days a Jain *basti*, mutilated images from which are still to be seen on the platform in front of the palace. (See *M.E.R.* 1904, para 8). At the time it became the royal residence, it should have been a place not only of importance, and a viceregal seat but also a flourishing centre of activity with a large population. Its many temples, its fine palace, its strong fort and its proximity to the sacred temple Venkatēsa on the Tirupati Hill, where generations of kings had been crowned, should have made Venkata think of it more than any other place for his residence.

Though according to inscriptional records it became the residence of Venkata I in or about 1602-3 A.D., Jesuit missionaries mention, in their letters dated in 1597, that he was already resident there. (Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 312. By a slip on this page, the date of the Siddhout inscription is given as 1625; it should be 1605.)

Invasion of Gōlconda territories 1586-7 A.D.

Venkata I apparently carried on an aggressive warfare against the Sultāns of the north. "Immediately after his anointment," says the Tirumalapūr copper-plate grant dated in 1589, "he dispersed the hosts of Yāvana fiends, and ruled the world." (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39.) The Kudligi Sringēri-*matha* grant dated two years earlier, uses identical language in describing the warfare he engaged in immediately after his coronation. (*E.C.* VII, Chiknayakanhalli 39). The latter record shows that the campaign referred to in it should have commenced in 1586-7, when Venkata's coronation probably took place. As there are two records registering, again in identical terms, his victory over Muhammad Shāh, Sultān of Gōlconda, the possibilities are that he directed his attention against him. That this was so is hinted at by the anonymous chronicler of Gōlconda. According to him, Venkata I, in the beginning of his reign, "made some incursions and invasions with the Gōlconda dominions." (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 454).

Siege of Penukonda.

This was evidently followed by an invasion of Vijayanagar territory by Muhammad Kūli Kutb Shāh. Muhammad Kūli armed with a large force laid siege to Penukonda. According to the chronicler last quoted, Venkata opened up negotiations with a view to peace and an armistice followed. Venkata, however, utilized the period for throwing in additional forces and provisions into the beleaguered fortress. The famous Jagadēva Rāya is said to have advanced to Venkata's aid with 30,000 musketeers. Raghunātha, son of Achutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore, is also said to have joined Venkata with "hundreds of tributary chiefs." (See *Sources* under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 285.) The siege was renewed but confessedly it proved futile. Muhammad Kūli accordingly raised the siege, and as the rains were approaching, retreated towards his capital. If the inscriptional and literary records of the period are to be believed, the defeat sustained by Muhammad Kūli on this occasion should have been crushing. The Kudligi Sringeri-*matha* and the Tirumalapūr records register this defeat in truthful though magniloquent language. His troops of horses and his elephants, his weapons and white umbrella having been seized in battle by the soldiers of the powerful Venkata, the son, Malik Ibrahīm went to his house (*i.e.*, retreated homewards) in despair with his lustre (*Matia*) diminished (*manda*) thus making good his name Mahāmanda Shāhu. (The words have also been rendered thus:—he retreated homewards, in despair, well-beaten (*mahā-manda*), thus making good his name Mahāmandāsāhu. See *E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39 and *E C.* VII, Shimoga 83, Text and Translation.) The Dalavāi-Agrahāra and the Vilapāka grants also refer to this success in the same glowing terms. (*E.I.* IV, 270, *E.C.* XII, 186.)

The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* also states that on the advance of Raghunātha "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda." (See *Sources*, 285). The *Rāmarājīyamu* even goes a little further. It would seem that the garrison of Penukonda not only repelled the Muhammad Kūli Kutb's attack but also pursued it "as far as Golconda." (*Rāmarājīyamu*). Venkata chased him as far as the Pennar banks. The water of the river became red with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle. (*Sources*, 243; see Text, 246.) According to the Sidhout inscription of Matla Ananta, this chief also took a prominent part in this war. He is said to have displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammadan sovereign in the battle of Penukonda. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564; see also *Sources*, 249; see Text, 250.) The inference seems irresistable that Venkata won a triumphant victory over Muhammad Kutb Shāh. If the Vellangudi grant is to be believed, Muhammad Shāh was defeated again and again and returned home hopelessly crestfallen. Evidently his whole camp equipage was captured, his forces shattered, and his elephants, horses, arms and state umbrella, the symbol of Royalty, fell into the hands of Venkata. Beginning from the Dalavāi-Agrahāra grant dated in 1586 A.D., the earliest to be issued by him, down to the Mangalampundi grant, dated in 1602-3 A.D., most of the copper-plate records of Venkata I mention this victory in terms more or less the same. It was undoubtedly reckoned a notable one and far-reaching in its political consequences.

Meanwhile, Venkata I sent out a detachment to help the governor of Udayagiri to-lay waste the country as far as Kondavīdu. Though the Gōlconda chronicler says that this detachment was defeated by Muhammad Kutb Shāh's forces, there is reason to believe that this is an exaggeration. Venkata also sent troops to recover Gandikota. On learning that Murtuza Khān, the Gōlconda general, had taken Cudappah, Venkata despatched a large army to attack him. Murtuza Khān being closely besieged, applied for further aid. Rustum Khān soon arrived with reinforcements and took over the command. He was suddenly attacked and his forces practically cut to pieces. His camp equipage was taken and on his return was publicly disgraced and banished from the kingdom for having allowed himself to be so badly beaten. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 435-9). Encouraged by these successes, the chiefs in the neighbourhood, both Hindu and Muhammadan, rose in rebellion against Muhammad Kutb Shāh and refused to pay the tribute due. Amīn-ul-mulk, the Gōlkonda general, advanced against them and put down the insurrection with a stern hand. (*M.E.R.* 1910 ; No. 541 of 1909 ; see also *Sources,* 240). The details given in the Aminābād record quoted above are confirmed in substance by the Gōlconda chronicler (see Briggs, *Ferishta*, III 460-1) but there is hardly any doubt that the campaign of Muhammad Kutb Shāh failed of its purpose. The insurrectionaries refused to recognize his overlordship, evidently encouraged by Venkata's presence and military strength. The Aminābād inscription sets down the insurrection to the year *Khara,* which corresponds to *Saka* 1515 or A.D. 1593. That Venkata I was adventurous to a degree is shown by the fact that he helped Mukund Rāja, the chief of Kāsimkōta, in the present Vizagapatam district, to defy Muhammad Kutb Shāh. When Mukund Rāja was attacked, he proposed to Venkata that while he offered battle to Kutb Shāh at Rajahmandri, Venkata should detach a force to Kondavīdu and invest it. Apparently Venkata besieged Kondavīdu with a large force and, probably, took it. The Gōlconda historian hides the defeats inflicted on this occasion both by Venkata and his ally Mukunda Rāja, but it is clear from other sources that Muhammad Kutb Shāh sustained heavy defeats throughout this campaign. The

Rāmarājīyamu states that Muhammad Kutb Shāh was compelled to sue for peace, which was evidently granted on the condition that the Krishna should thenceforward form the boundary between the territories of the two sovereigns. (See *Sources*, 243.) That this statement is no boast is proved (1) by the statement made in the Vilapāka and the Mangalampūndi grants dated in 1601-2 and 1602-3 A.D. that Venkata I defeated the King of Oddiya or Orissa, which has to be interpreted as meaning Muhammad Kutb Shāh, whose conquests extended as far as Chicacole, in the modern Ganjam district, and (2) by the discovery of inscriptions dated 1612 and 1614 A.D. in the reign of Venkata I in the present Nellore district. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1365, Udayagiri 23 dated in 1586-7 A.D.; *Ibid*, 1284, Rāpur 60 dated in 1612-13). There are also a couple of records, one dated in 1616 A.D., both mentioning grants in the reign of Venkata I. Though Venkata I was dead by then, they are dated in this reign because the succession was uncertain after his death owing to the civil war and in keeping with the well-known practice of ancient days, the grants are dated in his reign. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1049 and 1079, Nos. 263 and 1, of which No. 1 of Atmakur, in *Nellore Inscriptions* 1). A record dated in 1602-3 A.D., in Venkata's reign, mentions one Muddayadēva Mahārāja as the governor (*mandalēswara*) of Udayagiri-rājya. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, 270-1, Atmakur 53). A grant of his made in the same year (1692-3 A.D.) is also registered in another record. (*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* II, 1056, No. 54.) There is, however, a record dated in 1613-14, in which a local chief of Kandakur mentions the grant to him of an *amaram* by Muhammad Kūli Kutb Shāh and his own construction of several tanks and wells and repairs effected to a ruined temple in which he restored worship. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, 485, Kandakur, 14.) It has been suggested by

Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty that this grant indicates that "by the beginning of the 17th Century the Mussalamans had obtained the sovereignty over the northern part of the (Nellore) district". The grant, however, does not mention when the *amaram* was granted; the date actually mentioned in it referring only to the construction of wells and tanks and its restoration of a ruined temple. It is possible, therefore, the grant of the *amaram* has to be dated back to the period anterior to 1586-7, when Venkāta's war against Gōlconda commenced. Hence it does not appear correct to suggest that after the war of 1586-7, Muhammad Kutb Shāh was still in the possession of the northern portion of the Udayagiri-rājya. However this may have been, Muhammad Shāh never ventured to renew his attack on Penukonda. Thus ended the last recorded attack of the Sultān of Gōlconda on the Vijayanagar Kingdom,

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh's attack on Penukonda 1592 A.D.

Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, the Sultān of Bijāpur, had meanwhile, sent several expeditions againt the western parts of the Empire and had thus incurred the ill-will of Venkata. Venkata accordingly entered into an alliance with Burhan Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar against him. Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh, not to be outwitted, advanced with his forces and laid siege to Penukonda. Venkata opposed him with a huge force. At the same time, he judged it prudent to entrust its command to one of his nobles and "retired with his treasures and its effects to the fortress of Chandragiri." Ferishta does not mention the name of the noble, but he has been identified with Matla Ananta, who is described in his Sidhout inscription as "the right hand" of Venkata (*Dakshinabāhathidhānadhāri*) and who is said to have destroyed in the battle of Penukonda—the pride of the Yāvana Pādushāh (*i.e.*, Muhammadan Padu Shah, evidently, Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur.) (See *Sources* 248-9; also *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564.) According to Ferishta, the siege lasted for three months, but he was compelled to raise it because one of the chiefs named Handiatim Nāik (? Hande Timma Nayak) deserted him and joined Venkata. (Briggs, *Ferishta* III, 141.) This siege has been displaced in Ferishta. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 185; also Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 336, *f.n.* 1.)

Effects of Moghul attack on the Deccan Sultāns, 1593 to 1600. Akbar's embassy to Venkata I, August 1600.

With this war, the trouble from the north ended. About 1593, Akbar began his campaign against the Deccan Sultāns. Ahmadnagar was taken in 1600 A.D. About the same time, an embassy from Akbar reached Venkata I at Chandragiri. The ambassador stayed with the Jesuit fathers, one of whom, Father Coutinho has left, on account of his doings. The ambassador was received after a stay of twenty days. But nothing came of this visit. Venkata refused the presents sent by Akbar. Indeed, he was rather suspicious of Akbar's intentions. He was told by his courtiers that if Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Gōlconda fell, his kingdom would have also to share the same fate. Venkata declared that he would "never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan; should he (Akbar) come here, war is sure to follow." It would appear that the object of the embassy was to study the position in the south with a view to its conquest. Indeed the ambassador was suspected to be a spy and one of the Jesuit missionaries at the court of Akbar himself explained the object to be "to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms." (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 338-9, quoting letters from Coutinho's letter dated July 17, 1600; also 339, *f.n.* 2.)

Second embassy of Akbar to Venkata I 1604-6 A.D.

Though the embassy failed of its purpose, Akbar did not accept defeat. He sent a second embassy to Venkata, somewhere between 1604-6 A.D. (*Ibid*, 340 *f.n.* 1). His death in the following year put an end to his ambitious schemes.

Proposed alliance of Southern states against the Moghuls.

About the same time Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh sent an embassy to Venkata evidently with a view to combine forces against the Moghul invaders. The Portuguese had made a similar proposal to Ibrahīm, who had been told off to sound the other rulers in the south of India in the matter. (*Ibid*, 340). Possibly the idea was a combination of all the rulers in the south against the common enemy at Delhi. But it evidently came to nothing, thus paving the way for the conquest of the entire south by the Moghuls.

Revolts and insurrections put down, 1595 A.D.

Both inscriptions and literary records point to insurrections and rebellions during the reign. The reasons for the same are not by any means clear. How much of it was due to his alleged complicity in the murder of Sadāsiva-Rāya and how much to his superseding his nephews Tirmula and Ranga, who had undoubtedly superior claims to the throne, it is difficult to estimate. Anquetil du Perron definitely states that the Nāyakas of Tanjore, Madura and Gingee "gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge, as the sovereign, one who had dethroned the legitimate king of Bisnagar." (*Ibid*, 308, *f.n.* 1). The earlier grants of Venkata dated from 1585 regularly mention the manner in which he put down these rebels. Thus the Dalavai-Agrahāra, the Kudligi Sringēri-*matha* and the Chiknayakanhalli grants state that he was the sole conqueror of the eighty-four hill-forts, that he displaced the Oddiya Rāya (or Orissan king), and that he occupied the Karnāta throne by the might of his arm and that he slew all his enemies from the Himalayas to the Ramēsvaram. (*E.I.* XII, 183; *E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83; *E.I.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli, 39). When it is remembered that some of these exploits, for example the conquest of the eighty-four hill-forts and the Utkala king, are attributed to Srī-Ranga II (see above; also Arivilimangalam grant in *E.I.* XII, 357; and the Maredahalli grant *E.I.* XI, 328), it is rather open to question whether these records are not setting down once again to Venkata I what other plates have set down to Srī-Ranga II. The mention of some of these events in grants dated between 1585 and 1589 lends support to this suspicion. Still there is other evidence to believe that there were some insurrections in his reign, quite independent of what had occurred in the reign of his predecessor, in the suppression of which he might have taken an active part to merit mention of those exploits as well, in his own grants. The *Rāmarājīyamu* states that he put down some emenies who had opposed him at Nandyāla. As this is set down as a "good example" of how he met opposition from certain quarters, it might be taken as suggesting the infliction of salutary punishment on the Nandyāla chief. (See *Sources* under *Ramarājīyamu*, 243; Text, 246). The Sidhout inscription of Matla Ananta, the general of Venkata I, apparently refers to the same chief, when it says that Ananta, by the strength of his arm, instilled fear in the mind of Krishnama, the Nandyāla chief. Among the other exploits of Ananta, some of this period and some perhaps of the period anterior to Venkata I, mentioned in this record are: that he killed on the battle-field Vēligauda of Venkatādri of the Rāvela family; that he was victorious at the battle of Jambula-madaka (Jammalamadagu in the present Cuddapah district); that he devastated Katakāpuri (*i.e.*, Cuttack) and that he defeated Konda-rāja-Venkatādri and captured from him Chennur. (See *M.E.R.* 1915-16 Para 76; also *Sources*, 248). The last of these has been identified with *Mahamandalēsvara* Kondarāju-Venkatarāju, who took part in the war against Hande Malakappa and Ibrahīm Kutb Shāh and drove them out of Ahōbalam. (See *Sources*, 248 *f.n.* 1 and 233).

Evidently since then, he had rebelled against Venkata I and was successfully put down by Ananta and his stronghold taken from him.

Besides Matla Ananta, a few other feudatories, governors and ministers appear to have helped Venkata in putting down those who rebelled against him. The *Chāruchandrōdayam* refers to the help afforded by Tammayya-Mantri in this connection. (See *Sources*, 241-2). Yāchima, of the Vēlugōti family, helped in defeating Dāvalu Pāpa at Uttaramallur, in the present Chingleput district. He is also said to have marched on to Tirumalai and there defeated the hill chiefs, and he is also credited with the capture of Chingleput. Dāvalu Pāpa was possibly a rebel chief and had tried to take Chingleput from which he was dislodged. (See *Sources*, under *Bahulasvacharitram*, 305.) Raghunātha, son of Achyutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore, also aided Venkata in putting down rebel chiefs. The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* states that he subdued the Morasus (Vokkaliga Chiefs in N. Arcot district and the Kolar district). Venkata is said to have acknowledged his valued services in open court and presented him with horses and jewellery. (*Ibid*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 286).

Relations with Achyutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore, *Circa* 1595-1610.

Cordial relations appear to have prevailed between Venkata I and Achyutappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Tanjore. Inscriptions indicate that Achyutappa was loyal to his sovereign and recognized his suzerainty in his records. (*M.E.R.* 1911 No. 298 of 1911; *M.E.R.* 1904, 710 of 1904). Anquetil Du Perron, however, says that he rebelled against Venkata sometime before the year 1595. (See Rev. H. Heras, the *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 398, *f.n.* 7). Though this does not seem quite well founded, there is reason to believe the he sought an extension of his territories as far north as Kānchi and the fact that St. Thome, near Madras, afterwards became subject to his jurisdiction, seems to confirm this suspicion. Hence it is that the Jesuit letters dated in 1595 speak of a projected war of Venkata I. (*Ibid*, 398-9, *f.n.* 1.) But the war did not come off. Achyutappa himself died in 1600 and was succeeded, sometime before his death, by his son Raghunātha, whose exploits are narrated in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam.* (See *Sources*, 259.) He helped, as we have seen, Venkata in repelling the Muhammadan attack on his capital and also took part in the suppression of the Morasu rebels. He was loyal to his sovereign till about 1606 A.D., when the tribute was not paid. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, *f.n.* 4 quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1604-6.) In 1610, he joined the Portuguese against his sovereign, when the latter was besieging St. Thome, near Madras. (See *Ibid*, 402-3, *f.n* 1).

Relations with the Nāyak of Gingee, 1586, 1608 A.D.

About 1586 A.D. Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyak of Gingee, appears to have rebelled against Venkata I. Troops were marched against him under one Venkata, brother of Ankubhūpāla, the Kālahasti chief, and he was brought a prisoner, probably to Penukonda, and there confined. (See *Sources*, under *Ushāparinayam*, 308). Venkata was evidently put in charge of it. (*Ibid*). Raghunātha, the Nāyak prince of Tanjore, secured his release, and the grateful chief gave his daughter in marriage to Raghunātha. (See *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 286). Krishnappa was evidently a wise ruler, for he kept his capital city, Gingee, in an excellent condition. The Jesuit letters speak highly of its beauty and wealth and refer to it as the Troy of the East. (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 405, *f.n.* 1, quoting Father Pimenta and other Jesuit writers). He founded Porto Novo, then called Krishnapatam after himself. (*Ibid*, 406, *f.n.* 1). Among his subordinates were Lingama-Nāyaka of Vellore; the Nāyaka of Tiruvīdi, near Panruti, in the S. Arcot district; and Sōlaga, who figures in the *Raghunāthābhyu-*

dayam and the *Sāhityaratnākara*. (See *Sources*, 286 and 272). About 1600 he refused to pay the customary tribute and Venkata I was about to send an army against him, but news of his becoming insane at that moment prevented Venkata from taking such a step. The madness was, however, a pretence. Krishnappa in 1604 sent an embassy to Venkata but nothing evidently came of it. War was declared in 1607 and Yāchima-Nāyak, the Vēlugōti chief, was probably in command of the forces, as the *Vēlugōtivāri-Vamsāvali* (Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 274) states that he captured Gingee in the reign of Venkata I. Krishnappa was taken prisoner and Venkata advanced from Vellore and obtained his submission in person. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 409-10, *f.n.* 1, quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1608).

Rebellion of the Nāyak of Madura, 1592.

There is ample inscriptional evidence to believe that Vīrappa, the Nāyak of Madura, was loyal up to 1592 to his suzerain. Up to this year grants found in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly recognize the overlordship of Venkata I. (Dalavai-Agrahāra grant, dated in 1586, *E.I.* XII, 186; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II 297; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1189, No. 223; *M.E.R.* 1891, No. 13 of 1891; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, 3 and 315). According to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, it would seem that Venkata was displeased with Vīrappa and directed the investment of Madura by his nephew Tirumala and others. (See *Sources*, 302-303). According to Anquetil Du Perron, Vīrappa proved refractory owing to Venkata's complicity in the murder of Sadāsiva. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 342, *f.n.* 6.) Vigorous action on the part of Venkata I compelled Vīrappa to yield. The further suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that Tirumala could not have been "one of the generals of the army" and that "he would have then been too young for such a task" seems to rest on slender foundations. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 343, *f.n.* 1). For, the statement of the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* seems uncontradicted by any other authority on this particular point; and as there are inscriptions in the Mysore State from 1585 testifying to the Viceroyalty of Tirumala II at Seringapatam, the suggestion that he was too young for the post of commander of forces between 1592-5 A.D. seems impossible of admission. Moreover, the Rev. H. Heras himself admits later on that he was about "forty" at the time of his alleged abdication in 1610. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 421, *f.n.* 4). He should therefore have been at least twenty-five years old in 1595 A.D. Whether there was reason or not for this revolt on his part, Vīrappa refused to pay the usual tribute and war followed. According to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, Vīrappa managed to bribe the generals of the Imperial army. Tirumala II was, according to it, one of these and he is said to have retired to his charge of Seringapatam after accepting the bribe. The Rev. H. Heras discredits this part of the story and states *inter alia* that this story is inconsistent with the statement of Anquetil Du Perron that Vīrappa submitted to superior force, which seems to be confirmed by the inscriptions of Krishnappa, his successor, dated in 1595, which acknowledge the overlordship of Venkata I. The only possible inference from these seemingly contradictory statements is that while some of these generals of Venkata yielded to bribery, others did not and prosecuted the siege to its completion.

Vīrappa was succeeded by his son Visvappa and he, in his turn, by his brother Kumāra-Krishnappa II. He probably ascended the throne about 1596 A.D. He was, according to grants issued during his time, a loyal feudatory of Venkata I. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1003 No. 91; also Padmaneri and Vellangudi grants of

Venkata I in *E.I.* XVI, 288 and 320). He was evidently still the "lord of the Southern Ocean," viceroy of the south on behalf of the Vijayanagar king of the time. (*E.I.* XVI, 288). About 1599, however, he withheld his tribute and became involved in a war with his suzerain. (See *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 349. *f.n.* 5, quoting Jesuit letters). Venkata himself took the field, probably assisted by Matla Ananta, who is said to have led the forces against the rebel feudatory. (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B. No. 564; also *Sources*, 248 and 250. In the latter, as pointed out by Rev. H. Heras, the text given seems to be corrupt and the translation misleading). Submission followed and the tribute was added together with a war indemnity, the two together reaching a sum of twelve millions of gold coins. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, quoting Du Jarric I. 685). Krishnappa-Nāyaka II died in 1601 and was succeeded by his nephew Kastūri-Rangappa, who in his turn was succeeded by Muthu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka in 1603 A.D. He was loyal to his suzerain and acknowledged his overlordship as is evidenced by his inscriptions and coins, in which Venkata's name appears. He paid his tribute also regularly up to his death in 1609. (See *M.E.R.* 1908, No. 35 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1916-17, No. 326 of 1917; Hultzsch, *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagar, I.A.* XX, 308, No. 37; *I.A.* XLV, 104; also Brown, *The Coins of India*, 64; the Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 358, quoting Jesuit letters dated in 1608.) It was in his reign that Robert De Nobili, the famous Jesuit missionary, reached Madura (1606). He was succeeded by Muttuvīrappa-Nāyaka, his eldest son. He was loyal at first but suddenly turned hostile, as several inscriptions of his dated in between 1610 and 1613 do not mention the name of Venkata. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 123 of 1907; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities* I, 293). From the Jesuit letters dated in 1611 A.D., we learn that he was remiss in the payment of his tribute in 1610 and an army was sent against him by Venkata to collect the arrears. Matla Ananta was probably at the head of it, as he is styled in a record dated in 1612-13, the conqueror of the territory called "Panchapāndya" *i.e.*, the kingdom of the five Pāndyas, or the Madura Kingdom. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I. 246.) Muttuvīrappa was defeated and he paid up the tribute. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 360 *f.n.* 5 and 361 *f.n.* 1 and 2).

Revolt of Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore, 1603 A.D.

About 1603, Lingama-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, governor of Vellore, rebelled. He was loyal up to 1601, when at his request the Vilapāka grant was made. (*E.C.* IV, 39). Lingama appears to have chafed at his dependence on the Nāyak of Gingee and even on Venkata himself. He had amassed immense wealth and had a fort, which even then was perhaps famous as one of the strongest and most beautiful of its kind known in Southern India. Venkata sent out his Dalavai, who was evidently Dāmarla Chenna of the Kālahasti family. (See *Sources* under *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, 305-6). He advanced rapidly with a view to take the place by storm. But he was evidently opposed on the way at a place called Munnali (identified with Minnal) by Lingama's forces, which he defeated. He then pushed on with a view to reach Vellore unexpectedly at dawn. But his forces lagged behind and the storming party received a warm reception at Lingama's hands. Chenna retreated, but undaunted, he invested the fortress, despite the rainy weather in which he found himself. The siege dragged on for a couple of months and Lingama was eventually taken prisoner by a stratagem, at the very gates of his fortress. Negotiations opened with a view to induce Chenna to abandon the siege. But the twenty lakhs that were offered to him would not tempt him. He sent word to Venkata that this was the time to fill his coffers and annex this most fortified town. Venkata hastened to the spot on January 9th, 1604, with a large army and a number of camp followers and elephants. Lingama received him with due humility but his sons still kept up a continuous fire and endeavoured their utmost to prevent Venkata from entering the city. But it availed not. Vellore at last surrendered and Venkata and his queen took up their residence "in the marble palace of Lingama-Nāyaka adorned with gold and precious stones." (H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 319-20, quoting Jesuit *Litterae Annuae*, which give a vivid account of the whole affair). Lingama was taken prisoner and his wealth was also taken from him. Venkata, after a stay of four months, left for Chandragiri, which he entered with Lingama in a triumphal procession, the magnificience of which is preserved to us in the Jesuit authority quoted above. What became of Lingama is not known. Vellore, of course, was not returned to him nor does he appear to have regained any part of his lost territory. He probably languished in the State prison at Chandragiri. Vellore itself became a second Royal residence from about 1606. This fact is mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* (see *Sources*, 243 and 246), though not registered in contemporary inscriptions. Several Jesuit letters, however, confirm this statement of the *Rāmarājīyamu*. Evidently it was not treated as the capital, though used as a Royal residence by Venkata I. Hence the sobriquet it still enjoys Rāya-Vēlūru, *i.e.*, the Vellore of the Rāya (*i.e.*, Venkata I) who first took up his residence in it.

Tirumala II as Viceroy at Seringapatam

Tirumala II, nephew of Venkata, succeeded his father as Viceroy at Seringapatam. His records in this area range over a period of twenty-five years, from 1585 to 1610 A.D., if not up to 1626. We have as many records mentioning the name of Venkata as his suzerain as there are others not mentioning him or his Imperial rule. Probably Tirumala II ruled more or less independently in his own province. But the recognition of suzerainty, though it is not uniformly ackowledged, indicates that he held only a subordinate position under his uncle. Thus, in a couple of records dated in 1585 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam, 39 and 40), recording his earliest grants, we see him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* giving away, without any reference to the ruling suzerain, as a gift four villages, free of all taxes, to God Ranganātha for the merit of his father. In the following year (1586 A.D.) however, we have a grant of his mentioning Venkata I as ruling Emperor and calling himself a *Mahāmandalēsvara* and registering a *Kodige* grant to Hadinād Rāmarāya-Nāyaka. An interesting feature of this gift is that it is made to mark the occasion, it is said, when Rāmarāya-Nāyaka and his son called themselves after Tirumala II. To Tirumala, the son of Rāmarāya-Nāyaka, he granted five villages as a rent-free estate, together with the customs duties due on them, for the maintenance of a palanquin. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 141). In the next record, dated in 1587 A.D., registering a *Kodige* grant, he is called Tirumala-Rāja-Mahārāsu instead of *Mahāmandalēsvara* as in the previous grants. (*E.C.* V, Manjarabad 63). In a grant dated in 1592, we have due recognition of Venkata's suzerainty, all his imperial titles being given in it. This registers the grant of an *agrahāra* to Penukonda Tirumala Tātāchār for the merit of Srī-Ranga II made at the request of one Thandi-Nāyaka and Vasanta-Nāyaka. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 38.) But in a later record, dated in 1598, he is styled as simply Tirumalarājayya. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 52). Evidently he was a popular Viceroy and he was referred to without the conventional titles. This is the more probable as he is frequently so mentioned in his records. Father Coutinho, one of the Jesuit missionaries of the time, who knew him personally, writing of him in 1600, states that he was "liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains" than his brother Ranga, who later succeeded Venkata I. (Rev. H. Heras, "*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 412 *f.n.*, 4). The record above referred to registers the release by him of the customs-duties due on Bachipalli in his province. Though this record does not mention Venkata as the supreme ruler, the next record known, dated in 1604 A.D., recognizes his suzerainty with due formality. (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 111). This record registers a grant by him in favour of one Desāyi Gavasīka Gutti who is said to have acquired the pure Sivāchāra among good people. In a record which comes from Arkalgud in the Hassan District, dated in 1607, he is again styled *Mahāmandalēsvara*, which evidently indicates his official status. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 58). This grant registered by his command is repeated in another record which comes from Hunsur dated in the same year (*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 36.) This styles him both *Mahāmandalēsvara* and *Mahārāsu* and registers the gift of three villages to the Rudragana of Nanjarājapatna for the merit of his grand-father, father and himself for meeting the cost of services to be carried out at the shrine of Annadāni-Mallikārjuna. He also remitted, on the occasion, the *pagudi* tax payable to Seringapatna by these villages. As the name of Piriyarāja of the Changālva family of Nanjarājapatna is coupled with this grant and as it is also stated that the grant should be carried out as long as that family lasts, it has to be inferred that the villages granted lay within the jurisdiction of that chief. The next two records are dated in 1610 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 194 and *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 40.) The first of these registers the gift of a village to one Linganna of the Seringapatam-*matha*, while the second registers the gift of another to one Mariyanna, son of Rāmānujayya, establisher of the path of the *Vēdas* and the follower of both Vēdāntas (*i.e.*, Sānskrit and Tamil.) Both of these do not mention the supreme ruler, Venkata I. There is also a lithic record, dated in *Saka* 1527, cyclic year, *Ānanda* (*Sravana ba* 1,) which, however, do not agree. (*E.C.* IV, Gundalupet 13. Probably 1527, the *Saka* date given, is a mistake for 1537). The *Saka* date corresponds to A.D. 1605, while the cyclic year, for which details are given, corresponds to 1614 A.D. If the latter date is the intended date, then Tirumala II must have lived to that year. This record registers the grant of a village, rent-free to one Vengadayya Bhatta, described as the establisher of the path of the *Vēdas*, and is undoubtedly a genuine one. There is, further, another lithic record, whose *Saka* date is unfortunately not fully decipherable but whose cyclic year is given as *Akshaya, Pālguna Su* 10. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 181.) The cyclic year given corresponds to 1626 A.D. The record mentions Venkatapatirāya (with full Imperial titles) as ruling the kingdom of the earth, and registers the grant of a village in favour of one Jaiya-chandra-Pandita by Tirumala-Rāja-Dēva (Tirumala II) who is described as the grandson of Āravīti Tirumala (I) and son of Rāmasvāmi (*i.e.*, Rāma III). There can be hardly any doubt that the grant is a genuine one. The questions arise whether Tirumala II was alive and ruling his province in 1626 and whether the Venkatapati-Rāya mentioned in this grant as the Imperial sovereign should be identified with Venkata I or Venkata II. There is, so far as can be seen, nothing to militate against the view that Tirumala II was still alive in 1626 A.D. The Venkatapati-Rāya mentioned in the record may be Venkata I, his name being mentioned as the safest thing to do in view of the prevailing civil dissensions of the period.

The dozen records set forth above do not exhibit Tirumala II either as an incapable or as a weak Viceroy. His inscriptional records show that his rule was accepted without demur from Manjarābād to Mysore. He seems to have been popular in his province and his administration would appear to have been attended with a fair amount of success. But he had two difficulties to contend against. One was the attitude of his uncle, Venkata I, towards him, and another was the rising power of Rāja-Wodeyar, the Mysore king, who proved himself an active and intrepid ruler, ever bent on expanding his own kingdom. Jesuit letters of the period show that Venkata was more fond of Srī-Ranga III than of Tirumala II, his elder brother. (See Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 411-12, *f.n.*, 1; 504). Tirumala II tried to befriend his uncle in all possible ways, even through the agency of the Jesuit Father, who wielded considerable influence at Venkata's Court and passed and repassed through Tirumala's territories. He was pressing them to establish a centre at Seringapatam and station a missionary there. In 1600, he even tempted the Father with the grant of "a good piece of land in the city to build a house and church; moreover five-hundred-gold pagodes yearly"; evidently for the maintenance of the Church. He promised to receive them with "great honour and generosity." Six years later, in 1606, we see him still requisitioning Jesuit aid in his behalf. The Fathers at the Imperial Capital had evidently interested themselves in his behalf with the king and the princes of the kingdom had made mention of Tirumala's intended "journey to the Court." (Rev. H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 413-414). Whether he journeyed to the Court or not, is not known. The sequel, however, shows that Venkata had evidently made up his mind against him and the Jesuit Fathers at his Court probably found that they could not make much headway with him in this particular matter. This was probably the reason why they tacitly rejected the unfortunate advances of Tirumala to open a missionary centre at his own Court. They should have thought that they could hardly please both uncle and nephew and they preferred, possibly, not to displease Venkata by establishing themselves at his Court, Tirumala not being able to win for himself the good-will of his uncle.

Rāja-Wodeyar's successors made Tirumala feel the insecurity of his position as Viceroy. (See Wilks, *History of Mysoor*, I, 27-28). It is not clear if he suspected the aims and objects of Rāja-Wodeyar. But it is fairly certain that he was jealous of Rāja-Wodeyar's growing power and was alternately friendly and unfriendly to him. He finally took steps to check his career. He besieged Kesara, which was dependent on Rāja-Wodeyar but he beat him off with loss. He also refused to pay the usual tribute. Next an attempt would seem to have been made on Rāja-Wodeyar's life, but a faithful servant of his, killed the assassin at the nick of the moment and saved his master's life. (Wilks, *History of Mysoor*, Madras Edition, I, 24-28). Whether Tirumala was responsible for this dastardly attempt or not is not clear, though his ministers seem to be implicated in it. (*Ibid* I, 25). Meanwhile (about 1593) Rāja-Wodeyar himself was besieged by Manjūn Khān, the general of Ibrahīm Ādīl Shāh of Bijāpur, and Mysore capitulated after a siege of three months. But Ibrahīm being recalled for defending the capital, Rāja-Wodeyar easily regained possession of Mysore. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 175-6). It was probably shortly after this event, (*Circa* 1595-6) that Tirumala was, according to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, required to proceed against Vīrappa-Nāyaka of Madura as detailed above. This poem states that he was one of those who accepted the bribe offered by Vīrappa and retired from the siege. The poem adds that because of this treachery "Rāja-Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Rāya from his Viceroyalty." The Rev. H. Heras has suggested that the story of Tirumala's part in this war is a "concoction" of the poet and that the concoction is proved by the fact that the capture of Seringapatam is made to appear "as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura." (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 343, *f.n.*, 1; 419). Though the statements—the taking of the bribe and desertion of his post at Madura by Tirumala and the resolution on Rāja-Wodeyar's part to drive him out of Seringapatam—appear as cause and effect in the poem by reason of their appearing in juxtaposition in it, there is no reason to believe that they followed each other almost "immediately." Because the text of the poem shows that on hearing of the treachery Rāja-Wodeyar took counsel with his ministers, generals and friends, and after learning the truth of the affair, he determined on taking the steps necessary to drive this traitor from Seringapatam. He then, it is added, sent out spies to find out Tirumala's strength (in regard to the seven constituents of power) and they after some "days" (meaning some length of time), it is stated, came and reported to him the inner secrets of his position. It was after this that action seems to have followed. (See *Sources* under *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, Text, 303-4). All this would mean the lapse of considerable time, though in the poetic language employed it would seem as though it was only a question of "days." That Tirumala was probably away from his capital between 1593 and 1598 seems inferable from the lack of inscriptional records in his own province between these years. (See above). It is possible he was away for a considerable time from his Viceregal seat and took part in the war against Madura as stated in the poem. The true reason for his defection may, perhaps, be traced to Venkata's coldness towards him. He had not only lost the kingdom when he was superseded but also did not seem even to stand the chance of succeeding Venkata on his death. His attempts to get Venkata change his mind, through the aid of the Jesuit Fathers at his court, had also failed and his interest in Venkata's affairs had probably reached the vanishing point. Whatever my be the reasons for his defection, there can be no question that he did take part in the war against Madura and that he did desert his post at the siege. This circumstance evidently weighed heavily with Venkata against him and probably contributed no little in tacitly agreeing to his practical supercession fourteen years later by Rāja-Wodeyar at Seringapatam. Rāja-Wodeyar possibly rose as much in his estimation as a faithful feudatory as Tirumala went down as a Viceregal representative. It is only on some such basis that we can at all understand the brisk manner in which Rāja-Wodeyar laid siege to Seringapatam and the calmness with which Venkata stood gazing on the spectacle of the wresting of Seringapatam by him from his own nephew and representative. The suggestion of certain Mss. that Tirumala was compelled to retire by the members of his own court with the permission of Venkata himself seems not without some foundation. Probably the siege had only to be begun by Rāja-Wodeyar for Tirumala to retire from his seat and seek shelter at Talkad, there to end his days. (See on the whole subject Wilks I, 24-27; *Sources*, Introduction, 18-19; Heras, *Āravīdu Dynasty*, 419-421). His position had evidently become so insecure that it did not require much effort on Rāja-Wodeyar's part to turn him out of Seringapatam. The fact that Rāja-Wodeyar had the support—more active than passive—of Venkata is proved by a grant dated in 1612 A.D., which is referred to in the Narasipur copper-plate record of Rāma III dated in 1622 A.D., which states that Venkata I granted Seringapatam and Ummattur as an hereditary estate to Rāja-Wodeyar. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur 62). Evidently the conquest of Seringapatam was duly confirmed by Venkata and there was thus the greater reason why Rāja-Wodeyar should prove himself worthy as a feudatory of the Empire. The Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant of Venkata II, dated in 1639 A.D., seems even to suggest that the Mysore kings had a right to the throne of Karnāta. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198.)

Their *Gōtra* (Ātrēya) seems to be the same as those of the Āravīdu kings, though in their *Sūtra* and *Sākha* they differed. (The Mysore kings belong to the Āsvalayāna *Sūtra* and the Rig *Sākha* whereas the Āravīdu kings belonged, according to their grants, to the Āpastamba *Sūtra* and the Yajus *Sākha*).

Tirumala is said to have retired to Talakādu with his two wives, Alamēlamma and Rangamma. One of these appears to have died on the way. According to Wilks, Tirumala was, at the time he retired to Talkad, "worn down with age and disease," (*History of Mysoor*, 1, 27) and that he "soon afterwards died" there. These statements, however, are not borne out by epigraphic records. As we have seen above, there is a record dated in 1614, recording a grant of his in the Gundlupet area. Then, again, there is another record of his dated in 1626, registering a gift for the merit of his father and mother to a Jain Pandit. This is the last record we have, so far, of him and it comes from Nanjangud. These records seem to suggest that he outlived Srī-Ranga III, and lived through a good part of the reign of Rāma IV. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 13; *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 181). Since his earliest grants are dated in 1585, he should have borne rule in the Seringapatam province for 41 years. If we suppose he had been but 20 years, at the time he succeeded his father in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, he should have been 61 years at the time when we last hear of him. Probably we may not be far wrong if we supposed that he died in or about 1626 A.D.

On Tirumala vacating his capital, Rāja-Wodeyar doubtess entered it and annexed it to his own dominions. It is possible he then proclaimed himself, by virtue of this conquest, the Karnāta king, a name which has long been associated with the Mysore Royal House. He probably also then took over the Karnāta throne as well which is still preserved as a sacred relic in the Mysore Royal

Palace. (See Puttaiya, *Note on the Mysore Throne in M.S.J.* XI, 262-3.) Rāja-Wodeyar conducted himself as a loyal feudatory. This is proved by his grants dated in 1614 and 1615 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 157 and T.-Narasipur 116) and in 1622 quoted above, which duly acknowledge his suzerainty and the suzerainty of Rāma III. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 62 assigned to 1604 A.D., is not a grant of Rāja-Wodeyar as stated by the Rev. H. Heras but a grant by Nanjarāja-Wodeyar (1604-1612) of the Hadinādu line. See *E.C.* IV, Introd, 20). Several of his successors down to as late as 1668 (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 65 dated in 1668), also did the same. The change meant no doubt the loss of an important province to the Empire but the loss was more an apparent than a real one.

Portuguese and other European Nations. Founding of the Dutch and English Settlements.

It was during the reign of Venkata I that the Dutch and the English first appear on the East Coast to share in the Commerce of India. The monopoly which the Portuguese had so far enjoyed was thus sought to be broken into by other nations of the West. Up to 1587, the Portuguese monopoly was in the hands of the Government, but in that year, it was made over to a semi-commercial company called the Portuguese Company of India and the East, which gave place, in 1630, to the Commercial Company. Between 1595 and 1601, the Dutch sent as many as fifteen expeditions to the East. In 1602, all the Flemish amalgamated into a single Company and sent out an expedition to find out suitable trading centres. In 1608, the Dutch got a footing at Cuddalore, where they began building a Factory at Devanapatnam. Work was, however, stopped in 1609, by the intervention of Venkata, on behalf of the Portuguese, who, he said, "were better friends than the Dutch." The merchants of London obtained a charter on 31st December 1600 from Queen Elizabeth and sent out expeditions in 1601 and

1604. These proved unsuccessful. A third expedition followed and reached Surat and from there proceeded to the Moghul Court. In 1607, the English settled at Masulipatam much to the annoyance of the Portuguese, whose Viceroy at Goa had instructions from his sovereign to do his best with Ventaka to obtain their expulsion from that place. (The statement in the *Madras Manual of Administration*, 156, that the factory at Masulipatam was founded in 1611 seems wrong.) The Dutch also tried to obtain a footing at Pulicat. Though the Portuguese influence at the Court of Venkata, then at Vellore, prevented their settlement at that place for a time, it eventually gave way. Pulicat, then, was the head-quarters of a province and had been since the time of Aliya Rāma-Rāja, if not earlier, the seat of a Governor. It was a great entrepot of trade, its sea-borne commerce, mainly with the Straits Settlements, being in Hindu hands. When the Portuguese influence at Venkata's Court declined about 1606, the Dutch renewed their attempt and a *cowl* was given to them by Venkata in April 1606 to settle at Pulicat. They were allowed to build a fort there to protect their property on condition of their paying 2 per cent on the goods and merchandise brought into it for trade purposes. Venkata engaged not to allow any other European nation to trade at the place. The Dutch, on their part, agreed to sell all European war materials required by Venkata at "the price they cost in our countries." They were also to pay all the painters, weavers and linen-makers their dues according to the agreements entered into with them. The English also tried to settle here two years later. But Kondamma (the "Conda Ma" of Floris, *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, III. 320), the "Governor" as she is called of the place, though tempted by "a very good present," refused to give an audience to them and said she would be pleased if they went to Venkata and obtained another place for themselves. The Dutch, at Pulicat, however, proved a thorn in the side of the Portuguese at San Thome. About the close of 1612, the latter attacked the former and razed to the ground the fort at Pulicat. But the Dutch reoccupied the place in 1614, having been enabled to do so by Venkata's brother Ōbi-Rāju. They rebuilt the fort called Castle Geldria. Venkata, however, having heard of the attempt of the English, sent out a commission of three persons to the English at Masulipatam, with letters from Ōbamma, queen of Pulicat, Jaga Rāja Governor of San Thome and the surrounding country, and Appa Kondaja, Secretary of Venkata, asking them to choose a place "right over against the Fort of Paleacatte" which he would grant "with all privileges as we should desire." Floris, favourably impressed with the offer, was inclined to proceed in person to Venkata, who was then in Vellore, when he heard of the King's death and of the troubles there in consequence of it. The Embassy returned to Vellore having accomplished nothing. The English, however, tried to do some trading at Pulicat itself in 1614 but foiled in their attempts by the Dutch, they gave it up in despair. The Dutch at Pulicat effectually killed the Portuguese trade and amassed great profits from the trade in the far-famed Pulicat cloth. They were urged by their sovereign again and again to seize the new fort and raze it to the ground, but the conditions were not favourable for a repetition of the raid of 1612 The death of Venkata, two years later, should have rendered the prosecution of such a project even more difficult, for they had to know the disposition of the new Emperor towards them, and win him over, if possible, before they thought of taking such a step. (See on the whole subject H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 428-63.)

Relations with the Portuguese.

The relations of Venkata with the Portuguese were most cordial. He kept in touch with the Viceroy through the Jesuit Missionaries who lived at his Court at Chandragiri. In 1601, he sent an embassy, with a couple of the latter, to Goa to establish on a firm basis a defensive alliance with the Viceroy against Akbar, who was suspected of having designs on the Vijayanagar kingdom. The Viceroy sent a return embassy. (See H. Heras, *The Ārāvīdu Dynasty*, 434-7.) The King of Portugual approved of the Viceroy's conduct in giving them a warm welcome. Later in 1607, he even approved of an alliance with Venkata against the Moghul Emperor. Indeed, it might be said that in Venkata's time, Portuguese influence in the south reached its zenith. The nearest Settlement of the Portuguese was at San Thome, Madras. The Settlement, though small, was an unruly one and the Hindu Adhikāri (or Governor) had a hard time of it. The person appointed in 1599, had special instructions from Venkata not to take any serious steps against the people of the Settlement without previously consulting the Jesuit priests. The internal squabbles in the Settlement continued down to 1606, and to put an end to them, San Thome was erected into a new Bishopric with jurisdiction over the whole of the Coromandel Coast and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu. In that very year, the Portuguese at the place, to revenge a private quarrel, attacked the Hindu town and set fire to the fort in which the Adhikāri had taken shelter. On hearing this, Venkata was in a rage but he was shortly after appeased by a special mission from the Settlement. The Adhikāri was replaced by a new functionary and peace was then restored in it. About 1611, however, a fresh war broke out against the Portuguese at San Thome. The exact cause is not known. It, however, synchronised with the absence of the Jesuit Fathers from Venkata's Court. Quoting a Jesuit letter of that year, the Rev. H. Heras suggests that it was "greed of money" that was responsible for it. But subsequent correspondence on this matter shows that Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was evidently conspiring against his sovereign and possibly tried to get possession of San Thome, from which he was levying rent for some years (since 1604 A.D.). At any rate, when Venkata moved a large force against the settlement, Raghunātha helped the Portuguese against his suzerain and was afterwards warmly thanked for his services by Philip III, the Spanish King, to whom Portugal was then subordinate. Peace was eventually proposed and Venkata was forced to accept a small sum with the promise of a little more by instalments later. These events induced the Portuguese to fortify San Thome against future attacks and to appoint a captain to oversee its affairs and make the people keep the peace. Nothing, however, came of these proposals during the life time of Venkata. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 428-63.)

The Jesuit Fathers at his Court

A few words may be added about the Jesuit Fathers, who established themselves at his Court and through whose influence the Portuguese carried on their trade and kept other European adventurers for long at bay. Their letters throw a flood of light on Venkata I, both as a ruler and as a man. They have been fully utilised by the Rev. H. Heras in writing his account of the reign of Venkata, which occupies more than a third of his book. The most eminent of these was Father Nicholas Pimenta who, as visitor on behalf of the General Society of Jesus, directed the establishment in 1597 A.D. of a Mission house at Chandragiri, the royal residence. To the Rev. Father Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of San Thome, was assigned the duty of opening the Mission. He left San Thome in October 1598 and was duly received by Ōba Rāya, father-in-law of Venkata, and introduced to the King, who received him in audience. He gave them permission to build a Church at Chandragiri and elsewhere also if they pleased and promised the grant of a couple of villages for their expenses and for meeting the cost of erecting their Churches. He also gave them a golden palanquin for use, a distinction reserved only to nobles and to religious heads. Thus began Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits and it was in full vigour till 1606, when the first rift in the lute occurred. This, however, was soon overcome. Among those who stayed at Chandragiri during the reign of Venkata were Father Ricio, who reached it in 1599 and erected the first Church on a good site alloted for it by Ōba Rāya. There were three others in 1600: The Rev. Father Veiga, Coutinho, and Alexander Frey, an English lay Brother, who was a painter as well. As the villages promised could not be granted, an annual cash grant of one thousand *pardaos* was, by royal order, sanctioned instead. This payment, however, ceased from 1606, as the lands from the yield of which they were paid, had been destroyed and no other source of revenue had been assigned by the king for the maintenance of the Church and the Fathers connected with it. A letter of Venkata to Father Coutinho, dated in 1602, shows that he "allowed the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of San Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers," the village "Elamur" being identifiable with modern Egmore, (*Vulgo*: "Elamur" even now) which is now included in the City of Madras. On Father Veiga's transfer, Father Coutinho succeeded him at Chandragiri. He has left graphic accounts of his conversations on the Gospel doctrines with king Venkata. He wrote that Venkata not only "shows us marks of great friendship but also lends a very willing ear to the expositions of our doctrines." When Venkata began to reside in 1604 at Vellore, on its capture, Fathers Ricio and Laerzio visited him there. Venkata received them with great kindness and put them up in "a house next to the palace." The nobles of the Court appear to have been equally friendly. "All of them are," says Laerzio, in a letter dated in 1604, "very good friends of the Fathers, very polite and kind, and many request us to build Churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance." Father Ricio passed away in 1606, being the first Jesuit to die in the Vijayanagar Mission. His place was taken by another Italian Father Antonia Rubino. In this year occurred the fight at San Thome, which ended in the recall of the Fathers from Venkata's Court. When peace was restored in 1607, they returned to their places, Rubino to Chandragiri and Coutinho with the lay Brother Bartolomeo Fontebona, to Vellore, where the king resided. A Church was built at Vellore, which probably occupied the site of the present Anglican Church. The old warmth of feeling for these foreign missionaries returned and great cordiality prevailed between them and the king. He appears to have had frequent talks about the Christian religion and tenets. On Coutinho's recall and subsequent death at San Thome in 1610, Rubino succeeded him, being in charge of both Chandragiri and Vellore. Coutinho was a great friend of Venkata and his death proved a distinct loss to the Portuguese cause at his Court. Evidently other influences were at work. The Jesuit letters blame the Brāhmans as their "Chief foes" but it is possible that Ōbamma (identified with Peda-Obamma of the genealogical table), the favourite queen to whom Pulicat had been alloted for pin money and who favoured the settlement of the Dutch at that place and had gained some alleged ascendancy over the king, was responsible for the coldness which the Jesuit Fathers experienced at Venkata's hands about this time. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 500-502). The result was that by the end of 1611, the Jesuits had withdrawn from both the royal residences of Chandragiri and Vellore. This withdrawal, however, was due not so much to the loss of patronage or influence at the Royal Court on the part of the Fathers, but rather to an order from Philip III, who, in taking action on a scurrilous petition on them, had asked for their recall and replacement "by others of good conduct." Of course, the petition contained grave allegations against the honesty and character of the Jesuit priests, which, on the face of them, seem wholly false. Instead of first ordering an inquiry and then taking action on the result of the same, Philip, in keeping with his suspicious nature, first ordered their recall and asked the Viceroy to make inquiries as to the truth of the allegations. The head of the Mission soon recalled the priests and did not appoint others in their place. This withdrawal proved disastrous to the Portuguese cause. The war with San Thome and the establishment of the Dutch Factory at Pulicat were set down by the Viceroy at Goa as due to this loss of influence at Venkata's Court. He was anxious that the lost Missionary influence at the Court should be restored, but the death of Venkata I put an effectual end to the realization of the wish. There can be no doubt that the real object of the Fathers was to preach the Gospel and make known the Christian faith in the Vijayanagar kingdom. At the same time, there is no gainsaying the fact that both the Portuguese Viceroy and Venkata utilized the Fathers for political purposes, for which they were so handy. It should be remarked that the real object of the Jesuit Fathers was never attained. The reason assigned was that the people were "very obstinate" in their own doctrines. "They certainly acknowledged," wrote one of them in 1606, "that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it." That sums up neatly not only the tolerance they exhibited towards the new faith but also the general Hindu attitude even to this day towards Christinity. Though they worked as much as possible to propagate their faith, the Fathers found, as they confess, "*Janna clausa est* (the gate is shut), and great grace of God is required to open it." Four years later (1611), the position was no better, though the Fathers were still hoping for a better "harvest." With this hope, the Mission to Vijayanagar ceased to exist. (See on the whole subject H. Heras, *Ibid*, 464-485, and the original Jesuit letters quoted therein.)

Jesuit Painters and their work at Venkata's Court.

An aspect of Venkata's character disclosed by the Jesuit letters published by the Rev. H. Heras was his love of discussion, in a spirit of tolerance, on religious topics. Another was his deep interest in the art of painting which the Fathers were not slow to appreciate and gratify in so far as they could. They included in their Mission at Chandragiri, between 1600-1602, a Jesuit lay Brother Alexander Frey, who was an Englishman. He is reported to have painted and handed to Venkata several fine paintings bearing on the life of Jesus, which were highly appreciated by Venkata. In 1607, his place was taken by an Italian Lay Brother, named Bartolomeo Fontebona (or Fontebuone.) He became a great friend of Venkata, whom he joined at Vellore. He had evidently inherited the artistic skill of his race, for Venkata is said to have been "surprised to see how quickly the brother worked." He is said to have painted besides pictures of Loyola and Xavier, a portrait of Venkata himself, for which he gave a special sitting until the same was finished. He is also said to have painted a panel of pictures relating to Jesus, which Venkata hung, it is said, in a prominent part of his Palace at Vellore. This Lay Brother proved a great help, by his intimacy with the king, to the Fathers and they even thought of promoting him to the sacred priesthood. He evidently left Vellore with the rest of the Jesuit priests in 1611, when the Mission to Vijayanagar was finally closed. In 1626, he formed one of a party intended for Tibet but owing to the difficulties of the enterprise, he was sent back to Hughli on the Ganges and there died, at the age of fifty, on December 26th of that year. (See Henry Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 486-493.)

Coinage of Venkata.

From certain records of his reign, Venkata I would seem to have issued a gold coin called in them as *Venkatarāya-Varāham.* These must be the coins known after him and containing the legend *Srī-Venkatesāya-namah,* "Adoration to the Blessed Venkatēsvara," the God on the Tirupati Hill. This is the invocatory phrase with which his inscriptions begin. Dr. Hultzsch has described these coins. (*I.A.* XX, 307.) On the obverse of these coins Vishnu is seen standing under an arch and on the reverse is the Nagari legend mentioned above. A gift of 65 of these pieces are registered in a record dated in 1608. Another record in 1569 A.D. states that 140 *Pon* were the equivalent of 100 Gatti *Venkataraya-Varāham.* (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 55; App. C. No. 198.) From this record, it would appear that one *Varāham* was passed for 1·4 *Pon.* (See also C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 64.)

Ministers, Generals and Feudatories.

Among the chief ministers of Venkata I were Pemmasani Timma, and Matla Ananta. The former is said to have had the titles of *Manne Mārtānda*, *Gandarāditya* and *Gandaraganda.* (*Sources*, 242.) Matla Ananta was an eminent warrior and poet (see below). He took a prominent part in the fighting of this reign. He actively helped in beating off the Muhammadans from the capital, when they invaded it. He was the son of Yellamarāju, in whose name he built a tank. He also repaired the Sidhout fort, building a protecting wall round it. He further excavated a tank in his own name at Sidhout. Among his titles were *Aivaraganda*, *Mannehamvīra* and *Rāchabebbuli*. (*Ibid*, 248). His son was Matla Tiruvēngalanātha. (See under *Literature* below; *M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; *Sources*, 248-9). He was also a great soldier. Of him a stray verse, whose authorship is not known, states that when he fought the Muhammadans at Kurnool, the heaps of slain that he left on the field looked like a mountain, their bones like standing trees, their blood like flowing rivers, and their heads like stars in heaven! (V. Prabhakara Sāstri, *Chatupādya-manimanjari*, 65). He built the *Gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at Tirupati. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 61). Among the feudatories, we have references to a great many in the records of the reign. In one dated in 1583, when Venkata I was probably a joint ruler with his brother, we have mention of one Hari Kampappa Nāyaka described as an agent of his in the Sira country. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 3). Probably he is identical with the Hariti Chief Immadi Kenchappa Nāyaka, who made the grant registered in a record dated in 1609 to his Dalavāi Basavi Nāyaka. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 1). Another dated in 1587, refers to a grant by one Krishnama Nāyaka, son of Venkatappa Nāyaka, in the Chikmagalur country. (*E.C.* VI Chikmagalur 79). In 1589, we have reference to one Srīpati Vallabha of the Madarāja-kula. It was at his request that Venkata made the gift to Brāhmans mentioned in the Tirumalāpur grant. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39.) He was evidently a notable chief of the times, for he is described as the maker of tanks, groves, wells and other public charities. He is spoken of as a worshipper of Srīpati. A copper-plate grant of Srī-Ranga-Raja, feudatory of Aliya Rama-Rāja, of Vijayanagar, dated 15th January 1554, registering a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, describes Srī-Ranga, as the son of Vallabhēndra and grand-son of Srī-Ranga-Raja of the family of Mada-Rāja, famous for the construction of tanks, wells, groves and as an expert in the art of Government. This grant would seem to be a clear forgery, as it puts back Srī-Ranga-Rāja, son of Vallabhēndra, to a date anterior to 1554. The lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant is also known to have not occurred on the date mentioned. In a record from the Chamarajnagar country, dated in 1593, we have mention of the Hadinad chief Devappa-Gavuda's son Immadi-Rāma-Rāja making a grant for the merit of his mother Channājiyamma. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 30). A Mahānādprabhu, whose name is not known, is referred to in a record of the same year, coming from Maddagiri, modern Madhugiri, in the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 21.) A copper-plate grant dated 15th January 1595, refers to a gift of six villages by one Arasappa-Nāyaka, chief of Sōde. He is evidently a feudatory of Venkata in a part of the modern South Canara District. The grant was in favour of a *guru* of Vyāsa-Rāya *matha*, whose name is not mentioned. (*M.A.R.* 1925, 21-2, No. 8). From Mysore comes a record dated in 1598, registering a grant by Bettada-Chamarāja-Wodeyar for a Rāmānuja-Kūta and a Chatra at Belgola. This should be the Mysore king of the same name, who began his rule in 1576 A.D. and was the brother of Rāja-Wodeyar. Both of these recognize the suzerainty of Venkata I. Perhaps assignable to the same year, is a grant by Bidyavara mahānādprabhu Mummadi Chikkappa Gauda. He was evidently a local chief. A record assignable to about 1600 refers to Immadi Gauda, the chief of Sugutur, as a feudatory of Venkata I, (*M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 102). He is probably the same person who is referred to as Mummadi-Tammaya-Gauda of Sugatur in a grant dated in 1608. (*E.C.* X Kolar 241). Other records of his are dated in 1609 and 1614 (*E.C.* X Siddlaghatta 5 ; *E.C.* X, Kolar 157.) Another dated in 1605, mentions another feudatory named Chandrasēkhara-Wodeyar, chief of Arakothāra. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 82). An inscription referable to 1605, mentions Immadi Kadirappa-Nāyudu as a local chief in the Kolar District. (*E.C.* X Bagepalli 20). In 1605, we have a record of the Hadinādu chief Mahāprabhu Nanja-Rāja-Wodeyar, registering a grant in the name of his parents. An inscription in 1606, refers to a grant by the agent of the mahānāyakachārya Kamagēti Chikkanna-Nāyaka, who was evidently a feudatory of Venkata in the Chitaldrug country. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 80). In the following year, we have a grant by Venkatādri Nāyaka, of Belur, another feudatory of Venkata. (*E.C.* V Belur 145). Another feudatory of his referred to in a record assignable to 1609 is Hadappa Venkata Nāyaka, who is spoken of as the agent of the king in it. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 27). In a record from Mudgere, dated in the same year, we have a reference to another feudatory, Bhairāsa Wodeyar, son of Vīra Bhairāsa Wodeyar, governing the Kalasa Karkala kingdom. (*E.C.* VI Mudgere 63). From an inscription dated in 1610, coming from Tirthahalli, it might be inferred that one Venkatādri-Nāyaka held charge of the Aranya-dēsa. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 166). A record from the Bangalore District, dated in the same year mentions the Avatinād Prabhu Immadi-Bhairē-Gauda and a grant by him for the merit of his father. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 13, Dodballapur 49). The Harati chief Immadi-Rangappa-Nāyaka is mentioned in a record dated in 1612 (*E.C.* XII, Sira 84). In a grant dated in the same year, the Hadinad chief Nanjarāja Wodeyar is again mentioned as making a grant (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 135). The nādprabhu Chinnapparasa, of Yelvanhalli, Mulbagal Taluk, is said to have built a large tank in 1613 and donated it, with all the lands below it, free of all taxes to god Kōdandarāma at the place. (*M.A.R.* 1926, 84, No. 93). In 1614, we have Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore appearing as a feudatory of

Venkata I and making a grant of certain villages which Venkata had assigned to him as *umbali* in the Seringapatam country. (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 157). This grant seems to have followed within a short time of Rāja-Wodeyar occupying Seringapatām after expelling from it Tirumala II, the Vijayanagar Viceroy in it. In a record dated in 1612, Venkatapati Nayanimgāru, the Vēlugōti chief, declares himself a feudatory of Venkata I. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* II, 1053, No. 36). In another record of the identical year, he calls himself "an Arjuna in war." (*Ibid.* 246, Atmakur 35). Yachama Nāyaka, another powerful feudatory, is referred to in the *Bāhulāsva-Charitramu*, as having received gifts from the Sultāns of Bijāpur, Gōlconda and Ahmadnagar and to have been highly esteemed by the people. (*Sources*, 305-6.) He defeated Dāvalu-Papa at Uttaramallur. This Dāvalu-Pāpa has been identified with the Pāparaju of the Jesuit records of the time. (H. Heras, *The Aravīdu Dynasty*, 322; *Sources*, 305, f.n.). Yachama was a devout Srī-Vaishnava and maintained a feeding house, at which he fed 300 Brāhman pilgrims going to or returning from Tirupati. (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, 219.) He is said to have lived on the top of a high hill, encompassed with shady forests. (H Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 322, quoting Du Jarric, I, 657.)

Gobbūri Obarājayya was the chief general of the period. He has been identified by Mr. Krishna Sāstri with Ōba-rāya, described as the brother-in-law of Venkata by Barradas. He may be the Ōba-rāya mentioned as the father-in-law of Venkata in the *Rāmarājīyamu* and the Jesuit letters of the time. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 188-9; H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 307.)

As a patron of literature.

The general peace that prevailed during the latter part of the long reign of Venkata I gave ample opportunity throughout his realm for literary activity. Though he may not have been, as the Dalavai-Agrahāra grant suggests, a profound scholar, he was probably learned enough to follow the discussions of great teachers and professors of religion. The occasional remarks let slip by the Jesuit Fathers show that he regularly studied, probably daily, with his religious teachers, and that disputations of a semi-religious and semi-philosopical character were frequently held before him in Sanskrit. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 491, *f.n.* 1; and 518, *f.n.* 1). According to Father Ricio, Venkata had "disputations on God philosophy and mathematics with the teachers or philosophers every day." The Fathers could not join the debate, since they understood nothing. Venkata is praised as a patron of literary men. The Mangalampad grant calls him "a very moon to lotuses, which are scholars." "He was," it adds, "devoted to the protection of the learned." (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, 25). The most revered teacher and scholar at his court was undoubtedly Tātāchārya. His full name was Ettur Kumāra Tirumala Tātāchārya. He was also known as Lakshmi-Kumāra and Kōtikanyādāna, evidently suggesting the countless virgins he had given away in marriage to learned Brāhmans. In one record, he is called Venkatarāya-Tātāchārya, the Tātāchārya whom king Venkata revered. (*M.E.R.* Para 62, App. B, Nos. 564 and 565 dated in 1601 A.D.). Several inscriptions attest to his great influence at Venkata's Court. He was his *Guru* and officiated at his coronation. The king, in the excess of his admiration, is said to have offered him his whole kingdom. (*Sources*, under *Prapannāmritam*, 251). He was the manager of the Vaishṇava temples at Kānchi and had a number of subordinates under him. He is known to have lived in kingly splendour at Kānchi, where a number of inscriptions mentioning him have been found on the walls of the Arulāla Perumāl temple. In 1570 A.D., he got the Vimāna at Tirupati gilded (*M.E.R.* 1919-20; No. 354 of 1919). He weighed himself against gold and silver and used all that wealth in the service of God Varadarāja of Kānchi in erecting the Kalyānakōti Vimāna in gold for the Goddess Lakshmi in that famous temple. In one record (No. 475 of 1919, undated) his gifts for vehicles for the temples, jewels for the deities, agrahāras for Brāhmans, and his digging of the tank called the Tātasamudram after himself are mentioned in glowing terms. The Kalyānakōti-Vimāna was finished about 1614 A.D. (See *M.E.R.*, No. 650 of 1919) and was evidently built in emulation of the Punyakōti-Vimāna set up by king Krishna-Dēva-Rāya. The latter was repaired by Tātāchārya (*Ibid*, No. 649 of 1919) and regilded by him as it had got defaced and weather-beaten during the course of the century that had elapsed since its erection. Finally, there is a record registering the *Hanumad-Vimsati*, a poem of 20 verses composed by him in honour of God Hanumān, whose image he set up in the temple on the bank of Tātāsamudram tank, now known familiarly as the Ayyankulam, dug by him. (See *M.E.R.* 1919-20, Para 51). According to an inscription on the tank bund of the Tenneri Tank, Chingleput District, it seems it was dug by Tātāchārya. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, 393). He is probably identical with the Tātaya, mentioned in a record dated in 1590 A.D., as the grandson of Ettur Tātārya and son of Srinivāsa. This record registers the grant of a village called Venkatēsapura in his favour. (*M.E.R.* 1916-17, App. A, Copper-plate No. 8, see also *Catalogue of C.-P. grants in Madras Government Museum*, 54.) The *Prapannāmritam* makes him the son of Panchamata-Bhanjanam Tātāchārya. His forbears had been connected with the spread of Srī-Vaishnavism and the family claimed descent from the uncle of the great reformer Srī-Rāmānuja. (See *ante.*) There is hardly any doubt that he commanded universal respect alike for his position and learning. He is called, in the Dalavai-Agrahāra grant, as " the ornament of the wise." A well known philosophical work of his is *Sātvika-brahma-Vidyā-vilāsa.* A work of the same name in Kannada by Ranga-Rāja, a Srī-Vaishṇava poet, who lived at the Court of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja is known. (See R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnātaka-Kavicharite,* II, 449-50). It is probably based on Tātāchārya's work. He also wrote a work called *Pānduranga-mahātmya* devoted to the Vishṇu temple at Pandharpur in the present Bombay Presidency. This work, however, should be distinguished from the Telugu work of the same name, the author of which was Tenali Rāmakrishna-kavi referred to below. The influence of Tātāchārya was evidently felt even by the Jesuit Fathers at the Court of Venkata. One of these, Father Coutinho, seems to have entirely misunderstood the great teacher. He calls him the famous *Guru* but stigmatises him in one of his letters as "unworthy of his post because of his vices." It would appear, according to a letter of his dated November 11, 1607, that he was specially lacking in continence, as "he had many wives at home," and is, he adds, "one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes." The passage quoted shows that the worthy Jesuit priest misunderstood the position of Tātāchārya, who was not a *Sanyāsin* (the Latin original refers to *Saniaces*) but a householder, who was permitted to marry and yet be a *guru.* The Rev. H. Heras has also missed this point and endorsed the harsh judgment of Father Coutinho, which seems wholly undeserved. A person belonging to the family to which Tātāchar belonged, and with the status he enjoyed in society, cannot have been otherwise than strict and becoming in his religious practices and principles. The good use he made of his immense wealth and his literary and philosophical works show him to have been a person deserving of the trust and faith laid in him by Venkata I, who was by no means a blind disciple. Himself a strict and virtuous man in morals, he could not have tolerated incontinence even in his *guru*. (See the Mangalampad grant, which records of him that he was "indifferent to other men's wives.") A *guru* to whom, by the customs and notions of the country, marriage is allowed—as among Protestant Christians—and who is privileged, under the same sanctions, to marry more than one wife, stands entirely on a defferent footing from a *Sanyāsin*, to whom marriage of every kind is disallowed. There is scarcely any doubt that Tātāchārya was universally respected by the people and members of his family spread themselves throughout the country, both in the Telugu and in the Tamil Districts, and spread Vaishṇavism among them with considerable zeal and enthusiasm. The *Prapannāmritam* in a fit of poetical exaggeration describes Venkata's devotion to his *guru* as so great that he surrendered the kingdom to him and led a life of retirement, doing service to him like Kulasēkhara of old. This, of course, is not literally true; it only shows the extreme regard that Venkata paid to his *guru*. That speaks highly of Venkata, for accord ing to Hindu ideas, a *guru's* word ought to be scrupulously regarded by his disciple, though it is equally incumbent on the *Guru* to see that he does not make the disciple's life impossible by inexorable demands on his patience and purse. The respect Venkata showed to his *guru* benefited Vaishṇavism generally. It attracted people to itself and thus Vaishṇavism soon spread into almost every part of India, south of the Krishna. Members of the Tātāchārya's family are found referred to in later inscriptions, both in the Tamil and Telugu districts, as *gurus* and recipients of land gifts. (*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency* I, 607, No. 394, dated in 1644; I, 605, No. 376 dated in 1742 A.D.)

Apart from the respect he showed to Tātāchārya, poet and philosopher, Venkata appears to have encouraged Vēdic learning and literary pursuits. His very numerous copper-plate grants (see list above) indicate his munificence. Thus the Sarjapur plates, dated in 1601, record the gift of a village called Perungolattūru, renamed Venkatarāyapura after himself, in Padaivīdu-nādu, to a Vaishṇava scholar named Rāmaiya, son of Allārya and grandson of Singarāya. (*M.A.R.* 1919, Para 93). The Mangalampād grant, dated 1602-3, records the grant of a village in favour of one Srī-Rangarāja, a descendant of one Vēdāntodayana, a learned scholar who was an attendant on Rāmānuja, the Vaishṇava teacher. He is described as specially learned in the Yajussākha. (*Nellore Inscription* I, 25 copper-plate grant No. 6). The Vilapāka grant, dated in the same year as the Sarjapur grant, was also in favour of a learned scholar who was "conversant with the eighteen Puranas." (*E.I.* IV, 272). A copper-plate record, dated in 1591 A.D., indicates the patronage extended by Venkata I to Brāhmans learned in the *Vēdās* and *Sāstras.* (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 87; App. A, No. 6). Another record of the same kind, dated in 1612 A.D., is in favour of one Rāmakrishna Jōsya, well versed in *Vēda*, *Vēdāngas*, *Tarka*, *Smriti* and *Sūryasiddhānta.* (*M.E.R.* 1922-23; App. A, No. 7). The grant of 1591 A.D., above referred to, was in favour of many scholars learned in grammar (*Sabda-Sāstra*) and astronomy (*Jyōtisha*) and was made at the request of general Chencha-Bhūpa, who was the son of the chief Ahōbalēsa and Governor of Chandragiri and other forts. According to certain stray verses which have come down to our own times, Appaya Dīkshita, the great Saiva philosopher, was patronised by Venkata I. (See *M.E.R.* 1903-4 Para 25; Sources, 250-1). It is said that he wrote his work on Alankāra, known as *Kuvalayānanda*, at the request of Venkata I. Appaya Dīkshita was also honoured by Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, who was Viceroy at Vellore until its capture by Venkata I. It would appear that Chinna Bommu performed with his own hands the Kanakābhishēka, the anointing with gold, of Appaya Dīkshita in recognition of his great scholarship by pouring the gold coins from out of the vessel. (*Sources*, 251.) Chinna Bommu's son was Linga, the donor of the Vilapākam grant of Venkata I (1601 A.D.). His capital was, as we have seen, taken, by Venkata, and made the royal residence. (See *ante*). An eminent contemporary of Appaya Dikshita was Sudhīndra-Tīrtha, the then *Guru* of the Sumatīndramatha. He was, according to the *Raghavēndravijaya*, honoured and respected by Venkata I. His head-quarters was Kumbhakōnam. His *kanakābhishēka* was performed by Raghunātha, the Nāyak at the time of Tanjore. Sudhīndra's disciple was Raghavēndra-Tīrtha, the eminent commentator on the Vēdas, who was sainted at Mantsala in the present Bellary District. (See *Bellary District Gazetteer*, Chapter XV, under *Mantsala*.) Among those converted by him to the Madhva faith was the well known Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita, the commentator on the *Sulba Sūtras* and the author of the historical poem *Sāhityaratnākara* dealing with the life and times of Raghunātha of Tanjore. He was the son of the even more famous Gōvinda Dīkshita, minister of Achyuta and Raghunātha, the Nāyak rulers of Tanjore. He wrote numerous works and is even said to have collaborated with Appaya Dikshita in the production of some of his works. (*Sources*, 253). Gōvinda Dikshita himself was not less known as a scholar than as a minister. He is said so have been a great authority on the Advaita Vēdānta and on the Darsanas. Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, was himself, it would appear, a poet and scholar and a patron of poets and musicians. About a dozen of his works have come down to us. Among the works he is said to have written, one called *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* has not yet been traced. The author of *Sāhityaratnākara* was his student; so also was the poetess Rāmabhadrāmba, the talented author of *Rāghunathābhyudayam*, devoted to the history of the reign of Ragunātha himself. His Telugu version of the *Rāmāyana* has been highly praised for its excellence and has been honoured with a translation by Madhuravāni, another poetess at his court. In his *Sangīta-Sudha*, a work of merit, he states he was a great proficient in music and that he had invented some new *rāgas*. (*Sources*, 270.) Evidently Raghunātha was one of the most cultured feudatories of Venkata I. He seems to have been as great as a writer as he was a warrior. Though Krishnama-Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Gingee, was not a scholar or a patron of literature, Sūrappa Nāyaka, his predecessor, was the patron of the well known poet Ratnakhēta Srinivāsa Dikshita, who dedicated to him his drama *Bhāvanāpurushōttama*. (*Sources*, 272.) Raghunatha's conquests and his court have been described in vivid colours by a lady poet Rāmabhadrāmba in the *Ragunāthābhyudaya*, which incidently furnishes us an account of the part played by Raghunātha in the war of succession that followed the death of Venkata I. Her poem is well written and is a fine example of what a cultured Hindu lady was capable at the beginning of the 17th century in the South of India. In the colophon to her work, she says she was an expert in the arts of *Satalēkhini* and *Samayalēkhini*, and that she was capable of writing the four sorts of poetry in all the eight languages (Sānskrit, Telugu and the six Prākrits). She also states that she was installed on the throne of *Sahitya Sāmrājya* (*i.e.*, declared empress among poets) by king Raghunātha, a position for which she seems to have been eminently fit.

In the Mysore country, there flourished during this reign many poets, some of them of outstanding merit. Most of them were Vīrasaivas, though there was a sprinkling of Brāhmins and Jains. Vērūpāksha Pandit, the author of the *Channa-Basava-Purāna* was one of these. He wrote his work in 1584 A.D. It is composed in a simple and popular style and is of great value for an intelligent appreciation of Vīrasaivism as a religious cult in the South. Tirumala-Bhatta, the author of *Siva-Gīta*, lived at the Court of the Keladi Venkatappa Nāyaka. Though a translation of a piece from the *Mahābhārata*, it is composed in a taking style. Pradhāni Tirumalarāya, who was the minister of Rāja-Wodeyar, wrote the *Karnavrittānta-katha*. The Jain lexicographer Dēvottama, whose work *Nānārtha-Ratnākara* deserves to be better known, probably lived about 1600. But the greatest poet and grammarian of the time was the Jain author Bhattākalanka-Dēva, who finished the famous work *Karnātaka-Sabdānusāsana* in 1604. He was a poet at the court of Srī-Ranga II and then at that of his successor Venkata I. He was an erudite scholar and was well read both in Sānskrit and Kannada and his work bears eloquent testimony to the depth and range of his learning. He has been described by a later writer as a Mahāvidvān conversant with Prākrit, Sānskrit and Magadhi. His work is a grammar of the Kannada language and is perhaps the best of its kind dealing with it. A notable peculiarity about it is that the *Sūtras*, *Vritti* and *Vyākhyāna* which form the work are in Sanskrit. (See on the whole subject of the poets of this period, R. Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka-Kavicharitē* II, 307-59.) At the Imperial Court, Telugu received special attention. Among the great poets of the period were Tenāli Rāmakrishna, Mātla Ananta, Chinna Nārana, Pingali Sūrāna, and Tarigoppula Mallana. Of these, Tenāli Rāmakrishna deserves special notice. His work *Pānduranga-mahātmyamu* is one of great merit. His other work *Ghatikachala-mahātmyamu* is also one of considerable interest. According to tradition, the former is said to have been written within the time that the oil in an ordinary lampstand could be exhausted! It is also stated that it was taken down to the poet's dictation by one of the queens before the lighted lampstand! He was known as *Vikata-*

Kavi or the jesting poet. Numerous are the stories told even to this day of the wit and humour of this poet and the practical jokes he played on certain of his brother poets. Collections of these tales are known and their wide circulation shows the popular favour they enjoy. Whether Tenāli Rāmakrishna was Venkata's Court poet or not is still unsettled; nor indeed is his date quite definitely ascertained. As the many hits he gave to Tātāchārya have come down to our own days, it is possible they were contemporaries. However this may be, his eminence as a poet cannot be questioned. He was celebrated as an impromptu versifier and an acute critic of other works of his contemporaries. (For an account of his impromptu verses, see V. Prabhakara Sastry, *Chatupadyamanimanjari*, 142-150.) Pingali Sūrana, the author of the *Kālapūrnōdaya*, *Rāghavapāndavīya*, *Garudapurāna*, and other works, lived at the court of Nandyāla Krishnarāja, of Gandikōta, a cousin of Venkata I, and was also patronized by Krishnarāja's brother and successor Timmayadēva. His *Prabhāvati-Pradyumnamu* is a work conceived on original lines, being a poem not based on Purānic episodes. Sūrana is reckoned one of the most eminent poets known to Telugu literature. Another cousin of Venkata I was Kōnēti Timmarāja. His son Kōnēti Rāmarāja accepted the dedication of *Sadakshināparinayam*. Matla Ananta, whom we have seen previously as a general, was also a great poet. He was the author of *Kākustha-Vijayamu*, a work of considerable merit, and other works. According to the Sidhout record dated in 1605 (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, Para 75; App. B, No. 564) he also built the Yellamarāju-Cheruvu, named after his father, besides repairing the fort at Sidhout which had been captured by his father. The Sidhout inscription consists, it is worthy of note, of one Sānskrit, a *Sīsamāla* of 20 feet, and a *Tētagīta* in Telugu—all composed probably by himself. There are some stray Telugu verses in praise of Matla-Kona, Matla-Ananta and Matla-Rāju-Tiruvēngadanātha. The verse relating to Ananta states that no king opposed him in battle without being captured; no prince begged for pardon without being protected; no hero who did not ransom himself; and no *Vazir* who did not bend down and bow in token of submission. (V. Prabhakara Sastry *Chatūpadyamanimanjari*, 65). Tarigoppula Mallanna was another Court poet. He wrote the *Chandrabhānu-Charitramu*, from which we learn that his brother Datta Mantri was a minister of Venkata I. (*Sources*, 24). Channamarāju was another poet of this period. He was patronised by Pemmasāni-Timma, another Minister of Venkata I. (*Sources*, 241-3). In the Madura country, learning was highly appreciated. There were, in 1610, according to De Nobili, the Jesuit Missionary, over ten thousand students in Madura city, learning under private professors the *Vēdas* and the *Vedānta*. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 525-8). The Jesuit Fathers introduced printing into India about 1577 and printed the first Tamil book—a summary of Christian doctrine—in that year. (*Ibid*, 530-1).

A few words may be added about the composers of the royal grants of the period. Though the Dynasty changed, the chief composers of the Tuluva Dynasty continued in the service of the Āravīdu Dynasty. The composer of the grants of Sadāsiva, as we have seen, was Sabhāpati. His son, Svayambhu, who first comes into notice in connection with a grant dated in 1558 in the time of Achyuta, is known as the composer of certain of the grants of Tirumala I (Penagaluru and Tumkur grants, *E.I.* XVI, 237; *E.C.* XII, Tumkur 7). He was also responsible for the couple of grants of Srī-Ranga II (Arivilimangalam and Naredupalli grants, *E.I.* XII, 337 and *E.I.* XI, 329). His brother Kāmakōti had a son named Krishnakavi, who composed most of the grants of Venkata I, though one (the Vilapāka grant, *E.I.* XII, 187) was composed by a brother of his named Rāma. This Rāma was responsible for the Kallakursi and Utsur grants of Ranga VI. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, 44-5; *I.A*. XIII, 153). A couple of grants (the Mangalampād and another dated in 1613, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 25 and *E.I.* XIII, 231) were, however, the work of one Chidambarakavi, who describes himself as the sister's son of Sivasūrya, the king of poets. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 26). As the Mangalampād and the Vilapāka grants agree in the geneologies and the verses in them are identical throughout except in a few cases, it is probable Chidambarakavi was a close relation of Rāma and had access to the Official records in his possession.

Domestic life.

In the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant of Venkata I, dated in 1586-7 A.D., he is spoken of as having had four wives: Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Ped-Ōbamāmba, and Pin-Ōbamāmba. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 83). In the Dalavai-Agrahāram grant, issued in the same year, in the place of Pin-Ōbamāmba, the name Krishnāmba appears. From this the Rev. H. Heras has drawn the inference that in the interval between these two grants, Pin-Ōbamāmba should have died and that her place should have been taken by Krishnāmba. But as he himself admits that the Tirumalāpura grant dated in 1589 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 39) gives the very four names which appear in the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant of 1586-7 A.D., this falsifies the inference so completely that it has to be given up. So, it has been suggested that Krishnāmba was perhaps an alternative name of Pin-Ōbamāmba. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 495 *f.n.* 1). This is a plausible suggestion, though the more probable inference would be that Krishnāmba was a fifth wife. This ought to be the more so, as the Vilapāka grant dated in 1601-2 A.D. *i.e.*, 14 years after the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant, mentions the following five:—Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Peda-Ōbamāmba, Krishnāmba and

Kondāmbika. In other words, it mentions the first three mentioned by the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant and in the place of Pin-Ōbamāmba mentioned by it, it has, like the Dalavai-Agrahāram grant, Krishnāmba and finally a fifth name Kondāmbika. The Mangalampād grant of 1602-3 A.D., repeats the names of the five queens mentioned in the Vilapāka grant. These two grants would seem to indicate that Venkata I married another wife between the years 1589 and 1601-2 A.D. If Krishnāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmba are not identical, then he should have added a wife in 1586 A.D. Thus we come to this conclusion: at the time of the earliest grant known, he had four wives; he added one more in that year, making in all five queens. Then again, in 1601-2, he added another queen, bringing up the total to six; of which one, Pin-Ōbamāmba, finally drops off, probably on account of her death, from the grants of 1601-2 A.D., though she appears for the last time in a grant dated in 1589 A.D. She probably died between these two dates, 1589 and 1601-2 A.D. In the *Rāmarājīyamu*, a work which refers to incidents which occurred in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI and consequently must have been written either during or after his reign, (1642-1644 A.D.), the following are mentioned as the queens of Venkata :—Venkatamma, Ōbamma, (daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja), Krishnamma, (daughter of Jillēla Krishna-Rāja) and Kondāmma, daughter of Gobbūri Ōba. (See *Sources*, 243). The Ōbamma of this poem may, perhaps, be identified with Ped-Ōbamāmba of the inscriptions. As she is mentioned in the latest grants of Venkata, dated in 1601-2 and 1602-3 A.D., she may be taken to have lived later than Pin-Ōbamāmba, whose name does not appear in them, though it does in the Tirumalapura grant of 1539 A.D., which is the last grant which mentions her. But as the *Rāmarājīyamu* does not mention *Rāghavāmba*, she might have died after the Mangalampād grant of 1602-3 A.D., which is the latest, so far, in which her name is mentioned. Of these, three appear to have survived Venkata and committed *sati* on his death. One of these three was Ōbamāmbika, for she is actually mentioned as having ascended the funeral pyre by Floris. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, 338). Taking it for granted that Pin-Ōbamāmba and Krishnāmba are different queens, Venkata should have had six lawfully wedded wives. These were :—Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Ped-Ōbamāmba, Pin-Ōbamāmba, Krishnāmba and Kondamāmba. These names are given in another form in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, but they differ only in the terminal endings (*Amma* for *ambika* or *amba*.) Of these six, Ōbamāmba (or Ōbamma) is stated in the *Rāmarājīyamu* as the daughter of Jillēlu Ranga-Rāja. There is reason to believe that this Ōbamāmba is identical with Ped-Ōbamāmba of the inscriptions. Pina-Ōbamāmba, who was also married to Venkata I, was evidently a daughter of Gobbūri-Ōba, the first part of her name indicating that she was the younger of the two. That Ōba had two of his daughters married to Venkata, seems to be indicated by the statements of Jesuit writers who visited Venkata's court in 1598-9 A.D. As the Rev. H. Heras has pointed out, Du Jarric mentions that Venkata "had married two of his (Ōba-Rāya's) daughters." (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 496, *f.n.* 2 and 3). In that year, according to the Tirumalāpura grant, Venkata had four queens, Venkatāmba, Rāghavāmba, Peda-Ōbamāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmba, the identical names which appear in the Kudligi Sringēri-*math* grant of 1586-7 A.D. As *both* Rāghavāmba and Pin-Ōbamāmbika are mentioned in the earliest grants, they ought to be treated as two different queens and not as one as suggested by H. Heras. (*Ibid* 496). So, these four must have been the earliest wedded queens and of the two others, Krishnāmba became queen after sometime later in 1586-7 A.D., while Kondāmbika, another daughter of

Gobbūri-Ōba was added somewhere about 1601-2. The Editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* and the Rev. Henry Heras suggest, (see *Sources*, Introd. 20 and *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 496) that Venkatāmba of the *Rāmarājīyamu* and the copper-plate records is identical with Bāyamma mentioned in Barradas' letter as the daughter of Jaga-Rāya. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). It is true "any lady could be called Bāyamma in Telugu" or even in Kannada. But the honorific addition of Bāyi or *Bāyamma* is not usual in connection with Telugu names of women. Nor is *Venkatābāyamma*, which would be the form it would take if Bāyamma is added to Venkatamma, *Amma* and *Bāyi* together being meaningless. It is, however, possible that Venkatamma belonged to a Kannada speaking family or being the senior-most queen—her name being mentioned in all grants and in the *Rāmarājīyamu* being *first* in the list—was commonly known, out of respect, as merely *Bāyamma*, which would be the equivalent of "The Lady," "Her Ladyship" or "Her Highness." There are two other ladies referred to as the wives of Venkata by Barradas. One of these is described as the sister of Narpa-Rāya (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 225) whose identity is unknown.

The father-in-law of the king, Gobbūri-Ōba, appears to have wielded considerable influence at his court. (Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 409-10). This inference seems to follow both from inscriptions and from the Jesuit letters of the time. He was the son of Gobbūri-Tirumala, who in 1579 A.D., is recorded in an inscription from Kunnattur, in the Chingleput District, to have made a gift for the merit of Venkata I. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; App. B. No. 255). He is also said to have granted two villages in 1584-85 A.D. to the Triplicane temple. (*M.E.R.* 1903-4, App. A. 237). He (Gobbūri-Ōba) is also referred to in the Triplicane inscription of Venkata I (*M.E.R.* 103-4, Para 25; and *M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56; No. 332 of 1909) as Mahāmandalēsvara Koppūri Ōbu-Rājayyadēva-Mahārāju. His identification with Ōba (Ōbala)-Rāya of Barradas' letter was first suggested by Mr. Krishna Sāstri. (*M.E.R.* 1909-10, Para 56). But this identification seems to require revision. Gobbūri-Ōba had, it would seem from certain Jesuit letters quoted by the Rev. Henry Heras, two (or perhaps three) sons. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 498-9). One of these may be the "Ōba-Rāya," who is described Venkata's "brother-in-law." Evidently one of Gobbūri-Ōba's sons was also called "Ōba (or Ōbala) Rāya" after himself, which is not uncommon in certain Hindu families. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223; Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 498-9). It was to this Ōba's daughter that Chikka-Rāya, the putative son of Bāyamma, was married by Venkata I, (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). Gobbūri-Ōba, according to the Jesuit priests of the period, was all powerful with Venkata. His word was obeyed throughout the State. "A refusal of any officer," writes Du Jarric, "would have been equivalent to signing his death sentence, such was Ōba-Rāja's power." He was treated with marked respect by the king and his influence was resented by the Dalavāi and others. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 499). The suggestion of the Rev. H. Heras that his influence declined after 1606 A.D., probably on account of Rāghavāmba's death, is unfounded, for Rāghavāmba, was, as we have seen above, quite different from Pin-Ōbamāmba and both are mentioned as queens in the earliest grants of Venkata, dated in 1586-7 and 1589 A.D. Probably he died in or about 1606 A.D., and so we do not hear of him in the Jesuit letters after that year. His son, the Ōba-Rāya of Barradas, because of his sister Ōbamma, became even more powerful after his death, because of the great influence queen Ōbama (identical with Peda-Ōbamāmbika) wielded on the king. Indeed so great was her influence that Father Laerzio, in a letter dated 25th November 1611, says that the "king has handed over the Government to one of his wives and a brother of hers. These two are by no means friendly towards the Fathers, and even less friendly to the Portuguese." (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 501). Pulicat had been granted to her "for a dowry by the king," wrote Hippon, the English captain in the same year (August 1611), and "so she at her own pleasure sets a Governor or Governess as she pleaseth" over it. (*Ibid*, 501-2). Though the Jesuit priests do not give her name but call her simply "the queen," Floris actually mentions her by name, as *Ōbama*. She has been identified with Peda-Ōbamāmbika by the Rev. H. Heras. This seems correct; but as she was the daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja it is difficult how she came to be described as the sister of Ōba-Rāya, the son of Gobbūri-Ōba. The latter could not have been "the brother of hers" as mentioned by Father Laerzio. Ōba-Rāya should have become powerful on account of his relationship and also probably because he was or was soon to become the father of Venkata's putative son Chikka-Rāya. This was why he became so powerful after the death of his father, in or about 1606. Venkata I got his putative son, Chikka-Rāya, married to Ōba-Rāya's daughter, according to Barradas, "to satisfy Ōba-Rāya, his brother-in-law."

Barradas' story of the putative son Chikka-Rāya.

Though he had six wedded queens, Venkata I had no issue by any of them. His senior queen, Venkatāmba, anxious to secure the succession, pretended, according to the story of Barradas (first made known to the public by Mr. Sewell in his *A Forgotten Empire*, 222-230) to have given birth to a son, who was really a child born to a Brāhman lady of her apartment. Venkata was evidently aware of the fraud but "for the love he bore for the queen," also dissembled "and made him Chikka-

Rāya" or Crown Prince. But "he never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the Palace" at Chandragiri, "nor ever allowed him to go out of it without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company with the queen." When he arrived at his fourteenth year, he, however, "married him to a niece of his, doing him much honour so as to satisfy Ōba-Raya, his brother-in-law." If he was 14 years at the time of his marrige, and if his marriage had been celebrated a couple of years before Venkata's death in 1614 A.D., then we may have to set down his birth to about 1598 A.D. or so, which is also the date suggested by the Rev. H. Heras. (*The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 503). If this be so, the statement of Queyroz that he was born in 1611 A.D. during the siege of San Thome by Venkata, seems incorrect. (*Ibid*, 448 and 503, quoting Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, 309).

Venkata's attitude towards his putative son raised suspicions in the minds of his nephews as to the succession. Tirumala II, who had been superceded by Venkata, was not personally liked by Venkata. Though spoken of by the Jesuit Fathers in their letters dated in 1600 and 1604 as "the heir of this kingdom" and as "the Crown Prince," one of them, writing in 1608, states that Venkata did "not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala." His aversion for him was so great that he could not tolerate him even as Viceroy at Seringapatam. Though at one time popular and liked by the nobles, his cause was evidently given up by them towards the close of Venkata's reign. By then Venkata's affection for Srī-Ranga III had grown so great as to make it plain, in the treatment he accorded to him, that he intended him to be the heir. He was called Chikka-Rāya and was brought up in his own Palace. Even Venkatāmba, the senior queen, who was partial to her putative son, gave up all hope of securing the succession for him on account of the adverse attitude of the nobles by about 1599, when probably Srī-Ranga III became Crown Prince. So at least Anquetil du Perron states. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 504, *f.n.* 5).

Last years of his life. Nomination of Srī-Ranga III as his successor.

The last few years of Venkata's rule were evidently marred by domestic intrigues regarding the succession and consequent unhappiness, to himself. He is spoken of in the Jesuit letters of the years 1607-1613, as "very old" and as doting at times, with the result that "those who govern the kingdom do always what they like." His death was expected "at any moment" in March 1613 and with it the breaking out of "dissensions" in regard to the succession. However, his death did not occur until about October 1614. As he was about to pass away, he confirmed the nomination of Srī-Ranga III as his successor. The deathbed scene is thus vividly described by Barradas ;—

> "Three days before his death, the King, leaving aside, as I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Rāya, in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Rāya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger,

shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 20,00,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, which was worth more than 6,00,000 cruzados, his ear-rings, valued at more than 2,00,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Rāya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed. While some rejoiced, others were displeased."

Spread of Srī-Vaishnavism.

Reference has been made above to the influence of Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Venkata I and the great influence he wielded at his court. He was a staunch Srī-Vaishnava teacher and writer. He and others like him (*e.g.*, his grandson Singarāchārya, Tirumala Srīnivāsāchārya, Kandala-Appalāchārya, Kandala-Bhāvanāchārya, his son Srīnivasāchārya, Kandala-Dēva-Rājāchārya, Tallapāka-Tirumalāchārya, the great composers and many others figure during the period as preceptors of the chiefs of the period) popularized Srī-Vaishnavism and made it the catholic religion it has become. With the temporary transfer of the capital to Tirupati, after the debacle of 1567, and its subsequent location at Penukonda, not far away from it, the importance of Tirupati greatly increased as a religious centre. For long famous in Srī-Vaishnava history as a place connected with the modern resuscitator of that religion, its importance had increased since the days of the powerful Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and his son-in-law Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whose regard for this temple was great. Krishna-Dēva's interest in it is attested to by his gifts and by the existence of his own statue in it in a deeply reverent attitude. Achyuta and Sadāsiva were great devotees of the God at Tirupati. Their successors of the Āravīdu Dynasty became greater devotees of this temple. The statues of Tirumala and Venkata I at Tirupati and their coins and copper-plate grants, show unmistakably their regard for this temple, and its famous presiding deity; nay, their very names betray their love and reverence for it. Venkata's grants are, indeed, openly declared to have been made before god Venkatēsa at Tirupati and his signature at their foot is "Srī-Venkatēsa" in Kannada characters. Since the days of Sāluva-Narasimha I, the maintenance of feeding houses for Srī-Vaishnava Brāhmans at Tirupati had become a royal pleasure, if not duty. The feudatories and the minor chiefs of the Empire followed in the wake of the Emperors. The feeding house maintained by Vēlūgōti Yāchama has been referred to above. The feudatories also contributed towards the beautification of Tirupati by the construction of temples, *gōpuras*, *mantapas* and the like. Matla Tiruvēngala, for instance, built, as we have seen, the *gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple at Tirupati. Venkata's own grants to it include one, made in 1606, to provide offerings of rice to the God. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 91). Another record refers to the grant of a village to Brāhmans, the village being renamed Tirumalāmbāmpura. (*Catalogue of C.-P. grants in the Madras Museum*, 54). We have interesting references to the great popularity the place enjoyed at about this time and to the animated life one saw in it during this period, in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers who passed and repassed it in their visits to Venkata I at Chandragiri. "The city of Tirupati," says one of these, dated 20th November 1598, "is very large and beautiful, and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pirmal (Perumāl), is for these heathens what Rome is to us. Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to the temple." (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, X, 219; see also H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 315).

The Tirupati temple and Srī-Vaishnavism. The *Venkatēsa Mahātmya*.

It was probably during this period that the temple received attention at the hands of a literary personage. This was Venkatārya, son of Krishnarāja, who wrote the

Venkatēsvara Mahātmya, in glorification of the shrine and its deity. His work is mostly legendary, but contains crumbs of historical detail which deserve careful sifting. According to the legend as narrated in the work, the Tirupati Hill was originally part, or mythologically, the son of Mēru, named Venkatāchala, or the Venkata mountain. Sēsha, the great serpent, and Vāyu, the God of wind, disputing pre-eminence, tried their strength upon this mountain, when Vāyu blew it to the Deccan along with Sēsha, who had coiled himself round it to keep it firm. After the recovery of the *Vēdas* by Vishnu as Varāha, (hence perhaps the Varāha seal of the 4th Dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings), he found Sēsha engaged in devotion on the mountain, and at his request consented to reside there, bringing the Krīdāchala or mountain of pleasure, and the different sacred reservoirs from his Vaikunta, his own heavenly abode,—hence the different holy spots at this place are termed Sēshāchala, Kridāchala, Varāhatīrtha, Svāmi Pushkarani, etc. Afterwards, at the request of the Gods, who complained of the fatigue of seeking him in all parts of the universe, Vishnu consented to remain here with Lakshmi, or as Srī-nīvasa, or the abode of Srī, or Srī-Svāmi, the lord of Srī. Amongst the pilgrims, was, it is said, Dasaratha, who obtained sons, Rāma and his brothers, by worshipping here, and Kārtikēya, who expiated here the sin he incurred by killing Tāraka. The first temples were, it is narrated, built by Tondamān Chakravarti in the beginning of the *Kali* age, and the annual ceremonies were then instituted. Vishnu having sent his sword and discus to assist his brother-in-law Vasu, whose sister, an incarnation of Lakshmi, the daughter of Ankusa-Rāja, he had fallen in love with and married, he became confounded with Siva, until the time of Rāmānuja, when the temple at Tirupati was once more made a Vaishnava shrine by that teacher. In order to effect this transformation, he is said to have agreed with the Saivas to leave in the temple, a *conch* and a *discus* and a *trident* and a small drum, and the temple being closed for a night, it was found, on being re-opened, that the image had assumed the two former, *i.e.*, the insignia of Vishnu. The great temple is said to have been built by a Yādava prince, about 1048 A.D. and the later Chōla princes, and the sovereigns of Vijayanagar are recorded as among its chief benefactors. They are said to have constructed an infinite number of temples, pavilions, shrines, choultries and reservoirs on the hills, in the vicinity of the temple. All these are objects of great veneration, and a numerous pilgrimage. Vishnu is said to be worshipped here under five forms—Srī-Venkatāchalapati, which is the principal; Malaiyappa (or Utsava-mūrti) the diety taken in procession on ceremonial occasions; Srīnivāsa, a recumbent figure, highly popular with the masses; Kolavubari, who is supposed to preside over the daily occurrence; and Venkatēsvara, who is brought out once a year on the Kausika Dvādasi day. Besides the daily ceremonials, there are several occasional observances held during the year. The resort of pilgrims is most numerous at the period of the Dasara, which usually comes off between September and October. (See Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 254-55).

The elements of truth in the *Mahātmya*.

Such is the story told in the *Mahātmya*. It does seem to contain a few historical truths. Thus the founding of the first temples on the Hill are attributed to Tondamān Chakravarti. Evidently the reference is to a Pallava king or kings, from whom have descended the present day Tondamān kings. As a matter of fact, there has been discovered at the ancient temple at Tiruchchānur (popularly known as Chiratānur), not far away from the Tirupati Hill, a detached stone built into the floor, at its entrance, with a record dated in the 51st year of the Ganga-Pallava king Vijaya-Danti-Vikramarāja. It registers the gift of a lamp by one Ulaya-Perumanār to the shrine of Tiruvilangōyil in Tiruchchōgunur in Kudavūr-nādu, a sub-division of Tiruvadākōttam. (*M.E.R.* 1904, App. B. No. 262 of 1904). As Mr. Venkayya has stated that the initial date of Dantivikramavarman takes us roughly to 760 A.D., the record of his 51st year would mean 811 A.D. A record of his grandson Nripatūnga has been found at Rēnigunta, not far away from Tiruchchānur, while another of his son Nandivikramavarman has been found at Tiruvallam. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 13). These records would go to show that this part of the country was in the effective possession of the Ganga-Pallavas in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., to which at least the Tiruchchānur temple goes back. Tiruchchōginūr is called Tiruchchōganūr in certain later records, while the form Tiruchōginūr is also known. These forms of the names of the place do not appear to confirm the tradition that connect it with the sage Suka but seem to justify the statement that the original shrine here was that of Chokkanātha or Sundara-rāja Perumāl, whose temples were pulled down about 1600 A.D. or so and to which the records quoted herein belonged. Apparently the place possessed both a Siva and Vishnu temple, the latter being the Chokkanātha shrine, and the former, being the Tiruvilangōyil, in favour of which the gift above mentioned was recorded. Mr. Venkayya, however, has taken a different view and has identified the temple pulled down as that of Ilangōyil, " the house of the young king " or the shrine of Subrahmanya and has nothing to say as to how the temple came to be called Sundararāja Perumāl. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 10.) Thus there seems to be some justification for supposing that the temple pulled down had shrines, for both Vishnu and Siva. That Mr. Venkayya felt a doubt in the matter as to whether there was only one "Shrine" at the place is evident from the following remark of his:—"The *temple or at least the shrine* which has been pulled down was apparently known in ancient times as Ilangōyil." He then adds:—"In one of the Tanjore inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājarāja (*S.I.I.* II, No. 66) reference is made several times to the Tiruvilangōyil temple at Kadambur. Here there is nothing to prove absolutely whether Tiruvilangōyil was a Saiva or a Vaishnava temple. The Tamil work *Periyapurānam*, which gives an account of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, mentions the Ilangōyil at Miyāchchur, which must be Saiva. Again, in the Nallur grant of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, published by me (*E.I.* III, 126, verse 24), Yālangōvil, which is a popular form of Ilangōvil, occurs as the name of a Siva temple. The word Ilangōyil means 'The house of the young king' and may be taken to denote a shrine of Subrahmanya. Thus there is reason to suppose that the shrine in the Tiruchchānur temple which has been pulled down was originally called Ilangōyil, and was therefore Saiva. From the earliest hitherto discovered inscription of the place (No. 262 of 1904, above referred to), it appears that this shrine was built as an accompaniment of the temple at Tirupati, known at the time as Tiruvēngadanātha-Perumānadigal. Perhaps this can be taken to support the popular belief that the deity at Tirumala was originally Siva. This suggestion has been hotly disputed. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, I. 471, under *Tiruchchanur*). As has been remarked above, there might have been two shrines at this place, one dedicated to Vishnu and another to Siva. Though this might have been so, the *Venkatēsvara Mahātmya* itself would seem to suggest that Vishnu usurped the temple on the Hill when it states that he married the sister of Vasu, who had been born as the daughter of Ankusa-Rāja and became confounded with

Siva until the time of Rāmānuja. The Ankusa-Rāja referred to here is evidently some Chēra king, for the Chēras had the Ankusa for their symbol (when the Chēra king Ravivarman Kulasēkhara conquered the Pāndya king Sundara-Pāndya, who ruled between 1276-1290 A.D., he marked his records with the figure of a *fish*, the emblem of the Pāndyas, surmounted by an *ankusa*, which was his own symbol). (See *M.E.R.* 1911; Para 40, App. C. Nos. 33 and 34). Evidently he was a Vaishnava king. The conversion of the temple from that of Siva to one of Vishnu is attributed in the *Mahātmya*, through the intervention of Rāmānuja, to the fulfilment of a divine desire to that effect. Probably this Vaishnava appropriation occurred when the Yādava prince, referred to in the *Māhātmya*, rebuilt the temple in 1048 A.D. This Yādava prince is probably Vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāya, who is referred to as a feudatory in the inscriptions of the Chōla kings Kulōttunga and Rāja-Rāja III. There were two chiefs of this name, one was Tirukālatti-Dēva, and another, his son Vīra-Narasimha-Dēva. Both claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya family. An inscription of the 34th year of Vīra-Narasimha is in the Venkatēsa temple on the Tirupati Hill. This temple was rebuilt by him in his 40th year. (*E.I.* VII, 25). Another record of his son Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāja, dated in his 8th year, is also to be seen on the Tirupati temple.[1] (See *ante* under *Chōlas*, Kulōttunga-Chōla III; also *M.E.R.* 1889, Nos. 58, 61 and 71 of 1889; and 714 of 1904 for inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha Yādava-Rāya; and *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 173, 181-2, 191, 196 for those of Tirukālatti-Dēva). As a number of records of Tirukālatti-Dēva come from the Kālahasti temple, his agnomen *Tirukālatti* should perhaps be taken to indicate his or his family connection with Kālahasti. The record of his son Vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāya at Tirupati shows that he was a contemparary of

Kulōttunga III, who ruled between 1178 and 1218 A.D. and the rebuilding should have taken place about the close of the 12th century A.D. At the rebuilding of the temple, a number of the old records of the earlier Chōla kings—of the days of Rāja-Rāja and Rājēndra-Chōla—were replaced by modern and faulty copies. (*M.E.R.* 1889 April Para 3 and Appendix). The date as given in the *Mahātmya* (*i.e.*, 1048) seems too early by more than a century. The further statement in it that Chōla and Vijayanagar kings endowed it and added to its buildings is also fully confirmed by the numerous inscriptions found in it showing benefactions from the days of Rāja-Rāja, Rājēndra-Chōla, Kulōttunga I, Sāluva-Narasimha, Krishna-Dēva-Rāya and others, some of whom have not yet been identified. (See *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, I, 472-475 No. 9 A to 21). It would thus seem that the *Mahātmya* is not far wrong in its statements, though it is overladen with legendary matter. Vēnkatārya, the author of the *Purāna*, had evidently some data before him before he composed it. His work has been a great favourite and is religiously read and expounded to large audiences to this date during the ten days of the Dasara festival in Southern India. It has thus been able to spread the name and fame of the God at Tirupati all over the country and helped to make it more popular than ever.

Other Vaishnavite centres and the spread of Srī Vaishnavism.

Another important Vaishnavite centre of the period was Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District. A number of records register gifts to this temple between 1585 and 1609 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 53). A record dated in 1617 A.D., dated in the reign of Venkata I (this is one of those which refers to Venkata as the reigning king, though he was dead in 1614 A.D., owing to the civil dissensions of the period and the uncertainty that prevailed as to the kingship), refers to one Gangapa-Nāyaka, as the governor of Srīgiri-Mandala. In Krishna-Dēva-Rāya's time, Srīsailam was the head-quarters of a Governor. After the reverse sustained in 1565 A.D., and the advance of the Muhammadans, the head-quarters was shifted to Venkatagiri-nagara, modern Venkatādripalem, just on the border of the jungle. In the temple of Chennakēsava at this place, Venkatādripalem appears as a more important place than now. Its ruins of tanks, etc., also testify to its former greatness. The temple of Chennakēsava (called Chennarāya in the records) was built by Gangapa and provided for by him by the grant of certain villages in the Dūpati-Sīma. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Para 54; App. B. No. 424 of 1923). The founding of a Vishnu temple on the way up to the great Srīsailagiri shows the tendencies of the times. Wherever the influence of Vijayanagar kings of this period spread, there, Srī-Vaishnavism was sure to get a foothold. With the growth of Srī-Vaishnavism, the deification of its founder was continuing. Thus a record dated in 1602-3 A.D., found in the Perumāl temple at Madura, refers to the temple of Bhāshyakāra that had evidently been built at it. (*M.E.R.* 1907-8; Para 82; App. B. No. 607 of 1907 dated in 1601-2; App. C. No. 36 of 1908 dated 1602-3). As before remarked, shrines in honour of the great teacher and commentator became very common during the period of Āravīdu Dynasty, thus attesting to the great popularity Srī-Vaishnavism enjoyed at the time. Indeed, it might be said that in the reign of Venkata I Srī-Vaishnavism reached its high water-mark in South India.

Introduction of Christianity: 1533-4 A.D. Robert De Nobili's methods and their failure, 1606-1660.

It was during such a period, when Srī-Vaishnavism was throughout Southern India at the height of its power and influence, that the first serious attempt to spread the Christian gospel was made. A more inopportune period could not well be conceived of. Xavier reached India in 1538 A.D., when Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya was the king.

The settlement of St. Thome had been founded sixteen years before his arrival. He passed through San Thome in 1545, when Sadāsiva had been reigning for two years. About the end of 1533, or the beginning of 1534, the Paravas on the Fisheries Coast were being oppressed by the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura would or could not help them. The Paravas got into touch with the Portuguese at Cochin. There they were well received by Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, the Portuguese captain, who promised to take up arms against the Muhammadans and to take the Paravas under the protection of the Portuguese nation on condition of their all becoming Christians. They agreed to this proposal and they were shortly after baptized. (See H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 119 and authorities quoted therein). Thus, there were already Christians in the South before Xavier even reached India. (*Ibid*, 151 *f.n.* 3). In the reign of Venkata I, about 1606 A.D., a bold attempt was made by Robert De Nobili to convert high class Hindus at the very capital of the Nāyak king of Madura. Joining the Society of Jesus in 1597, in the 19th year of his age, he reached Goa in 1605. He was posted to Madura in 1606. Starting with the idea that the people of this country were "rich and brave in war" but have "no knowledge of the true God," he adopted the customs of the people of the country and donned the robe of a *Sanyāsin*, lived like a high class Brāhman, undergoing physical difficulties of no ordinary kind. He even declared himself a Brāhman and admitted none but Brāhmans into his service. He learnt Sānskrit, Tamil and Telugu. He had the prescience to see that he should not attack the Gods the people worshipped, if he desired to win them over to his faith. He tried the more noble method of securing first their esteem and affection and then placing before them the truth of his own religion. But he failed —and failed to the last degree. Though he laboured on till 1660, well into the reign of Venkata II, the Vijayanagar king, and Tirumala-Nāyak, king of Madura, he achieved not the ambition of his life. The high class people would not touch him and he would not give up his methods, though he tried them with a rare persistency for 56 years of the best part of his life-time. It has been suggested that his failure was due to internal opposition, the opposition of a brother missionary (Father Fernandez) who objected to the very fundamentals of De Nobili's methods as cutting at the root of Christianity. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *Nāyaks of Madura*, 107). There may be some truth in this suggestion. But the true cause lay deeper. It was the strength, the vitality and the ever absorbing character of the great religion, De Nobili, in the guise of a Brāhman *Guru* from Rome, sought to attack. At the time we are writing of, that religion had been presented to the people in the catholic form of Srī-Vaishnavism, which properly understood, knows, in actual practice, no distinction between man and man in the eyes of God. And what is more, it had been accepted and had spread and was spreading throughout the South. It was suited to the soil, to the people and to the conditions prevailing in the country and against it Christianity which readily levels down but does not as readily help to level up, and which to the Hindu mind, as a religion, is philosophically unsatisfying and socially unedifying, could not have even a chance. With his death in 1660, De Nobili's methods, earnest but spectacular, died a natural death ! Nobody has revived them for the sacrifice it requires is truly great without any compensating advantanges.

Venkata's death.

Venkata died "three days" after the "proclamation" of Srī-Ranga III and six days after his re-nomination on his deathbed. The exact date of his death has been fixed from the writings of Floris and Du Perron somewhere about the middle of October 1614. (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 507-8). According to Barradas, Venkata was sixty-seven years old when he died. The place of his death is not known definitely, though it is just possible he died at Vellore, where he was latterly staying. (*Ibid*). Barradas thus describes briefly but graphically the *sati* performed by his three queens:—

> "Three days later the king died at the age of sixty-seven years. His body was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods, sandal, aloes, and such like; and immediately afterwards three queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the king, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity."

According to Floris, one of the three queens referred to above was Ōbamma (Peda-Ōbamāmbīka) the queen of Pulicat. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, 338).

Records of Venkata I after 1614 A.D.

Though he really died, as above mentioned, in October 1614 A.D., there are a few inscriptions which though dated after 1614 A.D. mention Venkata I as still the ruling sovereign. Thus there is a record from T.-Narasipur dated in Saka 1537, *Rākshasa*, or 1615 A.D., in the reign of Venkata I, registering a grant by Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur 116). Similarly another which comes from Challakere, also dated in 1615 A.D., in which he is mentioned as still ruling over the Empire. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 25.) A third comes from the North Arcot District, dated in *Saka* 1538, *Nala*, or A.D. 1616. (*M.E.R.* 1920-21, Para 54; App. B. No. 112

of 1921). This record has been wrongly attributed in this report to Venkata II, who did not begin to reign before 1630 A.D. Two records from Atmakūr, also dated in 1616 A.D., mention Venkata I as the ruling king. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 196; *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, II, 1079, No. 263). Finally there is a record dated in 1617-18 A.D., the latest known for Venkata I, which also comes from Nellore. It records a private grant and describes Venkata as still seated on his diamond throne, ruling the earth. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 454, Gudur 112). All these records do not, as a matter of fact, belong to the reign of Venkata I. They appear to be dated in his reign owing to the uncertainty created by the civil war that broke out after his death. In accordance with well established practice, grants were, during periods of civil strife, recorded in the name of the sovereign last known to have actually ruled the Empire.

An estimate of his rule and character.

Venkata I undoubtedly proved himself a great and beneficient ruler. He was perhaps the greatest of his dynasty. He was energetic, active and intrepid in the affairs of State. The manner in which he suppressed Muhammadan invasions and regained the lost territories marks him out as a born ruler of men. He was a wise diplomat as well. His fame had spread far and wide and his friendship and alliance was sought, in the hour of his need, by the Sultān of Bijāpur as much as by the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa against the imperialistic designs of Akbar. He seems to have restored the greatness of the Empire as it was in its palmiest days—a century before—when the great Krishna-Dēva-Rāya ruled. Like Krishna-Dēva, he befriended the Portuguese, and incidentally learnt what he could from them; like him, he was for keeping the invaders at bay; and like him, again, he was for keeping a magnificient court, at which poets and religious teachers vied with each other in philosophical and other disputations. He was tolerant to a degree and the almost brotherly feeling he showed towards the foreign priests and painters and the active personal interest he evinced in their religious discourses and work indicate the breadth of his outlook and the culture which he possessed. Though an ardent Vaishnavite and devout as a disciple of his *guru* Tātāchārya, he would not yield to him in his crude criticism of Christian teaching or cruder objections to Christian artistic productions. The answer he gave to learned Brāhmans who questioned as to a panel of Christian pictures he hung in his study was characteristic of him. "This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also," he said by way of mild rebuke, "comes from their country. If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?" (H. Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 491, quoting from Coutinho's letter dated 11th November 1607). His bounty, generosity and kindliness of disposition are testified to in numerous inscriptional records and in the writings of the Jesuit Fathers. The Italian painter Fontebona describes him as a "lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European." (*Ibid*, 509, quoting from Fontebona's letter dated 11th November 1607). As to his generosity, while one of his copper-plate grants states that "he was a wishing tree to the poor" and "a munificent giver like Kubēra," Father Coutinho characterises him as "very liberal." His numerous grants confirm this trait in his character while the actual instances quoted by the Jesuit priests at his court show that by instinct he was charitable and kindly towards those frequenting his court or working under him. Nothing brings home this better than his affection for and the treatment of the Italian Lay brother, Fonetebona. He was, besides, a discriminating patron of literature and art. The close interest he evinced in the work of the

European painters shows that he was endowed with a sense of the beautiful that was, probably, unique in his times.

The Rev. H. Heras has, in the full length portrait he has drawn of Venkata I, pointed to three notable flaws in his character. The first of these is the part he took in the murder of Sadāsiva-Rāya, which he sets down to him. The second is his practical handing over of the Government to his queen Ōbamāmbika during the closing years of his life, which, in his opinion, opened the way for the revolution that followed his death. And the third is his discarding of Tirumala II, whom the nobles and feudatories desired to be king, and his nomination of Srī-Ranga III in his place. Whatever its object, it was never realized, nor did it even give general satisfaction. As Barradas pithily sums it up, "while some rejoiced, others were displeased." The anticipated civil war broke out and hastened the break up of the Empire. Venkata was directly, though unintentionally, responsible for this sad result. He would seem to have re-built the lost Empire only to lose it again.

The criticism seems, on a closer examination of facts, to be somewhat overdrawn, if not exactly harsh. While no defence whatsoever is possible for the part Venkata evidently played in the assassination of King Sadāsiva-Rāya, so long as there is any doubt as to its actual perpetrators, Venkata I, who certainly did not immediately benefit from it, cannot be held responsible for it. His alleged retirement from Government comes mainly from Portuguese sources, and their statement, though made by them without reservation, has to be taken *cum grano salis.* They had their own grievances against the queen, who had allowed the Dutch a footing at Pulicat. Venkata's part in this matter is not open to criticism. Nor is the queen's either, for the position taken by her was that of the now familiar "open door" in matters of trade. The Portuguese desired an exclusive monopoly of it but their case was weak from every point of view. Venkata and the queen stoutly refused admission to the English also at Pulicat. This shows that their objection was based on principle and policy and not mere love of lucre. The chagrin felt by the Portuguese at the queen (Ōbamāmba) in this affair was great and their descriptions of her and the king appear to have been coloured by ill-feeling, which they could not well disclose though they actually felt it. The Jesuit Fathers also seem to have felt poignantly the tenacity with which the king stuck to the queen in this and other matters. Venkata was evidently a strong and well disciplined king, who, while he was kind, courteous, and generous to a degree, could afford to stick to his decisions, once they were justly taken, and not budge from them for any reason whatever. Finally, as to his predilection for Srī-Ranga III which, in the opinion of the Rev. H. Heras, led directly to the civil war which followed Venkata's death, he suggests that its real object was "to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne," evidently by the circuitous route of inviting trouble on Srī-Ranga III through a civil war. This was nothing less than the planning of the civil war by Venkata himself. This suggestion seems wholly unjust and certainly gratuitous. Venkata's love and affection for Srī-Ranga III was real, not dissembled. His dislike for Tirumala was equally real; not assumed. Tirumala was out of the question in 1614 A.D., when he would have been nearing sixty. Srī-Ranga had been brought up by Venkata under his paternal eye to succeed him. He had had training, example and goodwill. Probably he had education as well. If he did not prove a good king or could not even reign for a while, the causes for that are not far to seek. His life was cast in difficult times and he was unable to fight the tremendous odds against him. That cannot be a reason for any adverse comment on Venkata himself for his selection of

Srī-Ranga III. It was a case of *quo Fata vocant* (whither the Fates call).

His personal appearance.

Certain of his records describe Venkata I as one possessed of great personal beauty. Thus the Mangalampād grant states that his "cheeks resembled the moon" and that he "eclipsed the God of love in beauty." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, 33, verse 35). Rev, H, Heras quotes Father Du Jarric to confirm this description, "The king," he says "is quite handsome, although a little dark; his eyes are big; he is of medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion; he dresses quite nicely, and shows always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner." This description seems to be borne out by his statue in Tirupati temple. This statue is to be seen to the left of the *gōpura* of the Venkatēsvara temple, on the Tirupati Hill. (*M.E.R*, 1904, Para 9; see also *A*.S,*I*. 1909-10 Plate LXXVI for a lithotype reproduction of this statue).

His statue on the Tirupati Hill.

Srī-Ranga-Rāya III, 1614-1615 A.D.

Srī-Ranga-Rāya III, nephew of Venkata I, next succeeded to the thone. He was the second son of Rāma-Rāja III, and younger brother of Tirumala II, the Seringapatam Viceroy. He was, as we have seen above, nominated to the throne by Venkata I on his death. He was known as Chikka-Rāya, as he had been chosen as crown-prince, perhaps some years prior to the death of Venkata I. His adoption, his crowning as *Yuvarāja* and his being known as Chikka-Rāya are mentioned not only by Barradas but also in the *Rāmarājīyamu*. (See *Sources*, 244). According to the same poem, he was married to Ōbamma, daughter of Jillēla-Narasimha. (*Ibid.*) A lithic inscription dated in *Saka* 1521 or 1599-1600 A.D., which comes from Krishnasāgara, in Kunigal taluk, Tumkur District, gives him the full Imperial titles, and states that he had been "for long ruling the Empire of the Earth."

(*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 12). As Venkata was still alive in 1599-1600, Srī-Ranga could only have ruled as crown prince in the Kunigal country. As we have seen, in the time of the first three dynasties, the Sira and the Kunigal countries were ruled by a prince of the Royal family, it is possible that the custom was followed even during the time of the fourth dynasty. It is only on some such basis that we could understand this record. If he was ruling as crown-prince in 1599-1600 A.D., in the Kunigal country, it stands to reason that his nomination as Chikka-Rāya had already been decided upon more or less formally by Venkata I. The attempts of Tirumala II to regain his uncle's good-will, through the good offices of the Jesuit missionaries at Chandragiri, made in 1600 and 1606 A.D., seem also to confirm that about 1600 A.D., Srī-Ranga had been made or was about to be made Chikka-Rāya and allowed a share (probably as co-ruler) in the Government of the Empire. The Krishnasāgara record of 1599-1600 A.D., from the full imperial titles given to him, shows that the position was altering in Srī-Ranga's favour, to the detriment of Tirumala II, his elder brother. The putative son of Venkata I was also known as Chikka-Rāya, a name evidently given to him by Venkata I to please his queen Bāyamma, identified with his chief queen Venkatamma. (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 223). The latter was, as will be seen presently, raised to the throne by his uncle Jaga-Rāya. The object of the Civil war referred to below was to raise this young man to the throne in the place of Srī-Ranga III, whom, as we have seen, Venkata I had, on his deathbed, himself personally selected to succeed him.

Character of Srī-Ranga III, his weakness and want of capacity to rule.

Srī-Ranga III was obviously most unfitted to be king. Though he had been brought up under the eye of his great uncle Venkata, he had neither capacity nor daring nor even understanding enough to discern the minds of those around him. He was most ill-fated to rule over the Empire which Venkata had so laboriously re-established and administered, for over a quarter of a century. He did not vindicate the justice of his uncle's choice, and he failed most miserably even to retain his position. What is worse, he handed back the throne at the first asault on him, even without striking a blow. But for the imbecility he exhibited, he should have been a successful ruler. He had a peaceful Empire, a large and powerful party in his favour and he was in possession of the throne. Nothing more would have been required or desired by one possessing some real ability to make good his kingship. That he failed in his task is no wonder; it speaks ill of him and not of Venkata, who chose him for the throne. Nor can the nobles or the feudatories be blamed for what happened to him because some of them made his cause their own and fought for it. The restoration of the sovereignty to his son Rāma-Dēva IV was entirely their work and to them the credit of it is entirely due.

Causes of the Civil War, 1614 A.D.

It was this want of capacity and discernment that proved the proximate causes of the Civil War that commenced immediately Srī-Ranga began his reign. The first part of the story which ended in his vacating the throne and the fort (of Vellore evidently) where he was residing after his accession, is thus graphically told by Father Barradas, in a letter he wrote on the 12th December 1616, about two years after the incidents related in it took place:—

Jaga-Rāya, leader of the Revolt.

> "Then the new king began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress, but keeping others by his side; and all came there to offer their allegiance except three. These were Jaga Raya, who has six hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and puts twenty thousand men in the field; Tima Naique, who has four hundred thousand cruzados of revenue

and keeps up an army of twelve thousand men; and Maca Raya, who has a revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados and musters six thousand men. They swore never to do homage to the new king, but, on the contrary, to raise in his place the putative son of the dead king, the nephew of Jaga Raya, who was the chief of this conspiracy. In a few days there occurred the following opportunity.

"The new king displeased three of his nobles; the first, the Dalavay, who is the commander of the army and pays a tribute of five hundred thousand cruzados, because he desired him to give up three fortresses which the king wished to confer on two of his own sons; the second, his minister, whom he asked to pay a hundred thousand cruzados alleging that he had stolen them from the old King, his uncle; the third Narpa Raya, since he demanded the jewels which his sister, the wife of the old King, had given to Narpa. All these three answered the King that they would obey his commands within two days; but they secretly plotted with Jaga Rāya to raise up the latter's nephew to be king. And this they did in the manner following:—

"Jaga Raya sent to tell the king that he wished to do homage to him and so also did Tima Naique and Maca Raya. The poor king allowed them to enter. Jaga Raya selected five thousand men, and leaving the rest outside the city he entered the fortress with these chosen followers. The two other conspirators did the same, each of them bringing with them two thousand selected men. The fortress has two walls. Arrived at these, Jaga Raya left at the first gate a thousand men, and at the second a thousand. The Dalavay seized two other gates of the fortress, on the other side. There being some tumult, and a cry of treason being raised, the King ordered the Palace gates to be closed, but the conspirators as soon as they reached them began to break them down. Maca Raya was the first to succeed, crying up that he would deliver up the King to them; and he did so sending the king a message that if he surrendered he would pledge his word to do him no ill, but that the nephew of Jaga Raya must be King, he being the son of the late king.

Surrender of Srī-Ranga III.

"The poor surrounded king, seeing himself without followers and without any remedy, accepted the promise and with his wife and sons left the tower in which he was staying.

He passed through the midst of the soldiers, with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast. There was none to do him reverence with hands (as is the custom) joined over the head, nor did he salute anyone."

The crowning of Chikka-Rāya, the putative son and the imprisoning of Srī-Ranga III.

The surrender of Srī-Ranga was followed by the crowning of Chikka-Rāya, the putative son, and Jaga-Rāya calling upon Yāchama Nāyaka, the leader of the Royalists, to do homage to the new king. This Yāchama-Nāyaka was Vēlugōti Yāchama-Nāyaka. This part of the story is thus narrated by Father Barradas:—

The King having left, Jaga Raya called his nephew and crowned him causing all the nobles present to do him homage; and he finding himself now crowned king, entered the palace and took possession of it and of all the riches that he found there. If report says truly, he found in diamonds alone three large chests full of fine stones. After this Jaga Raya placed the deposed king under the strictest guard, and he was deserted by all save one captain alone whose name was Echama Naique, who stopped outside the fortress with eight thousand men and refused to join Jaga Raya. Indeed, hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began te collect more troops.

"Jaga Rāya sent a message to this man bidding him come and do homage to his nephew, and saying that if he refused he would destroy him. Echama Naique made answer that he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and, so far as destroying him went, would Jaga Rāya come out and meet him? If so, he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed!

"When this reply was received, Jaga Rāya made use of gentle expressions, and promised honours and revenues, but nothing could turn him. Nay, Echama took the field with his forces and offered battle to Jaga Rāya, saying that, since the latter had all the captains on his side, let him come and fight and beat him if he could, and the nephew would become King unopposed. In the end Jaga Rāya despaired of securing Echama Naique's allegiance, but he won over many other nobles by gifts and promises."

Yāchama's attempt to rescue Srī-Ranga III or one of his sons.

Meanwhile Yāchama-Nāyaka was not idle. His first object was to secure the release of the imprisoned Srī-Ranga III or at least one of his sons. Father Barradas writes:—

"While Jaga Rāya was so engaged, Echama Naique was attempting to obtain access to the imprisoned King by some way or other; but finding this not possible, he sought for a means of at least getting possession of one of his sons. And he did so in this manner:—He sent and summoned the washerman who washed the imprisoned King's clothes, and promised him great things if he would bring him the King's middle son. The washerman gave his word that he would do so if the matter were kept secret. When the day arrived on which it was the custom for him to take the clean clothes to the King, he carried them (into the prison) and with them a palm-leaf letter from Echama Naique who earnestly begged the King to send him one at least of the three sons whom he had with him, assuring him that the washerman could effect his escape. The King did so, giving up his second son aged twelve years, for the washerman did not dare take the eldest, who was eighteen years old. He handed over the boy, and put him in amongst the dirty clothes, warning him to have no fear and not to cry out even if he felt any pain. In order more safely to pass the guards, the washerman placed on top of all some very foul clothes, such as every one would avoid; and went out crying "*Talla* ! *talla* !" which means "Keep at a distance! Keep at a distance! (Telugu: *Avatala*-Keep out). All therefore gave place to him and he went out of the fortress to his own house. Here he kept the prince in hiding for three days, and at the end of them delivered him up to Echama Naique, whose camp was a league distant from the city, and the boy was received by that chief and all his army with great rejoicing.

"The news then spread abroad and came to the ears of Jaga Rāya, who commanded the palace to be searched, and found that it was true. He was so greatly affected that he kept to his house for several days; but he doubled the guards on the King, his prisoner, closed the gates, and commanded that no one should give aught to the King to eat but rice and coarse vegetables."

Yāchama's further attempt at rescuse by stratagem.

The partial success that attended Yāchama's efforts not only caused desertions in the ranks of Jaga-Rāya but also emboldened him to redouble his efforts in securing the escape of the righful sovereign Srī-Ranga III. What he could not easily obtain by open fight he tried to win by a stratagem, which unluckily for him miscarried at the very last moment, as success was staring the rescuers in their faces. Father Barradas' description should speak for itself, for, it is too lively to be mutilated :—

> "As soon it was known that Echama Naique had possession of the King's son, there went over to him four of Jaga Rāya's captains with eight thousand men ; so that he had in all sixteen thousand, and now had good hope of defending the rightful King. He took, therefore, measures for effecting the latter's escape. He selected from amongst his soldiers twenty men, who promised to dig an underground passage which should reach to where the King lay in prison. In pursuance of this resolve they went to the fortress, offered themselves to the Dalavay as entering into his service, received pay, and after some days began to dig the passage so as to gain entrance to the King's prison. The King, seeing soldiers entering thus into his apartment, was amazed, and even more so, when he saw them prostrate themselves on the ground and deliver him a palm-leaf letter from Echama Naique, in which he begged the King to trust himself to these men, as they would escort him out of the fortress. The King consented. He took off his robes hastily and covered himself hastily with a single cloth ; and bidding farewell to his wife, his sons and his daughters, told them to have no fear, for that he, when free, would save them all.
>
> "But it so happened that at this very moment one of the soldiers who were guarding the palace by night with torches fell into a hole and at his cries the rest ran up, and on digging they discovered the underground passage. They entered it and got as far as the palace, arriving there just as the unhappy King was descending into it in order to escape. He was seized and the alarm given to Jaga Rāya, who sent the king to another place more confined and narrower, and with more guards, so that the poor prisoner despaired of ever escaping."

His third attempt at rescue—its failure.

Thus foiled in his second attempt, Yāchama made a further one to secure the rescue of Srī-Ranga III, this time by a daring *coup de main* which he arranged for. Barradas writes:—

"Echama Naique seeing that this stratagem had failed, bribed heavily a captain of five hundred men who were in the fortress to slay the guards as soon as some good occasion offered, and to rescue the King. This man, who was called Iteobleza, (Peda Ōbalēsvara) finding, one day, that Jaga Rāya was leaving the palace with all his men in order to receive a certain chief who had proffered his submission, and there only remained in the fortress about five thousand men, in less than an hour slew the guards, seized three gates, and sent a message to Echama Naique telling him to come at once and seize the fortress. But Jaga Rāya was the more expeditious; he returned with all his forces, entered by a postern gate, of the existence of which Iteobleza had not been warned, and put to death the captain and his five hundred followers."

Jaga-Rāya orders the assassination of Srī-Ranga III and his children.

Yāchama's repeated attempts at rescuing induced decisive action on the part of the rival leader. Jaga-Rāya finally made up his mind to put to death Srī-Ranga III and all the members of his family. Barradas thus describes in pathetic terms what followed this determination of Jaga-Rāya:—

Srī-Ranga III kills his children and himself.

"Enraged at this attempt, Jaga Rāya, to strengthen the party of his nephew, resolved to slay the King and all the members of his family. He entrusted this business to a brother of his named China-obraya, (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāya) ordering him to go to the palace and tell the poor King that he must slay himself, and that if he would not, he himself would kill him with stabs of his dagger.

"The prisoner attempted to excuse himself saying that he knew nothing of the attempted revolt. But seeing the determination of Chinaobraya, who told that he must necessarily die, either by his own hand or by that of another—a most pitiful case, and one that I relate full of sorrow!—the poor King called his wife, and after he had spoken to her for a while he beheaded her. Then he sent for his youngest son and did the same to him. He put to death similarly his little daughter. Afterwards he sent for his eldest son, who was already married, and commanded him to slay his wife, which he did by beheading her. This done, the King took a long sword of four fingers breadth, and, throwing himself upon it breathed his last; and his son, heir to the throne, did the same to himself in imitation of his father. There remained only a little daughter whom the King could not bring himself to slay; but Chinaobraya killed her so that none of the family should remain alive of the blood royal, and the throne should be secured for his nephew."

Yāchama attacks Jaga-Rāya and defeats him and proclaims Rāma-Dēva IV as sovereign.

The barbarous conduct of Jaga-Rāya created a reaction in favour of Yāchama-Nāyaka. More feudatories went over to his side and he gave battle to Jaga-Rāya, presumably at Vellore, and signally defeated him. Jaga-Rāya fled with his putative nephew, Chikka-Rāya. Yāchama proclaimed Rāma-Dēva IV, only surviving son of Sīr-Ranga III as king. Barradas thus narrates these incidents in his own inimitable fashion:—

"Some of the chiefs were struck with horror at this dreadful deed, and were so enraged at its cruelty that they went over to Echama Naiqe, resolved to defend the prince who had been rescued by the washerman, and who alone remained of all the Royal family. Echama Naique furious at this shameful barbarity and confident in the justice of his cause, selected ten thousand of his best soldiers, and with them offered battle to Jaga Rāya, who had more than sixty thousand men and a number of elephants and horses. Echama sent him a message in this form:—'Now that thou hast murdered the king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops; kill him and me, and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne!'

"Jaga Rāya tried to evade this for some time; but finding that Echama Naique insisted, he decided to fight him, trusting that with so great a number of men he would easily not only be victorious, but would be able to capture both Echama

Naique and the prince. He took the field, therefore, with all his troops. Echama Naique entrusted the prince to a force of ten thousand men who remained a league away, and with the other ten thousand he not only offered battle, but was the first to attack; and that with such fury and violence that Jaga Rāya, with all the people surrounding his nephew, was driven to one side leaving gaps open to the enemy, and many met their deaths in the fight. Echama Naique entered in triumph the tents of Jaga Rāya, finding in them all the royal insignia belonging to the old king, and these he delivered to the young prince, the son of Chica Rāya, proclaiming him rightful heir and King of all the empire of Bisnaga."

"The spoil which he took was very large, for in precious stones alone they say that he found two millions worth."

Result of these decisive steps: desertions in favour of Yāchama and Jaga-Rāya's flight.

The effect of these decisive steps adopted by Yāchama led to further desertions in his favour while Jaga-Rāya retreated to the jungles. From there Jaga-Rāya secured the aid of Muthu-Vīrappa, the Nāyaka of Madura, while Yāchama was joined by Raghunātha, the Nāyaka of Tanjore. The opposing armies were near Trichinopoly, when Father Barradas closed his letter. He has thus described the final part of his story:—

"After this victory many of the nobles joined themselves to Echama Naique. So much so, that in a short time he had with him fifty thousand fighting men in his camp; while Jaga Rāya, with only fifteen thousand, fled to the jungles. Here, however, he was joined by more people, so that the war has continued these two years, fortune favouring now one side now the other. But the party of the young prince has always been gaining strength; the more so because, although the great Naique of Madura—a page of the betel to the king of Bisnaga who pays a revenue every year of, some say, 600,000 pagodas, and has under him many kings and nobles as vassals, such as he of Travancor—took the side of Jaga Rāya, and sustained him against the Naique of Tanjaor. Yet the latter, though not so powerful, is, with the aid of the young King, gradually getting the upper hand. Indeed, there are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trinchenepali not only the hundred thousand men that each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers.

"Taking advantage of these civil wars, the city of San Thome—which up to now belonged to the King of Bisnaga, paying him revenues and customs which he used to make over to certain chiefs, by whom the Portuguese were often greatly troubled—determined to liberate itself, and become in everything and for every thing the property of the King of Portugal. To this end she begged the Viceroy to send and take possession of her in the name of His Majesty, which he did, as I shall afterwards tell you. Meanwhile the captain who governed the town, name Manuel de Frias, seeing that there was close to the town a fortress that commanded it, determined to seize it by force, seeing that its captain declined to surrender it. So he laid siege to it, surrounding it so closely that no one could get out."

Date of Srī-Ranga's death, October-November 1614 A.D.

Here we may as well stop and fix the probable date of the death Srī-Ranga III. It will be seen from Barradas' narrative quoted above, that the war had "continued" for "two years" at the time the opposing armies were at Trichinopoly, when he closed his own letter dated December 12, 1616. The deaths of Srī-Ranga, his wife and children had just preceded Yāchama's victory at Vellore. This would fix their deaths at or about 12th December 1614. This date seems to be nearly confirmed by a couple of inscriptions, one of Srī-Ranga III and another of Rāma-Dēva IV. The former of these is a lithic one and comes from Venkatāpura in the Tumkur district and is dated in *Saka* 1537, *Ānanda*, *Āsvīja-ba.* 3. This date would seem to correspond to a date in or about October 1614 A.D. It gives the full Imperial titles of Srī-Ranga III and describes him as ruling the "kingdom of the world." (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 94). The record of Rāma-Dēva IV is a copper-plate grant, which comes from Anekal in the Bangalore district, and is dated in *Saka* 1536, *Ānanda*, *Kārtika-su.* 15. This date would seem to correspond to a date in or about

November 1614 A.D. This describes Rāma-Dēva with all his Imperial titles and as ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda, the recognized capital of the Empire. (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 47). It would seem to follow from these records that Srī-Ranga III ceased to rule before *Ānanda Kārtika-su.* 15, or November 1614, when his son Rāma-Dēva IV was already ruling. Srī-Ranga's death should therefore have occurred in *Ānanda*, between October and November 1614 A.D., which seems very near to Barradas' date of December 12, 1614 A.D.

His place of death probably Vellore.

As regards the place, there seems little doubt that it was at Vellore, for there is no mention made of the departure of Srī-Ranga III from that place after the death of Venkata I. Barradas also states that he was still in the "fortress" when he was attacked by Jaga-Rāya and asked to surrender. He was evidently imprisoned later at Vellore itself, from where evidently Jaga-Rāya, worsted in battle, in 1616 A.D., escaped to the jungles and from there went to Trichinopoly and re-formed his forces with the aid of Muttu-Vīrappa, the Nāyaka of Madura.

Identification of persons mentioned in Barradas' narrative.

(*a*)Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebel forces.

It is worth while identifying a few of the important persons mentioned by Barradas in his vivid narrative of Jaga-Rāya's revolution and what followed it. Jaga-Rāya himself is known as the father of Bāyamma, the queen of Venkata I and so was the grandfather of her putative son Chikka-Rāya. We learn from the Dutch records of the period that he was the brother of Yatirāja, the Governor of the Pulicat country. These records describe "Jaggaragie" as the principal nobleman at Venkata's court. (See William Foster, *The English Factories of India*, 1622-3, 106, *f.n.* for Chikka-Rāya, the putative son). He is, however, called the "nephew of Jaga-Rāya" by Barradas. Mr. Sewell has suggested by way of explanation, that he "was only a great nephew of Jaga-Rāya's by double marriage. His wife was the niece of King Venkata, and therefore by marriage, niece of the Queen Bāyamma, who was Jaga-Rāya's daughter." (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 225, *f.n.* 1). The putative son was married to a daughter of "Ōbo-Rāya," Venkata's "brother-in-law." If the identification of this "Ōbo-Rāya" with one of the two sons of Gobbūri Ōbarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja is correct, as suggested by the Rev. H. Heras (see above), then his interest in the succession of this youth seems legitimate. In this view of the matter, "Itobleza" mentioned by Barradas as the person who attempted to liberate King Srī-Ranga III from his prison was an entirely different person from this "Ōbo-Rāya," the son of Gobbūri-Ōba and father-in-law of the putative son of Bāyamma. "Itobleza" is probably a corruption for "Peda-Ōbalēsvara," which when rapidly pronounced, as it would be in conversation, becomes really "Petoblesa". The "Chinaōbrāya" mentioned by Barradas as the brother of Jaga-Rāya may be "Ōbo-Rāya", the brother-in-law of Venkata I and the father-in-law of the putative son of Bāyamma. He would be naturally interested in securing the rights of his son-in-law as against those of Srī-Ranga III, whose life he demanded. This would make Jaga-Rāya himself a son of Gobbūri-Ōba, the father-in-law of Venkata and his general. This, again, would make Gobbūri-Ōba the father of two sons as stated by the Jesuit fathers at his court. (See Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 498-99), of whom Jaga-Rāya himself would be one, the other one being "Ōbo-Rāya," the "brother-in-law," as specifically mentioned by Barradas himself. That this suggestion is not far-fetched will be evident when it is mentioned that there is a stray verse current in Telugu which actually speaks of "Gobbūri-Jagga-Rāju" and of his and his associates' inferiority to Yāchama-Nāyaka, the Royalist leader. (See *Sources* 308, verse from

Chātupadyaratnākaram). The description "Chinaobrāya" applied to the brother-in-law of Venkata by Barradas, when he speaks of him as the "brother" of Jaga-Rāya despatched by him to demand the lives of Srī-Ranga and his wife and children, would perhaps distinguish him from his own father Gobbūri-Ōba, the father-in-law and general of Venkata I. A point that deserves to be noted in this connection is that Gobbūri-Ōba had given in marriage two of his daughters to Venkata I. One of these, as we have seen, was Kondāmbika, and the other was, it has been suggested, Rāghavāmba, the name of whose father is not mentioned in any of the sources known to us. (See above). Both these also should be presumed to have been interested in the candidature of the putative son of Bāyamma, and the possibility is that his marriage with the daughter of Ōba-Rāya should have been favoured by at least three of the Queens of Venkata I. This fact should have made Jaga-Rāya's position unusually strong and it is not surprising that he was able to hold on for two years and more with a civil war which nearly broke the back of the resuscitated Empire. Jaga-Rāya has, however, been identified by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri with Kumāra Immadi Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, described as the son of Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, the minister of Rāna-Peda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāya of Chennapatna, in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, mentioned in a lithic record from Dasavāra, Channapatna taluk, dated in 1623 A.D. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 190). He has further remarked, basing his inference on this possible, (for he says, "perhaps") identification that Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the Revolution, "appears to have acquiesced in the succession of Rāma," for we find him "making a grant as Rāma-Dēva's subordinate in *Saka* 1545," (*i.e.*, one recorded in the above quoted Dasavāra inscription.) This suggestion, however, seems not well founded. For there is nothing to show that Jaga-Rāya of Barradas and the literary works quoted below and "Jaga-Dēva-Rāya" of the Channapatna record are the same. The latter evidently belongs to the same family as the Peda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāya mentioned in Ēkāmbranātha's *Jāmbavatikalyānam* and *Satyāparinayam*. (See *ante*; also *Sources*, 227-30). He belonged to the Rāna family and to the Vishnuvardhana *gōtra* according to inscriptions. The literary works referred to above, describe Jaga-Rāya as belonging to the fourth caste, whereas Jaga-Rāya of Barradas, the revolutionary leader, belonged to the Kshatriya caste and to the family of Gobbūri-Ōba. The Editor of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* has also pointed to some of these differences between the two and has suggested that these two chiefs "have nothing to do" with each other. (See *Sources*, 229). The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* also states that Yāchama, the leader of the Royalist forces, killed him at the same battle. (See *Sources*, 305). If he was killed in the battle of Topūr, which was probably fought not long after December 1616 A.D., Jaga-Rāya could not have lived, if he was identical with the Channaptna chief Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, to make the grant mentioned in the Dasavāra record (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 182) in 1623 A.D. Thus the identification is an impossible one and has to be given up.

(*b*) Echama Naique, the leader of the Royalist army.

"Echama Naique" mentioned by Barradas as the leader of the Royalist army in the Civil war, is undoubtedly the famous Yāchama-Nāyaka, the Venkatagiri chief of the time. The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* describes him as the son of Kastūriranga, son of Yacha of the Vēlugōti (or Venkatagiri) family who had married Venkatamma, daughter of Vengala, of the Kālahasti family. (See *Sources*, under *Bahulāsva-charitramu*, 304; see also *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. 1, 1465-7, under *Vengatagiri Zamindars*). His brother-in-law (sister's husband) was Chenna who, as we have seen, led the forces of

Venkata I against Linga of Vellore and defeated him and made Venkata annex his territories. (See *ante*). As will be shown below, it is probable Chenna also took part on Yāchama's side in the Civil war. The family of Yāchama was evidently deeply attached to the Imperial House, for several members belonging to it are entitled *Kāryakarta* (agent) of the ruling Emperor in the areas they served. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. 1, 1467). Thus in two records dated in 1570-1 and 1573-4 A.D. (?) Vēlugōti Timmappa describes himself as *Kāryakarta* of Srī-Ranga II in the Udayagiri-Rājya. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 822, Nellore 54, 105). His son Vēlugōti Timma is mentioned in a record dated in 1575 A.D. (*Ibid* III, 1185, Podili 27). It is extremely doubtful whether he is identical with Kōnēti Chinna Timma, who is described in a record dated in 1582-3, (*Ibid*, II, 892, *Nellore* 124), as the grandson of Rāvēlakanti Nāyaningāru and son of Tirumalayyagāru. If he can be so identified, then it would be evidence for the statement that the Vēlugōti and the Rāvela families have been intermarrying. This would be interesting also as indicating that these two families took opposite sides in this Civil war. Rāvela Venkata is, as will be shown below, mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* as having fought on the side of Jaga-Rāya and fled for his life on his defeat at the battle of Topūr. (See *Sources*, 290). A table of the Vēlugōti chiefs as gleaned from the inscriptions is given in the *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. I 1465-6, under *Family of Venkatagiri Zamindars*, but it seems impossible to identify any names mentioned in this table with that of the Yachama mentioned in Barradas' letter and in the *Bahulāsvacharitramu*. The only Yāchama-Nāyaningāru mentioned in the published inscriptions is to be found in a record dated in the cyclic year *Bahudānya* (corresponding to *Saka* 1560), or A.D. 1638-9. This inscription registers a grant by Velugōti Kumāra Chinna Timma, for the merit of Timma

Nāyaningāru and Yāchama Nāyaningāru. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Podili 40). The following revised table shows his position in the Vēlugōti family as made out from inscriptions:—

Vēlugōti-Ranga or Vēlugōti Kastūri-Rangapati Nāyaningāru (mentioned in *Nellore Inscriptions* I. 89, C.-P. No. II, dated in 1438.) (1)

Vēlugōti-Ranga, 1528-1529. (2)

Peda Timma, 1528-9 to 1533-4. (3)

Vēlugōti Kumāra Timma, 1554-5 to 1575-6 (Kāryakarta of Srī-Ranga II, (4)

Kumāra-Chinna-Timma, 1579-80 to 1583-84. (5)

Vēlugōti Peda Kondama (mentioned in records of his son and grandson. (6)

Vēlugōti Kumāra Timma, 1610-11 and 1612-13 (or Vēlugōti Timma or Vēlugōti Rājappa paturu (Rājayya partudu.)

Venkatapathi (or Venkatappa) 1612-13 to 1638-9 (identified with Yāchama Nāyaningāru of Podili 40.) (7)

Kumāra Timma 1638-9 A.D. (or Kumāra Chinna Timma. (8)

Kumāra Timma, 1766-67 A.D. (9)

Kumara Yāchama 1794-95. (10)

(1) Dated in *Saka* 1360, cyclic year *Vijaya*, which do not agree.
(3) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 5 dated in 1528-9.
(3) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 5; I Gudur 82 dated in 1533-4 A.D.
(4) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 21; Nellore 105 dated 1570-1; Nellore 54 dated in 1573-4; Podili 27 dated in 1575-6 A.D.
(5) *Nellore Inscriptions* III Podili 34 dated in 1579-80; Podili 27 dated in 1575-6 A.D.
(6) *Nellore Inscriptions* I Atmakur 40 dated in 1610-11; Rapur 60 dated in 1612-13.
(7) *Nellore Inscriptions* III Rapur 18 dated in 1522; I Atmakur 35 dated in 1612-13; many grants in 1638-9 I Gudur 40 dated in 1614 A.D.
(8) *Nellore Inscriptions* II 119 dated inl 638-9, III Podili 40 dated in 1638-9.
(9) *Nellore Inscriptions* II Kanigiri 9, dated in 1766-7.
(10) *Ibid* III Sulurpet 18, dated in 1794-95.

It will be seen from the above table, that the inscriptions of Venkatapati, son of Vēlugōti Kumāra-Timma, range from 1612 to 1639 A.D. There is independent evidence to believe that Yāchama-Nāyaka lived only up to about 1639 A.D. That he was still alive seems certain from a letter dated 20th October 1622 from the Pulicāt factors Thomas Mill and John Milward (at Pulicat) to the Masulipatam factory, in which they refer to "our old friend Cheminique" and intimate that he was advancing to their neighbourhood with two or three thousand men. (See William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, 133). The same factors wrote a little later, on 6th November, intimating that the forces of Yāchama-Nāyaka had advanced as far as a village close by, and fortified it, that one "Iteraja the lord of their parts" (evidently Yatirāja, the local chief), had closely besieged him and then opened fire from two pieces of ordnance (with the aid of two or three thousand gunners) both supplied to him by the Dutch at Pulicat and that the forces agreed to surrender and after negotiations they arrived at a friendly settlement of their boundaries and then both retreated to their countries. But, they add, that on the day following, the "enymie, as false as politike, whose hed hath name Ceminique, in the nyght returned with 2,000 persons and raysed again the said forte and made it something larger and hath put therein, 500 persons, and soe remaines himself neare in company with 10,000, his being, within three miles of Pallicate." (*Ibid* 139). There is scarcely any doubt that "Cheminique" or "Ceminique," the person referred to as the head of the forces which occupied the earthen fortress 3 miles off Pulicat in 1622, was Yāchama-Nāyak. According to a note of Mr. Foster (see *Ibid* 139, *f.n.* 2), Mr. Swinton has suggested the identification of this name with that of "Chennappa-Nayak, the father of the chief from whom the English obtained the site of Fort St. George." "But," he adds, "another surmise is that he was the Echama Naique, who in 1614-16 was fighting with Jaga-Rāya on behalf of King Ranga IV. (See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 226-31)." The latter identification seems correct, for "Cheminique" and "Ceminique" approximate more to "Yāchama Nāyak" than to "Chinnappa-Nāyak"—in the former there is only an elision of the initial vowel in the name "Yachama," which is natural, whereas in the latter the omission of "apa" from "Chennappa" cannot be so easily accounted for. The Podili lithic record quoted above (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Podili 40, dated in 1639 A.D.) records a grant to a Jangama priest "who worships at Kūdali Sangamēsvara," by Vēlugoti Komāra-Chinna-Nāyaningāru and Yāchama-Nāyaningāru "for the religious merit of Timma Nāyaningāru and Yāchama-Nāyaningāru," the first of whom was his grandfather, identifiable with Vēlugōti Kumāra-Timma of the above table, who was also known as Vēlugōti-Timma or Vēlugōti Rājayya-Patudu (*i.e.*, Rājayyapātrudu), and the second was his father, identifiable with Venkatapati of the above table. The nature of the grant shows that he should have died in or about 1639, in which year it is dated. Numerous inscriptions show that Venkatapati (or Yāchama-Nāyak) was a distinguished member of the Vēlugōti line. Though his name does not appear in the family pedigrees of the Venkatagiri family given by Messrs. Boswell (*Manual of Nellore District*, 713) and Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 240) he deserves to be remembered not only for the loyal services he rendered to the Imperial cause in 1614 A.D. against Jaga-Rāya but also for the interest he evinced in encouraging irrigation in the country subject to him. In the single year 1638-9, we find twenty-five grants to irrigation works. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, App. I, 1466). That Venkatapati had also won renown as a soldier is indicated in a record dated in 1612-13 A.D. (*Ibid* and I. Atmakur 35). In this lithic inscription, Venkatapati is described as the "conqueror of the territory of Panchapāndya, who is an Arjuna in war," perhaps, because, he had fought in favour of the then ruling King, Venkata I, in his war against the Madura Nāyak, who was then ruling over the Pāndya country (the country of the five

Pāndyas referred to in the record). It is probable he took part in Venkata's war against Vīrappa-Nāyaka of Madura, which according to the Pudukkōttai plates of Srī-Vallabha and Varatrungapāndya, Venkata I undertook in 1583 A.D., (see Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archælogical Series*, I; 61-88, at 63 and 84) and in which he defeated Vīrappa-Nāyaka at the battle of Vallamprakāra. It is remarkable that except in Podili 40, Yāchama is in all other records called Venkatapati and Venkatayya in one record. It is possible that Yāchama is another form of Venkata; it is also possible that Yāchama was his alternative name and that he was more familiarly known by that name, though the name Venkata was used in formal documents, like grants and gifts. The *Bahulāsva-charitramu* describes him as the son of Kastūri-Ranga, the son of Vēlugōti Yacha of the Vēlugōti family. The table of inscriptions above set forth shows he was the son of Kumāra Timma. The disparity is only apparent and not real, for we know that the original progenitor of the Vēlugōti family was Kastūri-Ranga, who as already stated above, is met with in a copper-plate grant dated in 1438-9 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, I, C.-P. No. 11, dated *Saka* 1390, *Vijaya*, which however do not agree. See also *Lists* II, 242). The author of the *Bahulāsva-charitramu* probably meant that Yāchama was descended from Kasturi-Ranga and no more. He also states that Yāchama had two brothers named Ranga and Singa and a sister named Akkamma, who married Chenna, the chief who defeated the Vellore Linga-Nāyaka, son of Chinna Bommu-Nāyaka. Inscriptions, so far discovered, do not refer to any of these persons. Even the Jesuit letters of the period, do not, as we have seen above, refer by name to Chenna but speak of the leader of the forces that led the expedition against Linga, as the Dalavāi of Venkata I. But the *Bahulāsva-charitramu* is probably correct in stating it as Chenna for that work was written by Dāmarla Vengalabhūpāla, a member of the Kālahasti family which was connected by marriage with the Velugōti chiefs, who lived during the reigns of Srī-Ranga II, Venkata I and Rāma-Dēva IV. (See *Sources*, 304-307). It, however, mentions that he lived in the reigns of Rāma-Rāya I and Srī-Ranga-Rāya III, which seems a mistake for Srī-Ranga III and Rāma-Dēva IV. There is evidence in the poem itself, which chronicles the events of the civil war that followed the death of Venkata I, that he lived through it, though it lasted in the earlier part of the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV as well.

(c) Timma-Naique and Māca Ranga.

Two other persons mentioned by Barradas as having actively co-operated with Jaga-Rāya in the rebellion are "Timma Naique" (Timma Nāyaka) and "Maca Raya" (Māka-Rāya). They had both refused to do homage and had subsequently taken part in the imprisoning of Srī-Ranga III, Māka-Rāya actually seizing him and delivering him over to Jaga-Rāya. There is no further reference to these two chiefs in Barradas' letter, though Māka-Rāya is mentioned in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* as one who fought on the side of Jaga-Rāya at the battle of Topūr. (See below.) He is also mentioned in a stray verse which praises the virtues as a military leader of Yāchama as against Jaga-Rāya and Rāvela Venku. (See *Sources*, 308). This verse states that a crore of Jaga-Rāyas, seventy crores of Māca-Rāya's father (*i.e.*, not merely Māka-Rāja but he who gave birth to him, an abusive phrase indicating absolute inferiority) and one lakh and sixteen Rāvilla-Venkus (the name is so transformed, evidently with the purpose of indicating the feminine spirit he showed on the battle-field at Topūr, from which he is said in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* to have fled, having lost courage after the defeat inflicted by Yāchama) put together would not be a match to Yācha, who bears the title of *Ibbara Ganda*, just as any number of goats joining together would not be a match for the tiger. (*Ibid*). This "Māka-Rāja" is probably the Sāluva Māka-Rāja-Tirumala-Rājayya-Dēva, who is described in a record, which comes from Nārāyanavanam, in the Chittoor district, dated in *Saka* 1544, *Raudri*, corresponding to 1622 A D., as ruling the country round Nārāyanavanam in the reign of Venkata II. He was probably the Sāluva chief of Kārvētinagar who rose to prominence about the time of this record and who displayed the Sāluva emblem of the boar with the dagger. (See *M.E.R.* 1911-12 Para 60 App. B. 377 of 1911). In another record dated in *Saka* 1545, *Dundhubi*, corresponding to A.D. 1623 (*Ibid*, No. 376 of 1911), he calls himself the son of Srī-Ranga-Rāja and grandson of *Mahāmandalēsvara* Kattāri-Sāluva-Māka-Rāja. From this it has been inferred that his name Māka-Rāja Tirumalayyadēva has to be interpreted as meaning Tirumalarāja, grandson of Māka-Rāja. Another record from Nārāyanavanam, dated in the cyclic year *Pramādicha*, refers to a grant as being in the Kālashti temple by Kattāri Sāluva Māka-Rāja Bomma-Rāju-Dēva-Mahārāju. (*Ibid*, No. 382 of 1911). This name indicates that Bomma-Rāju-Dēva was another grandson of Māka-Rāja. Though no *Saka* date is mentioned in this record, the cyclic year corresponds to *Saka* 1597, or A.D. 1675. The Māka-Rāja who was evidently the ally of Jaga-Rāya was thus a Sāluva chief and has to be identified with Tirumalarājayyadēva (or Tirumalarāja) who was chief of Kārvētinagar in 1622 A.D. There is no doubt he survived the battle of Topūr, for the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Rāmabhadrāmba actually states that he fled from the battle with Rāvilla Venku and others. (See *Sources*, 290). Of him, Barradas states, he had a "revenue of two hundred thousand cruzados" and mustered "six thousand men." The Sāluva chiefs of Kārvētinagar were connected with the Matla chiefs, as cousins, both being descended—or at least claiming descent—from the ancient Chōla king Karikāla. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Paras 60 and 70). There is no clue to the identity of his other associate Timma-Nāique, who was probably a bigger chief as he is said to have enjoyed an annual revenue of four hundred thousand cruzados and kept an army of twelve thousand men. He might, however, be identified with Tima-Nāyudu, son of Sāyappa-Nāyudu, who is described as ruling over the Nāgalūti country in a record dated in *Saka* 1546, *Rakthākshi*, corresponding to 1624 A.D., in the reign of Rāma-Dēva IV. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. No. 53 of 1915).

(*d*) Rāvilla Venkata.

The Rāvilla Venkata mentioned above was evidently a member of Rāvēla (or Rāvūla or Rāvilla) family, which was quite an old one in the Nellore District. The earliest member of it, Rāvilla Nāyakkan is mentioned in a record dated in the 12th year of Rājarāja-Dēva, which would mean about the 11th Century A.D. (*Nellore Ins.* III, Sulurpet 6). The Rāvilla Venkata mentioned should be identified with the Rāvūla Venkatappa (or Venkatapathi) son of Vēngalappa, mentioned in a record dated in 1616-17 A.D. (*Ibid*, I, Gudur 112). He received a village as an *amaram* from Venkata I. From another record dated in 1645-6, it is known that he received Kodur as an *amaram*. He evidently survived the Civil War by at least 30 years. His son Rāvūla Vēngalappa is also mentioned in Gudur 112 (See *Nellore Ins.* III, app. I, 1461).

(*e*) Narpa-Rāya.

Another chief mentioned by Barradas as having joined Jaga-Rāya is Narpa-Rāya. He is identical with Narapa-Rāju mentioned in Vīra-Rāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhyudayam* as an ally of Jaga-Rāya, in the Civil War. (See *Sources*, 260). Barradas speaks of him as the brother "of the old king" Venkata I. Though a number of Narapa-Rājus are known to inscriptional records, there is none known to them during the period covered by the reigns of Venkata I, Srī-Ranga III and Rāma-Dēva IV. (See *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, Cudappah 508; Guntur 181-3; Kurnool 340; Nellore 504; 429; and Nellore 684). But the *Rāmarājīyamu* mentions a Jillēla-Narapa, whose daughter, Tiruvēngalāmba, was married to Chinna-Venkata, one of whose sons was Srī-Ranga, the Srī-Ranga VI of the genealogical tables. (See *Sources*, 311). This was probably the chief who, according to Vīra-Rāghava-Nāyaka's *Ranganāthābhyudayam*, fought on the Royalist side against Jaga-Rāya and his associates, including the Narapa-Rāya mentioned by Barradas. (See *Sources*, 260, 262). This Jillēla Narapa-Rāju should have been a different person from the Narapa-Rāju of Barradas. He might have been another member of the same family, either a brother or a cousin. This suggestion seems to receive some support from the manner in which this particular person is mentioned in the text, where it reads "Nandēla Chitrāju Naraparāju," which might perhaps be taken as describing one person rather than two as suggested by the translator. (See *Rāmarājīyamu* in *Sources*, Text, 262 and Translation, 260). If this view proves acceptable, we would have evidence of the fact that this Narapa-Rāju belonged to the Nandēla family and that he was really the second member in that family who was known by that name, *Chitrāju*, meaning only "little Rāju." We know that Venkata I had married two ladies from the Jillēla family. One was Ōbamma, the daughter of Jillēla Ranga-Rāja and another was Krishnamma, the daughter of Jillēla Krishna-Rāja. (See *Sources*, 243). Jillēla Narapa, the brother-in-law of Venkata, should therefore have been a brother—the sequel shows he was a brother and not merely a cousin—of Jillēla Ranga and Jillēla Krishna, who were perhaps brothers. Evidently the sympathies of Jillēla Narapa of Barradas were with the putative son, though both his brothers do not figure in the Civil War.

The civil war a fratricidal war in its origin.

The Jillēla family, like the Gobbūri, was thus closely connected with the Āravīdu Royal family from the days of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, to its end. (Indeed an inscription in Sadāsiva's reign dated 1551-2 A.D., states that he granted to Srīmān Mahāmandalēsvara Jillēla Rangapati-Dēva-Mahārāya, the village of Pāmulapādi for his granting it to another as *umbali*). Venkatādri's grandson Gōpāla was married to two ladies, of whom one was Timmamma, the daughter of Jillēla Ranga and another was Vēngamma, the daughter of Gobbūri Giriyappa. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu* 222). It would thus seem that Gōpāla and Venkata, I were co-brothers. Similarly, Peda-Venkata the son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, married the daughter of Gobbrūi Ōba, evidently a sister of one of the wives of Venkata 1; while his younger brother Chinna-Venkata married, as stated above, Tiruvēngalāmba, the daughter of Jillēla Ranga, and became also a co-brother of Venkata I. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 310-11). There seems therefore small wonder that the representatives of the Gobbūri and Jillēla families supported the candidature of the putative son—who was himself married to a daughter of the Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebels in the Civil War. But there is, however, one interesting point to remember in this connection and that is, that Srī-Ranga III himself was married to Ōbamma, the daughter of Jillēla Narasimha, who should have either been a brother or cousin of Jillēla Narapa and Ranga. Rāma-Dēva VI had married Kondamma, the daughter of Gobbūri Yatirāju. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 244-45). This Gobbūri Yatirāju was probably a cousin or brother of Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya, who figures as a leader on the other side. It was against Srī-Ranga III and his son Rāma-Dēva IV that the civil war was fought. While there might have been reason for Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya to fight for his son-in-law, the putative Chikka-Rāya, one would have expected

Jillēla Ranga and Narapa to have sided their brother or cousin Jillēla Narashimha, the grandfather of Rāma-Dēva IV. But, as a matter of fact, they did not do so. They, on the other hand, fought against him. In a word, the fight was between brother and brother, at first between Jillēla Narasimha and his son-in-law Srī-Ranga III, and then with his grandson Rāma-Dēva IV, who had married a Gobbūri chieftain's daughter, assisted by Yāchama and others on the one side and Jillēla Ranga and Narapa, sponsoring Gobbūri Jaga-Rāya and his son-in-law, the putative Chikka-Rāya, assisted by a number of chiefs. Evidently both the Jillēla and the Gobbūri families were houses divided against themselves and they could not stand. This fratricidal aspect of the war, in fact its—poetically speaking—epic character, is strikingly brought out by the author of *Rāmarājīyamu*, (see *Sources*, 244-6) when he compares the members forming the contending parties to the different heroes mentioned in the war of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus Rāma-Dēva IV and the Yāchama brothers who espoused his cause and fought for him are likened to one set of epic heroes :—

Rāma-Dēva IV	*to*	Yudhīshthira.
Singa-Nripati, younger brother of Yāchama	*to*	Bhīma.
Yāchama Rāyappa	*to*	Arjuna.
Ranga Ayyana, elder brother of Yāchama	*to*	Nakula.
Chenna, brother-in-law of Yāchama	*to*	Sahadēva.
Their other allies	*to*	the king of Vīrāta, Pānchāla and other countries.
Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore	*to*	Krishna.

It should be noted here that the *Rāmarājīyamu* refers to Yāchama as merely Rāyappa, the honorific suffix, either as a mark of respect or because he was, after the civil war, in which he had greatly distinguished himself, known as Rāyappa. Ranga is similarly referred to as merely *Ayyana*, entirely because it is a shortened form of *Rangayya*. Another point to note is the suggestion that Singa-Nripati, Rāyappa, Ayyana and Chenna were the brothers of

Rāma-Dēva IV, since they are likened to the five Pāndava heroes of the epic. This suggestion wholly seems out of question for two reasons. First, because Rāma-Dēva's brothers were all dead at a very early stage of the war, long before the final fight took place. According to Barradas' account and according to *Raghunāthābhyudayam* of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka and Rāmabhadrāmba and the *Sāhityaratnākara* of Yagnanārāyanadīkshita, Srī-Ranga III and all his sons, except Rāma-Dēva IV, had been killed by Jaga-Rāya. (See *Sources*, 244 *f.n.*, also 255-7; 260-4; 273-84; and 289-90). The Civil War, indeed, assumed the proportions it did because of the barbarities and excesses committed by Jaga-Rāya. Secondly, because it is clear beyond the possibility of any reasonable doubt that the names of the five persons as given in the *Rāmarājīyamu* refer to Rāma-Dēva IV and his four staunchest allies, whose names as given in this poem entirely tally with those of Yāchama and his two brothers and his brother-in-law, Chenna, as mentioned in the *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, in which there is evidence that Chenna also fought in the civil war. It is specifically stated in this poem that he fought against the Nāyak of Madura, whom it calls "the Pāndya" and says that he put him to flight. (See above; also *Sources*, 334-5).

On the opposite side, the enemy is thus compared:—

Chenchu	*to* Dussāsana.
Vīrappa, the Madura Nāyak-King, who was the supporter of the putative Chikka-Rāya.	*to* Sakuni.
Yāchana	*to* Salya.
Māka-Rāju	*to* Karna.
Jaga-Rāya, the leader of the rebel forces	*to* Duryōdhana.

Of the above, we know Jaga-Rāya, the father-in-law of the putative Chikka-Rāya. As he was the prime leader of the Rebel forces, he is fittingly compared to Duryōdhana. Chenchu, who is compared to Dussāsana, was Jaga-Rāya's *dalavāi* or commander-in-chief. He is mentioned in Vijayarāghava's poem *Raghunāthābhyudayam.* (See *Sources*, 263 and Text, 263). In the poem of the same name by Rāmabhadrāmba, he is called Rāyadallapi, a mistake for Rāya-*dalavāi, i.e.*, the *dalavāi* of Jaga-Rāya. Māka-Rāju, who is compared to Karna, is the Māka Nāique of Barradas' letter, in Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhuydayam* and in the stray verse we have referred to above. He has been identified as the Sāluva chief Tirumalarāju of Karvētinagar of the time. (See above). The only name that is yet a puzzle is that of Yāchana, who has been compared to Salya. His name has to be carefully distinguished from that of Yāchama, the Royalist leader. This Yāchana was one of the more important chiefs of the time who sided with the Rebel leader. His name suggests that he was from the Telugu country. It has been found impossible to identify him. An Echappa Udaiyar, who lived in the reign of Sadāsiva and made a gift to the Kōtīsvara temple in Condapoor taluk in 1546 A.D., is known. He was probably the same person as the Jain chief Gavisappa, who married a daughter of the last Kārkāla king Bhairāsu Udaiyar about 1560 A.D. (See *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II, 852, quoting inscriptions from Taylor's *List of Mackenzie's Inscriptions in Mysore, Kanara*, etc.).

The chief authorities for the Civil War.

Besides the chiefs in Barradas' letter, there were, then, others who joined one or other side and fought out a protracted war to decide the succession. The civil war is referred to or described in some detail in the following contemporary authorities:—(1) Barradas' letter already quoted; (2) Venkayya's *Rāmarājīyamu* (see *Sources*, 244-46); (3) Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, a Telugu drama written by Vijayarāghava, son of Raghunātha Nāyaka, whose interference decided the fate of the war in favour of Rāma-Dēva IV. (*Ibid* 254-9; also 264-66). This drama embodies a report of what happened on the battle field at Topūr, which, being dated in 1617-18, is of great interest and value. (*Ibid* 259-64). (4) Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita's Sanskrit poem *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, the author Yagnanārāyana being a brother of Gōvinda Dīkshita, the minister of Achyuta and Raghunātha of the Tanjore Nāyak dynasty. His poem however breaks off in the middle. (*Ibid* 269-84). (5) Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, written by a lady-poet named Rāmabhadrāmba, who graced the court of Raghunātha-Nāyak of Tanjore. (*Ibid* 294-302). (6) Damarla Vēngala Bhūpāla's *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, a poem dedicated to Vēlugōti Yāchama, the leader of the Royalist army in the Civil war. (*Ibid* 304-8). (7) A *chātu* verse about Jaga-Rāya and Yāchama-Nāyaka, the rival leaders. (*Ibid* 308). (8) Methwold, in his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda*. (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, A.D. 1626, 993).

Continuation of the Civil War: part played by the Madura and Tanjore Nāyaks in it.

The account of the Civil war given by Barradas shows that the scene shifted rather suddenly to Trichinopoly, by about the middle of December 1616, and concludes with it. It does not, however, throw any light on the reason why Jaga-Rāya, after his flight to the jungles, repaired to Trichinopoly and as to the circumstances under which the two great armies came to face each on its plains. During the reign of Vīrappa Nāyaka, 1572-1595, the beginnings of enmity between the Nāyak rulers of Madura and Tanjore made itself felt. In the former campaign, Venkata I had been assisted by Achyutappa-Nāyaka of Tanjore. Vīrappa was defeated at Vallamprākāra and compelled to submit to Venkata. Again, about 1595, he became irregular in the payment of his tribute and an army under Tirumala II, the Seringapatam Viceroy, was sent against him. He was once again forced to submit. (See *ante*). Four years later, his son and successor Krishnappa-Nāyaka II, witheld the tribute and rebelled. Venkata I took personal command of the campaign with the active aid of his general Mātla Ananta, obtained his unconditional surrender and levied a heavy fine on him, besides collecting the arrears of tribute due. (See *ante*). This severe punishment kept his son and successor Muthu-Krishnappa maintain a loyal attitude towards his sovereign and even sent an embassy in 1608 to the latter with the tribute. (See *ante*). His inscriptions, so far, recognize the Imperial Sovereignty. About 1610 A.D., this recognition was no more conceded to it, as some inscriptions indicate. (*M.E.R.* 1907 No. 123 of 1907; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 293). This was probably due to the waning influence of the Imperial House, during the last years of Venkata I. Muthu-Vīrappa, who ascended the throne in 1609, became irregular in the payment of the tribute, sometimes even refusing it, as a Jesuit letter of the year puts it, in insolence. Payment had to be enforced by a regular army sent for the purpose. (See *ante*). One of these expeditions occurred in 1610, probably led by Mātla Ananta, and Muthu-Vīrappa was reduced to subjection and compelled to pay up his arrears. (See *ante*). Muthu-Vīrappa's family never forgave the Nāyak family of Tanjore for the help the latter had rendered to the Imperial House in reducing it to subjection. Muthu-Vīrappa, about the close of 1611, attacked Achyutappa-Nāyak of Tanjore. The cause of the war is not known. Probably Achyutappa had helped Ananta against Muthu-Vīrappa in the last war and after Ananta's departure, Muthu-Vīrappa attacked Achyutappa. (See Heras, *The Āravīdu Dynasty*, 361-2, quoting a Jesuit letter dated in December 25, 1611). The death of Venkata in 1614 and the beginning of the war of succession evidently came in opportune moment to Muthu-Vīrappa of Madura. Jaga-Rāya, on his signal defeat at Vellore, evidently proceeded direct to Muthu-Vīrappa and sought his aid. Perhaps he winked at the possible permanent excusal of the tribute and the formal recognition of his independence, if he should effectually aid the putative pretender's cause. There is no reason to suppose that Muthu-Vīrappa would not have taken some advantage at least of the position to which the Imperial House had been reduced on the death of Venkata I, especially when he could, with the aid of a friendly emperor, bring to terms Achyutappa of Tanjore. It was evidently with this frame of mind that Muthu-Vīrappa determined to help Jaga-Rāya and throw in his lot with him. As a first step in the carrying out of the cause he had evidently made his own—it should be remembered that the *Rāmarājīyamu* makes him the Sakuni of the war, Sakuni being the evil counsellor in the great Epic—he transferred his capital in 1616 to Trichinopoly, "with," as we are told by an independent authority, Leon Besse, "the object of making war with the King of Tanjore." (*La Mission Du Madurē*, 3, evidently basing the statement on unquoted Jesuit letters). There is hardly any doubt that the primary objects of the transfer of the capital and the army to Trichinopoly seem to have been in fact three in number: (*a*) to make it the base of operations against Achyutappa of Tanjore, who had joined the Royalists, a purpose for which Trichinopoly was certainly better fitted than Madura, being closer to Tanjore and a convenient centre for all the allies to reach from the North, East and West; (*b*) to eventually make Trichinopoly the capital of a new and enlarged kingdom, including Tanjore, for which it was well-situated; and (*c*) to assert his independence like Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore, of the Imperial House and cease paying the tribute. The author of the *Sāhityaratnākara*, who was the son of the minister of Achyutappa and had thus direct knowledge of the truth of affairs, makes it perfectly plain that Muthu-Vīrappa had been, ere this, without any reason whatever, entertaining a feeling of hostility towards him. He had, he asserts, concluded alliances with Sōlaga, a neighbouring chief in the coastal regions who had an evil reputation for his cruelty (see *ante*) and with Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyak of Gingee, evidently with a view to attacking Achyutappa. Achyutappa, seeing the strength of the coalition, was waiting for an opportunity. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272-3). Meanwhile Raghunātha, son of Achyutappa, who had already distinguished himself in repelling an attack on Penukonda, the Imperial capital, and had taken a prominent part in obtaining from him the release of Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Gingee, and been honoured by Venkata I, had grown up to manhood's estate. The times were such that they required an younger man to be at the helm. On the advice of his minister Gōvinda Dīkshita, Achyutappa installed his son, so that he might conduct the impending war with diligence and vigour and himself retired to Srīrangam, there to end his days in pious meditation. (See *Sources*, *Sāhityaratnākara*, 273. See also Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 286). Hardly had the coronation of Raghunātha been brought to a close, than news arrived of the latest movements of the enemy. As Muthu-Vīrappa and his allies had come to an understanding and were about to proceed against Achyutappa, they had been joined by Jaga-Rāya, a relative and a servant of Venkata I, who had treacherously assassinated the Emperor Srī-Ranga III and his near relatives. (See *ante*). The *Sāhityaratnākara* gives a brief account of this story of the assassination, while Rāmabhadrāmba in her *Raghunāthābhyudayam* gives a more detailed one. The former states that the murder of the Emperor was carried out one night by Jaga-Rāya and his friends while on a visit to him as if for some act of service, and while he was asleep along with his children and friends; that they were joined by the Drāvida, Chēra, and Pāndya chiefs, (*i.e.*, the Madura Nāyak and others); and that the noble Yācha had rescued one of the Emperor's sons by a stratagem and was then proceeding to him for help. (See *Sources*, 273 and 278). *The Raghunāthābhyudayam* fully confirms the story as told by Barradas—the surrounding of the palace by Jaga-Rāya's troops, the massacre of the Emperor, his wives and his children, the skilful rescue of the boy-emperor at dead of night by a washerman, and the fight that some grateful officers had put up for his cause. Raghunātha was requested, by the envoys who carried all this news, to take up his cause and rescue the Empire *once again* as he had done *once before* and to destroy Jaga-Rāya and his party. The *Sāhityaratnākara* mentions the name of the rescuer of the only surviving son of the late emperor as Yacha, *i.e.*, the Yāchama Nāyaka mentioned by Barradas. This nobleman was, it is said, proceeding with other chiefs, to Achyuta for help. Achyuta, it was added, was to effect a junction with Yacha and the young emperor (Rāma-Dēva IV) before Muthu-Vīrappa and his allies met the troops of Jaga-Rāya at Srīrangam, as arranged between them. (See *Sources* under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 273). So says the *Sāhityāratnākara*, which seems quite credible. Rāmabhadrāmba gives a poetic touch when she says in her *Raghunāthābhyudayam* that Jaga-Rāya and his allies had effected a junction with the Nāyaks of Gingee and of Madura and with their armies, were scouring the country for the late emperor's son in order to capture him and put him to death. (See *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 289). Perhaps the truth was that when the news first arrived at Raghunātha's capital, the junction had not yet been effected and that by the time Raghunātha could order his troops, the junction between Jaga-Rāya and Muthu-Vīrappa had been effected at Srīrangam and they had moved on towards Topūr (modern Tohur, about two miles off from the Grand

Anicut, on the south bank of the Cauvery), which they had made their head-quarters. (*Ibid* 289). The *Sāhithya-ratnākara* adds that to prevent Raghunātha from effecting a junction with Yācha, Muthu-Vīrappa (whom it always calls the Pāndya King) had cut off the Grand Anicut. Neither the *Sāhityaratnākara* nor the Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam* furnish any details as to those who joined the combatants except in a general way. The *Sāhityaratnākara* states that Jaga-Rāya had been joined by the Drāvida, Chēra and Pāndya kings, which, except for the assistance rendered by Muthu-Vīrappa (called the Pāndyan King) seems vague, if not altogether, poetical. Rāmabhadrāmba speaks of Jaga-Rāya, and his party as the traitors of the Empire, which, though true, is not explicit. She, however, refers when describing the battle of Topūr, to the Gingee ruler, (the ruler of *Tundira, i.e.*, Tondamandalam,) Rāvila Venka, Māka-Rāja and to Rāya Dalavāi Chenchu. They were evidently helped by a contingent of Portuguese gunners, probably from Ceylon, as they were inimical to Raghunātha, who had espoused the cause of Sangili Kumāra. There is an interesting description of their appearance and accoutrement in the *Sāhityaratnākara*, including their especial preference for liquor. (See *Sources*, 273). (See also *Sources*, 287, *f. n.* quoting F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, viii.; also H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 111-12). Sangili was ruling in the name of the king in 1615, but he was subsequently captured and sent to Goa, where he was tried and executed. Two attempts were made by Raghunātha of Tanjore in 1620 and 1621 as suzerain to recover the country from the Portuguese, but he failed. Vijaya-rāghava-Nāyaka's poem *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, however, gives a long list of thirty-two chiefs, mostly hailing from the Telugu country, who joined the side of Yāchama, the Royalist leader. (See *Sources*, 260). Among these were

Konēti Kondarāju; Ōbalarāju, called *Māma*, probably maternal uncle of Rāma-Dēva IV; Srīgirirāju, the chiefs of Kāluva, the chiefs of Cudappah, Balumūri chiefs, the chiefs of Madura, the Reddis of Kamban, Kondavīdu and Kondapalli and others. This list may be taken as reliable, as it is given by Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, whose statements in the poem he has left us, have been fairly confirmed in other respects by independent sources.

Royalist plans to divide the enemy and defeat them.

Rāghunātha was evidently at the head of the allied forces assisted by Yāchama and Yāchama's brother-in-law Chenna. His plan was first to break up the coalitions between Muthu-Vīrappa and Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Nāyakas of Madura and Gingee and Sōlaga, the island chief, and then attack Muthu-Vīrappa and Jaga-Rāya and his allies and defeat them. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 274; Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 288). With this end in view, he made suitable arrangements for the administration of his capital and set out along the banks of the Cauvery to Kumbakōnam, where evidently he effected a junction with the forces of Yāchama and Rāma-Dēva IV, the Emperor. (*Sources*, under *Sāhityaratnākara*, 274). Yāchama should have travelled from Vellore *via* Tiruvannāmalai, Villupuram, Porto Novo, a town that had been recently built by Krishnappa, the Gingee Nāyak, Māyavaram and thence to Kumbakōnam, where he awaited the junction of his forces with those of Raghunātha. He could not have travelled *via* Jalarpet, Salem, Erode and Trichinopoly, because at the last of these, the large army of Muthu-Vīrappa was concentrated and there was, at any rate, his military depôt. From there, he marched direct on Sōlaga's head-quarters and called on him to surrender. Sōlaga defied and held out. Raghunātha ordered the construction of a bridge of boats and himself crossed over to the island on an elephant. He then laid siege to the fort, but the garrison offered a stout resistance. Evidently Sōlaga hurled stones and even opened fire on the invaders. Raghunātha, not to be baffled, redoubled his efforts and took the fort by escalade. Sōlaga tried to escape but was taken prisoner. His life was mercifully spared but being considered too dangerous to be liberated, was kept a prisoner. Krishnappa-Nāyaka made good his escape to Gingee. (See *Sources* under Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 288. See also *Sāhityaratnākara*, 272, which also states that the attack on Sōlaga took place just before the attack on Jaga-Rāya and as a preliminary to it).

The attack on the Portuguese in Ceylon.

According to Rāmabhadrāmba's poem, an attack in favour of Sangili was made at about this time by Raghunātha against the Portuguese in Northern Ceylon. But this incident seems misplaced here, as it appears to have occurred in 1620 A.D. (H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 111-2). But as there was more than one attempt in 1615, probably this was one of those smaller attempts which the Portuguese chroniclers have not noted. There can be no doubt, however, that the Portuguese had proved unfriendly and that they had gone over to the side of Muthu-Vīrappa. They had been dislodged from Negapatam, but they had crossed over to Ceylon, which had since the Chōla days been dependent on Tanjore. Raghunātha is said to have built a bridge of boats and crossed over to the island and attacked the Portuguese forces which took to their ships. He reinstated his ally and left a garrison in charge of Jaffna. (See *Sources* under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 289). If this attack did really take place in 1616 or 1617 A.D., then it should have been intended to show that Raghunātha resented the interference of the Portuguese not only in the affairs of the island of Ceylon, over which he claimed suzerainty, but also against their helping the rebel leader Jaga-Rāya and his ally Muthu-Vīrappa, the Nāyak of Madura. Probably a fleet was organised for this purpose and a detachment was sent across the seas on this expedition.

The attack on the rebels: their preparations at opūr.

Meanwhile Jaga-Rāya and Muthu-Vīrappa, having heard of the preparations of Yāchama and Raghunātha, made preparations to give battle to them on their advance. (See *Sources*, Rāmabhadrāmba's *Ragunāthābhyudayam*, 289).

Raghunātha, the chief leader of the Allied forces, and his advance on Topūr.

It was the year *Nala*, the month of *Āsādha* and the fifth day of the bright fortnight, corresponding to about the 21st July 1617 A.D. (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 259). Raghunātha left his camp at the village of Palavanedi and mounted his elephant and marched in battle array attended on either side by his officers and followed in the rear by Rāma-Dēva and his large retinue of (thirty-two) chiefs with their forces. (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 259-60). Barradas states that each side had 100,000 men besides as many as a million of soldiers in reserve. (See Barradas' Narrative in Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 230). According to Rāmabhadrāmba, the army evidently wended its way westward to Topūr, modern Tohur, not far away from the Grand Anicut, where the enemy had breached the Anicut and were awaiting Raghunātha's advance. (See *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 289). The Royalist troops opened the attack on the Rebel forces facing them, the scene resembling, in the words of Rāmabhadrāmba, the meeting of the eastern ocean with the western. There was an artillery duel between the two contending armies, the artillery on the rebel side being almost to a certainty in the hands of the Portuguese in their ranks. (See *Sources*, 273). After

The battle order.

that, the cavalry of Raghunātha proceeded in semi-circular formation and attacked the enemy, closely followed by his infantry which proved irresistible. Muthu-Vīrappa unable to withstand the attack, broke and fled from the field. Jaga-Rāya then advanced and opposed the Royalist forces. A fierce attack followed and Jaga-Rāya was killed by the spears of Raghunātha's infantry. Jaga-Rāya's troops were utterly destroyed and Muthu-Vīrappa, terror-stricken and anxious for the safety of his own territory, fled a league homeward, leaving his elephants, horses and treasury and *harem* in his camp. Krishnappa-Nāyaka also fled from the field to the utter disgust of his officers. Seeing the rout, Rāvella Venka (Venkata) fled along with the others; so did Māka-Rāja, who had reached the field in a braggart spirit. Chenchu, Jaga-Rāya's *dalavāi*, left the field in utter dismay. (See *Sources*, under Rāmabhadrāmba's *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 290, which seems to be based on credible information). According to Vijayarāghava's poem, however, Muthu-Vīrappa fought until all his officers fled. He then would seem to have dismounted his horse and fled from the field leaving behind him his camp, *harem*, and treasury. (*Ibid*, *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 260). In other respects, his statements, as incorporated in his work, agree with those made in Rāmabhadrāmba's work. In the latter, it is added that Muthu-Vīrappa was eventually taken prisoner and brought before Raghunātha, who gracefully spared his life. He accepted Muthu-Virappa's daughter in marriage to himself. (See *Sources*, 290 and 260). To mark his victory, Raghunātha rebuilt the Anicut that Jaga-Rāya and his allies had destroyed, "with the skulls" of the slain enemy, and set up there a pillar of victory on the spot detailing his glorious deeds. (*Ibid*, 274, 290). He returned to his capital in triumph. (*Ibid*, 260, 291).

The rebels defeated and dispersed. Flight of Muthu-Vīrappa.

Death of Jaga-Rāya.

Flight of other chiefs.

Capture of Muthu-Vīrappa. His life spared.

Krishnappa-Nāyaka, the Gingee Nāyaka, rallies his forces and renews the attack but is repulsed.

Meanwhile Krishnappa-Nāyaka, who had fled for his life, collected together some of the chiefs and preferred to hold out. A detachment was sent against them and Raghunātha awaited their return at Panchanada (Tiruvaiyar) near Tanjore. They took Bhuvanagiri, not far away from Chidambaram, and other fortresses. They were then attacked by Krishnappa-Nāyaka and his ally Yatirāja, who had also fled for his life from Topūr. The attack was presumably beat off by Raghunātha's generals, who evidently left Krishnappa and Yatirāja to themselves. (*Sources*, 290).

The successes of Raghunātha evidently attracted the notice of the Sultān of Bijāpur, who sent an ambassador to his court. (See *Sources*, 261).

Yāchama's part in the battle of Topūr.

Such in brief is an account of the war as reflected in the poems of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, Yagnanārāyana-Dīkshita and Rāmabhadrāmba. These make Raghunātha, the Nāyak of Tanjore, the hero of the whole war. Seeing that the *Rāmarājīyamu* calls him the *Krishna* of the war, (See *Sources*, 244) there might be reason for this prominent rôle attributed to him in these poems, which were written by his own son, his minister's son, and his court poetess. The *Rāmarājīyamu* calls Yāchama, the Arjuna of the war (*ibid*, 244) but his name is put into the shade in all these works. The *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, a poem written by Yāchama's own brother-in-law, Damarla Vēngala Bhūpāla, does him further justice. It says that it was he who killed Jaga-Rāya at the battle of Topūr and drove Muthu-Vīrappa, the Nāyak of Madura, from the field. And it exclaims, "Is there any one that can excel Vēlugōti Yāchama, in the performance of heroic deeds." (See *Sources*, under *Bahulāsvacharitramu*, Text, 306). As we have seen, Rāmabhadrāmba's poem attributes the spearing of Jaga-Rāya and his relatives to Raghunātha's infantry. (See *Sources*, 290). But the

Bahulāsvacharitramu is more definite. Yāchama, would have, as a matter of course, made the killing of Jaga-Rāya, a matter of personal honour. It may be taken, therefore, that Yāchama was personally responsible for effecting the death of Jaga-Rāya. It is undoubted that but for him the Royalist cause would not have attained the success it did.

Yāchama appears to have been regent of Rāma-Dēva until he attained majority. He attempted to attack Yatirāja, brother of Jaga-Rāya and governor of Pulicat. But the Dutch helped Yatirāja and Yāchama left the place after building a frontier fortress and garrisoning it against the depredations of Yatirāja. (See below under *Founding of European Settlements*). Probably Yāchama did the same with others, thus rounding up all the King's enemies and restoring order and peace in the land.

Did Rāma-Deva accompany Yāchama's army to the South and was he present at the battle of Topur?

According to the *Sāhityaratnākara*, Rāma-Dēva IV, the Emperor, is said to have accompanied the army of Yāchama to Kumbakonam, where the junction between the Imperial forces and those of Raghunātha, the Nāyak of Tanjore, was effected. It is also mentioned in it that Raghunātha resolved upon celebrating his coronation at that place, after effecting the junction. (See *Sources*, 274). Rāmabhadrāmba, however, does not even suggest the presence of the Emperor with the forces that had arrived from Vellore to give battle to Jaga-Rāya and his allies, the Madura and Gingee Nāyaks. It simply states that his envoys arrived at Raghunātha's court to inform Jaga-Rāya's revolution. (See *Sources*, 287). Vijayarāghava, in his work *Raghunāthābhuydayam*, agrees with Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita and states that Rāma-Dēva accompanied Raghunātha to the battle of Topur. (See *Sources*, 260). It cannot be that the statements of Yagnanārāyana and Vijayarāghava were intended to be mere poetical exaggerations indulged in by them to make Raghunātha, their hero, a much greater person than he actually was. While there is nothing serious in the way of our believing in their statements, for the presence, if anything, of the Emperor would have rallied all the feudatories on Yāchama's side, it is just a question whether Yāchama would have risked his life by making him accompany so far away from the Royal residence, and that just after overcoming Jaga-Rāya at it. Inscriptional records, however, show that Yāchama had evolved order by about the end of 1614, when we find Rāma-Dēva actually ruling (*E.C.* IX, Anekal 47) and that there was a settled government administering the Empire, and recognized in the provinces from that date onwards. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 103 dated in 1615 A.D., *E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40, dated in 1617; and Bagepalli, 75, dated in 1617). These records would seem to indicate that there was peace in the Empire except, perhaps, in the southern region and that Yāchama might have induced Rāma-Dēva to accompany him to inspire confidence in the troops and in his confederates and even to keep them steady on the battle-field. Raghunātha rated his successes in this war over the Madura and the Gingee Nāyaks so highly that he got representations of them and of his raising Rāma-Dēva to the Empire in one of his palaces at Tanjore called "*Vijaya-Bhavana-Raj.*" (See *Sources*, under Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka's *Raghunāthābhudayam*, 265). Probably they were mural paintings, for which Tanjore was at one time greatly famous.

Disastrous effects of the Civil War.

The effects of the protracted Civil War, though it confirmed Rāma-Dēva in the sovereignty, proved disastrous to the Empire. His authority was considerably shaken, though the crowning success that the Royalists attained at Topur did much to repair that damage. Several of the recalcitrants, such as Māka-Rāja, Rāvilla Venkata, and others, became reconciled to him, as their subsequent quiet careers, in their own territories, show. (See *ante* for later inscriptional records referring to them). On the big viceroyalty of Madura, it had an evil effect. The defeat that Muthu-Vīrappa suffered burnt into his soul. Almost the first act, on his accession, of Muthu-Vīrappa's brother and successor, Tirumala, was to prepare himself to shake off the Vijayanagar yoke. With this end in view, he constructed two forts on the frontier of his dominions and raised an army of 30,000 men. (Father J. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, 198). He eventually threw off the yoke and formed alliances to defy the Emperor himself. (See below). If he had adopted a different policy, the Empire would have been saved from the misfortune which befell it, and his own kingdom as well saved. The more immediate effects of the Civil War were no less serious. The devastation caused by the war, which lasted from about the middle of 1614 to about the middle of 1617, led to serious famine and this in its turn to a slave trade, which, owing to its lucrative nature, increased by leaps and bounds within the next forty years and had to be peremptorily stopped. William Methwold, who was chief of the English Settlement at Masulipatam about 1618-1630 (see W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-19, 41; 1630-33, Introd. xxxiii, and 331; 1634-6,315 and Introd. xxiv-xxv), has left on record his personal testimony on this matter. In his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda*, (Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, 993) he says:—

"Since the last king (of Vijayanagar) who deceased about fifteen years since, there have arisen several competitors for the crowne, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions or affections; from whence hath followed a continuall civill warre in some parts of the countrey, and such extreme want and famine in most of it that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the seaside, selling there a child for five fanams (noted in the margin as equivalent to 2sh. 6d.) worth of rice; transported from thence into other parts of India (*i.e.*, the East Indies) and sold again to good advantage—if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of soules."

The 'last king' referred to in the above passage is King Venkata I, and the "several competitors" is an exaggerated reference to the two competitors who fought for the throne immediately after King Venkata's death. Though the competitors were only two, there were many adherents on either side and the fight was, as we have seen, a protracted one. Mr. William Foster who quotes the above passage (see *The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, Introd. xxxviii, *f.n.*, 1) has furnished some telling extracts from the English records of the period in confirmation of Methwold's description. In a letter dated, Pulicat, July 26, 1622, Pulicat being then in the dominions of Rāma-Dēva IV, the factors there complain how the Dutch on the Coromandel coast were competing in the trade and had procured all they could, "to the nomber of four or five thousand men, woomen and chilldren, and, rather than faile, to leave ther other affaires and follow that designe; for which cause they have layd the countrey all over, standing uppon no price." "The result was," they add "that the price per slave had gone up from 4 or 5 pagodas to 12 or 14 pagodas, and even at that rate you could not get any." "Thus (this ?) their proceeding," they comment, "is much distasted heer amongst all, and if not in tyme remydied and by them forborne will caus much alteracion; for most of thos slaves brought them to sell are stollen uppon the highwayes and brough (t) forcibly from their parents and frinds; which proceeding of theirs suffiring hath caused such a feare that the people of the countrey have not theis many dayes frequented the marketts, by which meanes the towne is not furnished of thos provisions needfull as formerly. Besides, many of the people of the towne have withdrawne themselves with their wifes and children into remote places to avoyd a supposed dainger; although wee must confess the Dutch not altogether faulty, because they are brought to them to sell, so not altogether ignorant but that they are stollen; which courses being bruted abroad was much complayned of; wherefor they now proceed giveing content, causing those that sell them to bring the parties of whom they first bought them, and whosoever is found culpable looses his head; which execution hath been performed upon one already who most worthyly deserved the same, for it is a matter of conscience to be duly considered of and beffore God not allowable in this kind; but the Dutch, who, making conscience of nothing, make itt as lawful as the rest." So the factors excused themselves that they were unable to purchase the 14 or 15 slaves, aged between 16 to 20 years and fit for labour, that the President and Council at Batavia required, "but," they added, "notwithstanding when tyme shall better fitt the occasion, wee will use our best endeavors to furnish that wante." (*Ibid*, 105-6, see also 122, 141 and 147). From Dutch sources, it is understood that the competition for slaves was so keen on the coast that the Dutch were purchasing as many as they could for the purpose of peopling the Dutch Settlements in the Moluccas. (*Ibid*, 105, *f.n.*, 2). Evidently the abuses in the trade were many and serious and conscience, as the English factors complain, had no place in it. Four months later, the English factors at Pulicat made good their promise and intimated their despatch of 460 slaves from their place and another 650 from Tegnapatam, Cuddalore. (*Ibid*, 147).

The lack of a strong central government at this period became increasingly felt. The Civil War destroyed as nearly law and order as the Empire itself. The retrocession of society that occurred about this time is vividly illustrated by the open traffic in the sale and purchase of human beings for transportation, an idea unknown to India till then. As will be seen from what follows, the political set-back that the Empire received in consequence of the Civil War, practically destroyed it—both as a political and social entity. The Jesuit letters referring to this period again and again deplore the break-up that had occurred, and their strong, if not, harsh judgment of Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, is largely coloured by the view that he failed at the critical moment in maintaining the integrity of the Empire which did not actually fall for another half a century. There is hardly any doubt that the Civil War proved a nail in its coffin. Its rapid decay began with Jaga-Rāya's revolution and in another fifty years, it practically ceased to exist.

Rāma-Dēva IV or Rāmachandra Raja-Dēva IV 1615-30 A.D. (? 1633.)

Rāma-Dēva IV is styled variously in records as Rāmachandra-Rāja (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 103 dated in 1615), Rāmachandra Rāja-Dēva, (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40 dated in 1617), Rāma-mahā-Dēva-Rāya. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 204 dated in 1619), Rāghunātha-Dēva (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, C. P. No. 187 dated in *Saka* 1542 *Kālayukti*, *Saka* 1540 where taking the cyclic year as the year intended, it would be A.D. 1618), Rāmadēva-Vodeyar (*M.A.R.* 1927, Page 82, No. 81 dated in 1621), Rāmadēva-Rāyalayya, which like Srī-Ranga-Rāya, was evidently the popular form copied by Wilks and made to look as Srīranga Rāyael, "Rayeel" being the Telugu plural for "Rayalu.", (*E.C.* X, Channapatna 182 dated in 1623), Rāmarājēndra-Rāja-Āya, (*E.C.* XII, Sira 54 dated in 1626 and as Rāghava-Rāya (*E.C.* III, Mysore 17 dated in 1620), "Rāghava" being a synonym, for "Rāma." According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, he appears to have had two wedded queens Ōbamma, the daughter of Pōchi Rāju Rāma-Rāja, and Kondamma, the daughter of the Gobbūri chief Yātirāja. (See *Sources*, 244-45). It is understood from contemporary Dutch records that Yatirāja, called in them "Iterrajie" and in the English records as

"Itteraja," was "brother to Jaggerajie (Jaga-Rāya), the principal noble of King Venkata I" (See William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, 106, quoting *f.n.*, L. C. D. Van Dijk's *Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wemmer Van Berchem*, 30). This was the Jaga-Rāya, whose daughter Bāyama was married to Venkata I and who figured as the Rebel leader in the Civil War. Yati Rāju, who was in 1622-3 the governor of the country round Pulicat, frequently figures in the English and Dutch records of the period.

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Rāma-Dēva is said to have had a peaceful reign after the Civil War. He is said to have bestowed all the gifts including the *Tulāpurushas*. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 244-5). He appears to have had no sons. In the seventh year of his reign, he probably made Venkata II—Venkatapati-Dēva-Mahārāya—his *Yuvarāja*. The latter was the grandson by direct descent of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. The reason for this election or reversion to the senior line, was that he had evidently no sons to suceced. His own brothers had been massacred by Jaga-Rāya on the death of Venkata I and Venkata II, grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, was the eldest male member of the Royal household, who had the best claim to the succession. He belonged to the third generation from Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, whereas Rāma-Dēva IV belonged to the fourth from Tirumala I, the younger brother of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. It would therefore seem that Venkata II was already a fairly elderly man and perhaps governing a part of the Empire. A lithic inscription which comes from Atmakur in the Nellore District and is dated in 1621-2 A.D., registers a grant by Venkata II in that year and describes him in it as Venkatapati-Dēva-Mahā-Rāya with the regnal titles (see *Nellore Ins.* I, Atmakur 48) though the Emperor of the time was undoubtedly Rāma-Dēva IV. Another record, coming from Nārāyānavanam in the Chittoor District,

Domestic life.

Venkata II made Crown Prince.

dated in 1622-23 and recording a private gift, also gives him the Imperial titles and describes him as the ruling sovereign, though we know Rāma-Dēva IV was still actually ruling. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, Para 60; App. B. No. 37). Mr. Sewell also notes a record from Arumbāvur, Trichinopoly District, dated in 1622-3 in the reign of Venkata II. This should also refer to Venkata II, when he was still a crown-prince. (See *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 263; also *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, III. 1541 No. 248). He was evidently made or considered as Crown-Prince in 1621 A.D., and as such was probably co-ruler with Rāma-Dēva IV, the reigning sovereign. Srīranga VI, a cousin of Venkata II, was also ruling the country at the time in association with the king like Venkata himself. A lithic record of his—with its duplicate in copper—which comes from Ellore in the Kistna District, indicates that his charge was in that region of the Empire. It is dated, according to Mr. Sewell, in *Saka* 1545, corresponding to A.D., 1622-23. (See *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 34-5; also *Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II. 894. No. 218 C. to U). As will be seen from what will follow, Rāma-Dēva IV was succeeded by Venkata II, grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, and he in his turn by Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI (adopted son of Gōpāla, grandson by direct descent, of Venkatādri, the younger brother of Tirumala I). Srī-Ranga VI was the third and last son of Chinna-Venkata (the Venkata III of the genealogists), younger brother of Venkata II. After Srī-Ranga VI, the succession reverted to the line of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, Srī-Ranga VI being succeded by his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma (or Rāma-Rāja V), eldest son of his elder brother Venkata IV. Venkata V, son of Venkata IV, was evidently the crown-prince of Srī-Ranga VI, for we have mention made of him in inscriptional records mostly from Mysore from 1662 to 1669 A.D. But we have so far no inscriptional records for the reign of Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-

Srī Ranga VI, also mentioned as associate ruler.

The course of succession after Rāma-Dēva IV briefly indicated.

Rāja V), who probably reigned as a matter of fact as stated by the *Rāmarājīyamu*. As the poem was by a contemporary writer, it is probably correct when it makes this statement and also in the other one, that he was assisted by his younger brother Venkata V in his rule. In that case, he should have lived for some years after 1669, up to which only we have inscriptional records for him. Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja V) was the king to whom the *Rāmarājīyamu*, which has proved so valuable for reconstructing the history of Vijayanagar, was dedicated by the poet Venkayya. He left four sons Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI), Chinna-Venkata (Venkata VII), Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja VI), and Venkata (Venkata IX). Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma Rāja V) appears to have been succeeded by his eldest son Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI of the table at the end of this section). We have inscriptions for him from 1690 A.D. to 1717 A.D. His nephew Srī-Ranga VI (eldest son of his brother Timma or Tirumala III) appears to have been crown-prince, for we have inscriptional records for him from 1693 A.D., onwards. Srī-Ranga VII appears to have been succeeded as crown prince by his uncle Venkata VI and we have inscriptional records for him up to 1759 A.D. He was, so far as is known, the last Srī-Ranga-Rāya known to history. Srī-Ranga VII had evidently ruled as crown—prince with his younger brother Chinna Venkata (Venkata VII of the table) for we have inscriptional records for him from 1742 to 1752 A.D. As there are no records for the other three sons of Kōdanda-Rāma (*viz*., Chinna-Venkata VIII), Kōndanda-Rama (Rāma-Rāja VI) and Venkata (Venkata IX), it is probable that they did rule even nominally.

Rule of sucession in the Āravīdu dynasty: Primogeniture.

A close examination of the course of succession, during the whole period of Āravīdu rule, shows that it strictly followed the rule of Primogeniture, the eldest male member succeeding to the throne, *unless* there was an actual adoption in the case of failure of direct heirs as in the case of Srī-Ranga VI. Another point to note is that there was usually a crown-prince, who was the next senior in the family and he usually succeeded as king. The succession to the throne being governed by these principles, the families of the three sons—Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, Tirumala II and Venkatādri—of Srī-Ranga-Rāya I, participated in the rule of the Empire. Of these, leaving out of account Aliya Rāma-Rāja II himself, Venkata I became the most famous in the Tirumala branch of the family, Venkata II in the Aliya Rāma-Rāja II branch and Srī-Ranga VI, the adopted son of Gōpāla, in the Venkatādri branch. After Srī-Ranga VI, though he is said to have left two sons, probably minors, the sovereignty, such as it was, was entirely confined to the Aliya Rāma-Rāja branch up to its very end.

Relations with Mysore.

The relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with the Seringapatam Viceroy appear to have been most cordial. Rāja-Wodeyar was the Viceroy at the time the Civil War broke out. He did not join the insurgents against the interests of Rāma-Dēva. His own position should have been difficult as he was confirmed in his position only in 1612; he had evidently his hands full. It was as much as he could do to keep those round about him under control and not join the rebels. His successor Chāmarāja VI came into power in 1617 and was Viceroy throughout the period covered by Rāma-Dēva's reign. There are at least four grants of his known, all dated in Rāma-Dēva's reign, which freely and openly acknowledge the latter's suzerainty. The earliest of these is dated in 1620, Channappa, the *dalavāi* of Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, making a grant. (*E.C.* III, Serāngapatam 36). Another record dated in the same year registers the purchase by a private party of a portion of the land granted by Tirumala I to Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, evidently Bōl Chāmarāja-Wodeyar, and its presentation to God

Mahābalēsvara (*E.C.* III, Mysore 17). An inscription, which seems to belong to 1622 A.D., records a grant by the king himself. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 17). Finally, there is the well known record dated in the same year (1612), which registers the fact that Venkata I in 1612 granted Rāja-Wodeyar, Ummattur and Seringapatam as an hereditary estate and that he with the permission of Venkata I had resolved upon establishing an *agrahāra.* He founded one at the junction of Cauvery and the Kapila in 1622, in the name of his father Narasarāja Wodeyar, so that he might attain Vaikuntha *i.e.*, heavenly bliss. (*E.C.* III, T.-Narasipur).

Relations with Venkatappa, the Ikkēri Nāyak.

Great friendliness seems to have prevailed with Venkatappa-Nāyaka I, the Ikkēri chief, who was in power between 1582-1629, though his inscriptions range only from about 1606 to 1629. (*E.C.* VIII, Introd. 15). His uncle Dodda Sankappa (1545-1558) had been a great favourite with Aliya Rāma-Rāja and had been invited to reside for some time at the Imperial capital. (See *Sources*, under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 337). He had named one of his sons after the Regent and he was given a large accession of territory to govern. (*Ibid*). His brother Sankappa II built the new town of Ikkēri and a magnificent palace in it and provided it with a good theatre. He was also a literary patron. (*Ibid*, 339). His successor Venkatappa-Nāyak I was both an efficient and enlightened ruler. An account of his rule will be found in Volume V "Gazetteer by Districts" of this work. (See *Shimoga District* under *History*). It might be added here that the last 15 years of his long rule of 47 years synchronized with those of Rāma-Dēva IV. He did not join the insurgents in the Civil War, for his family had always been loyal to the Imperial House. As we shall see in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI, when everybody else deserted the Emperor, it remained firm in its duty to him. (See below). In a record dated in 1610, Venkatappa recognizes the suzerainty of Venkata I. (*E.C.* VII, Tirthahalli 165). Venkatappa had to keep in check the forces of Bijāpur, which twice invaded his territories. Possibly these invasions occurred at the very time the Civil War occurred and so the best that Venkatappa could do was to keep himself fit to be useful to the Empire on a future occasion. Hanuma, the chief of Basavapatna, attacked him, evidently with the aid of the Bijāpur forces, and laid siege to Hole-Honnur which he compelled them to raise. Majjulakhān, who was in charge of the Bijāpur detachment sent out probably by Randhulla Khān, was driven back to his own territory. He put up a pillar of Victory at Hanugal in Dharwar, just across the Mysore border. (See *Sources* under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 344; and *E.C.* VII, Honnali 34, which is a copper-plate grant from Dasarahatti, dated in *Saka* 1399, *Plavanga*, which do not agree. Mr. Rice has assigned it to 1667 A.D., by pushing forward the date by 200 years. This might be accepted as approximately correct. Some time should be allowed to the last three generations, and we know that Venkatappa II ruled only upto 1629. This grant mentions Hire-Hanumappa, his son Tulā-Hanumappa, his son Immadi Hanumappa, his son Kengappa, and his son Basavappa. It has been suggested that the Hanumappa mentioned may be one of these three). The elder brother of Hanumappa concluded a treaty with Venkatappa, but the younger proved persistent and attacked afresh Venkatappa. He was defeated and took refuge at Bānāvara. Venkata next captured Dānivāsa and Kumbase (probably Kumsi) and put up fortresses at Hibbejagara and other places to keep the enemy in check. He next attacked Bhairava-Dēvi, the queen of Garisoppe, for she had then become a feudatory of Bijāpur. He also took Bednur and Kavaledurga (called in the poem Kauravadurga). Evidently these and other conquests enabled him to extend his territories in the East as far as Māsur, Shimoga and Kadur and on the West and South they were carried to the sea at Honore and down to the borders of Malabar. He constructed, according to the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, many temples within the Kavaledurga fort, which he renewed; at Sringēri he built a new *matha* for the *guru* of that famous place; and he built a *matha* for priests of Bhūrudras (*i.e.*, Vīrasaivas). He rebuilt Anantāsivapura (now Anantapur) and erected in it the *matha* called Champakasaras for Vīrasaivas in the place, for which he made a grant of the transit duties levied at all the *thānas* (or stations) in his dominions. (See *Sources*, 345; *E.C.* VIII, Sagara 123 dated in 1606). He also built a town called Sadāsivanagara at Ikkēri, where he provided himself with a fine palace. He built and presented *agrahāras* on the Varada and elsewhere to Vēdic scholars, got many sacrifices performed by them, and made liberal endowments for the maintenance of the temples founded by him. He proved himself a munificent literary patron, for, we are told, many works on poetry, drama, law and other subjects, were written during his time. (See *Sources*, under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 345). There is evidence enough available from the inscriptions of the period to show that the statements made in this poem of Keladi Basava are not his inventions. His interest in the Champakasarasi *matha* is proved by a record dated in 1606. (See above). There are, besides, numerous records registering the grant of transit duties to Vīrasaiva *mathas*. (*E.g.*, *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 56, dated in 1616). Though he was fighting against the Muhammadans, he was fair to Muhammadans living in his own dominions, grants to their mosques being also recorded in 1627. (See *E.C.* VIII, Sagar 38). As regards his interest in literature, a commentary in Sānskrit on the *Siva-Gīta* portion of the *Padmapurāna* by him is known. (Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. T. C. of Mss., R. No. 1818, Page 2623). That

Visit of Pietro della Valle to Ikkēri, 1623.

Venkatappa was an enlightened ruler is testified to by the famous Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, who visited Ikkēri in 1623 in company with a Portuguese embassy that visited Venkatappa in that year. That embassy, by the way, was sent to secure the trade in pepper, through an alliance with Venkatappa, and to keep out from it the Dutch and the English, who had begun to take interest in it. So far, the Portuguese had been inimical to Venkatappa but about the time of this embassy, they were engaged in expeditions against Persia and Malacca and endeavoured to protect their interests in the lucrative pepper trade by a friendly gesture to Venkatappa, then undoubtedly the strongest ruler on the West Coast. Pietro della Valle mentions the five wide level roads from Sagar to Ikkēri, and the splendid avenue trees on either side. These are the magnificent *dhūpa* trees, of which many may still be seen. He saw a Vīrasaiva funeral, the corpse being carried sitting in a chair and tried to dissuade, later, a woman who was about to commit *sati*. He argued the matter out with her and she proved equally calm and dispassionate in her reasoning. She tried to induce him to contribute something towards the fuel. His scruples would not permit him to agree but instead he assured her that he would do his best to immortalise her. In pursuance of his promise, he tells us that the lady's name was Giaccoma, which probably represents Giriakkamma. He left Ikkēri highly rejoiced, except for his pity for the *sati* victim, and bearing with him a Kannada book presented to him there. He made his way to Barselore, which he describes. From there, he passed through Mangalore and Banghel and reached Olala, the limit of his travels in India. Of the queen of Olala, he gives a curious picture. She was, he says, as black as the Ethiopian, and always went about alone on foot, save for an escort of six foot-soldiers. A cloak round the head and some thick pieces of white cotton cloth round the waist summed up her royal attire.

Della Valle rather caustically remarks that she was "like a dirty kitchen wench more than a queen." He gives some gossipy details of her relations with the neighbouring state of Bunghel. It is worthy of remark that this lady's cause was espoused by Venkatappa against the Portuguese, who sided the Banghar Rāja and ousted the latter from his territory. Della Valle travelled alone in the country of Venkatappa, "marching," as he says, at his pleasure; and as the roads throughout the dominions of Venkatappa were very secure, he descended the *Ghats* slowly. He finally embarked at Mangalore for Calicut, and after some strenuous fight with the pirates, he reached Goa, from where he returned home to Europe, in 1624.

Relations with Madura.

The relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with the Nāyaks of Madura were greatly strained during the period of his rule. The two Nāyaks who then governed Madura were the brothers Muthu-Vīrappa I (1609-1623) and the famous Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659). The leading part played by the former in the civil war has been narrated above. His attitude towards his suzerain was coloured by his ardent desire for independence and his personal hatred towards Achyutappa and his son Raghunātha, the Nāyak chiefs of Tanjore, whose steadfast loyalty towards the Imperial House was a thorn in his side. The success that attended Raghunātha's efforts in the civil war, if anything, added to this hatred. The civil war probably ended in 1617. Muthu-Vīrappa survived its termination by six years. He evidently nursed his hatred against his suzerain and Raghunātha, his neighbour, during this period, for, except in a single inscription dated in *Saka* 1542, *Kālayukti* (Saka 1540) which do not agree, but in which the cyclic year may be taken as the year intended and the record assigned accordingly to 1618 A.D., he does not acknowledge the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities, II*, C.-P. No. 187). On the accession of his brother Tirumala-Nāyakan, about 1623, almost the first task undertaken by him was to organize the defences of his kingdom with a view, doubtless, to eventualities He constructed two fortresses on his frontier and raised an army of 30,000 men. "These preparations," we are told, "excited much movement and disquiet in the whole country." (Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure, II*, 198). Father Bertrand, the Editor of the Jesuit letters, who makes the above remark, adds that these steps were taken by Tirumala "in pursuance of the object of his father (*i.e.*, brother, the Jesuit priest mistook the exact relationship of Tirumala to his predecessor) which was to overthrow the domination of Bisnagar" and that therefore he "wished to put himself in a condition to resist the armies of this monarch." (*Ibid*). Though there is considerable truth in what he states, still Tirumala was evidently only in the preparatory stages. Until long after Rāma-Dēva's death, we do not actually see him engaged in anything seriously affecting the rights of his suzerain. Evidently the battle of Topūr had produced some small impression on him as on the other feudatories. Tirumala, so far as could be made out, was anxious to keep up loyal relations with his overlord. There is conclusive evidence of friendly disposition as we have a record at Dadikkombu, near Madura, dated in 1629 A.D., mentioning Rāma-Dēva IV as the reigning Emperor. (*M.E.R.* 1894, App. B, No. 31 of 1894). It was only after the issue of the Kuniyur plates, dated in 1634, sometime after the death of Rāma-Dēva, that we find him endeavouring to break away from his suzerain. This period of Tirumala's reign falls into the reign of Rāma-Dēva's successors and will be considered below.

Relations with Gingee.

After his defeat at Topur, Venkatappa-Nāyaka had, as we have seen, held out against Rāma-Dēva and Raghunātha, the Tanjore Nāyaka, assisted in this warfare by

Yatirāja, the younger brother of Jaga-Rāya, who himself had fallen at Topur. (See *ante*; also *Sources*, under *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 209-1). He had been defeated on the banks of the Cauvery, near Tiruvadi, and pursued into his own territories, in which Bhuvanagiri and other places had been taken. Venkatappa, thus reduced, fled and was evidently forgiven. There are no records available to show when he died. But he should have been old when the battle of Topur took place, for he was a contemporary and ally of Sōlaga, the barbarian island chief, of whom we hear since the days of Vithala, cousin of of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. There is, however, a record of one Vala (or Bāla) Venkatapati-Nāyakkan, described as the son of Vala Krishnappa-Nāyakkan, Rāja of Senji, dated in *Saka* 1386 (A.D. 1464) *Kaliyuga* 4565, *Pārthiva*, in the reign of Rāma-Dēva-Mahārāya. Taking it for granted that the cyclic year was the intended one, the date of the record would fall in *Saka* 1566, which corresponds to *Pārthiva*. The correct date of the record would thus be 1644 A.D. This falls into the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. The date of the record is beyond doubt disputable, but the recognition of Rāma-Dēva's paramountcy in it is significant. It is possible that Venkatappa became reconciled to Rāma-Dēva and acknowledged his subordination to him before his death. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, No. 70; see also *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, I, 172, No. 359).

Relations with Tanjore.

As regards Tanjore, the relations of Raghunātha with Rāma-Dēva IV were such as to win for him not merely the admiration but also the gratitude of his suzerain. But for his active and valiant prosecution of the war against Jaga-Rāya and his allies, Rāma-Dēva could not have retained his throne. Raghunātha appears to have lived in comparative and magnificient splendour after his great success at Topur. He proved himself an able, energetic and enlightened prince. He was a great soldier and an expert in training elephants. He built a number of temples for Rāma, his favourite deity, at Rāmēsvaram, Kumbakōnam, Srīrangam, Tiruvadi, etc., and the great *gōpuram* of the Kumbhēsvara temple at Kumbakōnam. His charities and gifts were many and munificent —including the *tulābhāra*, etc. He was as good with the pen as with the sword. Amongst his works in Sānskrit and Telugu were :—*Pārijātāpaharanam, Vālmīki-charitram, Achyutēndrābhyudayam, Gajēndramōksham, Rukmani-Krishna-Vivāha-Yakshagānam*, etc. A work of considerable interest to students of Hindu music which he wrote is *Sangīta-Sudha*, in which there are references to new *rāgas* aud *tālas* which he invented. He is said to have taught the art of playing on the *Vīna* to many musicians. Tanjore even now enjoys a great reputation as a centre for players on that great and delicate instrument. (See *Sources*, under *Sāhitya-Sudha* 267 and *Sangīta-Sudha*, 269).

Other Feudatories.

Among the other feudatories of Rāma-Dēva IV were a few who may be noted to show both the extent of his Empire and the limits within which his authority was recognised. A number of records show that the chiefs of Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar Districts recognized his suzerainty throughout the period of his rule, and of his predecessor Srī-Ranga III. Thus the Yelahankanād Prabhu in making a grant dated in 1599-1600 A.D., to the west of Kunigal for the merit of Immadi Kempe Gauda and his wife Lingājamma, states that Srī-Ranga III was " ruling the Empire of the Earth," probably as crown-prince, in the Kunigal country. (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal). In a copper-plate record dated in 1627 A.D., which comes from the Sōsale Vyāsa-Rāya-*mātha*, a grant by Immadi Kempaya Gauda, for the merit of his father, is registered. The village was called Vyāsasaṁudra, in Sonde-Koppa, Bangalore-*sīmē*. The village was newly built with a tank by Rāyasada Sēshagiri by order of the donor, the donee being named as Rāmachandra-Vodeyar, where "Vodeyar" evidently stands for "tīrtha," disciple of Srīpati, disciple of Lakshmikānta. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 115). This grant recognizes the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV. The same chief, in a record dated in 1628 A.D., refers to an agreement for the conduct of festivals, offerings, etc., to God Ranganātha of Mutyālapēte in Bangalore, and registers a grant of customs duties by him. Rāma-Dēva IV is said to be ruling the kingdom, which we know was actually the case from other sources. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 1). In another record dated in 1614, Havali Baire Gauda recognizes the suzerainty of the same sovereign. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 94). He was the Avati-nād Prabhu. He was probably the same who is mentioned as Immadi Havali Baire Gauda in a record dated in the reign of Rāma-Dēva in 1617 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Bagepalli 40). The Sugatur-nād Prabhu Timmappa Gauda's son and Immadi Tammappa's grandson, Mummadi Tammappa, acknowledges the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva IV in a record dated in 1614 A.D. In 1619 A.D., we have a record of Sugatur Chikka Rāya Tammaya Gauda, also owning the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva. The title "Chikka-Rāya" indicates he was the younger brother of the ruling chief mentioned in the last quoted grant. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 204). The latter chief registers in 1620 A.D. a sacrifice performed at his instance. (*Ibid*, Mulbagal 177). The same chief made another grant in 1630, in the last year of Rāma-Dēva's reign. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 164 and 165). So does Gummināyani Krishnappa, son of Gummināyani Kadirappa, in a record dated in 1617. (*E C.* X, Bagepalli 75). A record of Rāma-Dēva dated in 1620 comes from the Pudukkottai State, recognizing his suzerainty. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 55; App. B, No. 221 of 1914). From Shimoga, we have a similar record dated in 1621

A.D., registering a grant by one Hanumān, son of the chief Kenga-Nripa. It was made, we are told, on the day of his marriage. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 27). In a lithic inscription dated in 1622 A.D., Malla, son of a Vīrappa of the Rāvilla family, is said to have been the governor of Srīgiri-*mandala*. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Para 55, No. 423 of 1923). It is interesting to note this record, for it testifies to the quiet acknowledgment of the overlordship of Rāma-Dēva by a member of the Rāvilla family, which was on the side of the rebels in the civil war. An inscription from Chiknayakanhalli dated in 1623 A.D., mentioning the grant of a tank and garden to the Sivāchāra-*matha* at that place, by Dalavāi Paranappa, general of Mudiyappa-Nāyaka, who was ruling from Chiknayakanhalli, similarly acknowledges Rāma-Dēva's suzerainty. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 1; see also *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 114, where a revised version of the inscription will be found). Kumāra Immadi Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, son of Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, the minister of Rāna Peda Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, chief of Channapatna, owns his subordination to Rāma-Dēva IV in a record dated in 1623 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 182). But in a copper-plate record from Muttegere dated in 1633, though he acknowledges the suzerainty of Rāma-Dēva, we see the Pedda Jaga-Dēva-Rāya styling himself "Rājādhirāja-Rājēsri-Rāna-Pedda-Jaga-Dēva-Rāyalaingar" and making a grant to the west of Muttegere, belonging to Nāgamangala, for erecting a fort, etc. From this record, it would seem to follow that Rāma-Dēva ruled up to 1633 A.D., and not only up to 1630 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86). In 1627 A.D., we have a grant of Holavanhalli Rana-Baire-Gauda, also acknowledging his subordination to Rāma-Dēva IV. A copper-plate grant from Koratagere, of which the date is doubtful, registers a grant to the Mahākāli of the place by one Holavanhalli Dodda-Rana-Baira-Gauda. As it mentions

Rāma-Dēva IV, its date 1656 taken from a hand copy is plainly wrong. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 31).

Peace in the Empire.

Thus a review of the relations of Rāma-Dēva IV with his more important and lesser feudatories, shows that after the success he attained at Topur there was peace in the land. The Empire held together, though it was quite like the proverbial calm before the storm. For some fifteen years from the battle of Topur, there was hardly any foreign invasion or war on a large scale to disturb the normal life of the country. This was largely due to two principal causes:—

(1) The successful termination of the civil war in favour of Rāma-Dēva and his adherents; and

(2) The absence of the usual invasions of the Bijāpur and Gōlconda Sultāns, except in the north-western frontier in the last year of Rāma-Dēva's reign.

Condition of Southern India,

Of the condition of Southern India as seen and chronicled by a foreign observer, we have the account of William Methwold, who was in India between 1618 and 1630 A.D. Of "Bisnagar," as he calls it, Methwold says, it was, "rent at this time into several provinces of Government, held by the Naices of that country in their own right"—which of course expresses only a partial truth. For a foreign traveller, to learn more would have been rather difficult. He should be thinking of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. Methwold, however, gives a longer and more interesting picture of Golconda, the rival kingdom. It had not yet yielded to the Moghul arms and appears to have been in a most flourishing state. Its capital was, according to Methwold, "a citie that for sweetnesse of ayre, convenience of water, and fertility of soyle, is accounted the best situation in India, not to speak of the King's Palace, which for bignesse and sumptuousness..............exceedeth all belonging to the

Mogull or any other Prince; it being twelve miles in circumference." His account, however, makes it plain that while the kings were wealthy, the common people were ground down by unspeakable poverty. Rack renting, due to farming of public revenue, appears to have been common. Religious toleration and absence of serious crime struck him as something worth recording. Though independent, the proximity of the Moghul made the Sultān to be ever on his guard against his encroachment. (*Purchas; His Pilgrimage*, 993). There were no invasions of Golconda into Vijayanagar territory, even in the Udayagiri Province, which undoubtedly continued to be ruled by Vijayanagar until the first years of the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (See below). As regards Bijāpur, there were no invasions during this reign from that quarter, practically during the whole of Rāma-Dēva's reign. If he did rule till 1632-33 A.D., then we have evidence of an attack by Muhammed Ādil Shāh, the son of Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh. In the Arabic and Persian inscriptions we find in the northern frontier of the present State of Mysore, recording the erection of a fort on the hill at the Masur-Madag tank, in the Shikarpur Taluk. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 324 dated 1632 A.D.). Except for this, there was peace in the land throughout the reign of Rāma-Dēva after his success at Topur. Peace, of course, had its own problems. In the wake of the war, there followed evidently a great scarcity for food. The scarcity was so great that traffic in human life became the order of the day. The Dutch appear to have taken full advantage of the opportunity and exported thousands of coast people from Pulicat and Tegnapatam to their colonies. The English followed their example but they seem to have been afflicted by a "conscience" in the matter which kept them under control. The trade had reached its high water-mark in 1622-1623 A.D. at the Dutch Settlements on the Coast. (See above under *Effects of the Civil War*).

The administration continued on the traditional lines. But it is clear from the letters of the English factors on the Coast, that the king and his deputies did not quite realize what was happening about them. It is inconceivable if a ruler like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya or Aliya Rāma-Rāja II would have allowed with impunity the Dutch traffic in slaves in the manner, and to the extent, that Rāma-Dēva allowed it. We have seen how the former dealt with the Portuguese at Goa and at his own capital and we know how the latter handled the representatives of the same nation at San Thome. There was an evident lack of vigour and political prescience in certain directions in the administration of the Empire. As the sequel will show, such want of understanding cost the Empire its very life within about a quarter of a century from the death of Rāma-Dēva IV.

Portuguese throw off the imperial yoke, 1614 A.D.

Nothing illustrates better this lack of vigour than the manner in which the Portuguese at San Thome threw off the imperial yoke. The story is thus told by Father Barradas:—

> "Taking advantage of these civil wars, the city of Sān Thome—which up to now belonged to the King of Bisnaga, paying him revenues and customs which he used to make over to certain chiefs, by whom the Portuguese were often greatly troubled—determined to liberate itself, and become in everything and for everything the property of the King of Portugal. To this end she begged the Viceroy to send and take possession of her in the name of His Majesty which he did, as I shall afterwards tell you. Meanwhile the captain who governed the town, by name Manuel de Frias, seeing that there was close to the town a fortress that commanded it, determined to seize it by force, seeing that its captain declined to surrender it. So he laid siege to it, surrounding it so closely that no one could get out."

In the end, the Portuguese were successful. The fortress was taken, its garrison of 1,500 men capitulated, and a fleet came round by sea to complete the conquest. The letters of the English factors also bring out the same weakness at the Imperial head-quarters. Nothing was done—or even attempted—for instance, in putting down at Pulicat, Tegnapatam and other places, the slave traffic which became a perfect nuisance after the Civil War. While the Moghul Emperor and the Moghul governor of Surat refused in 1619 A.D. to countenance the English ousting the trade of the Gujarātis to the Red Sea, though the English made strenuous attempts to do so, King Rāma-Dēva and his ministers apparently did nothing to keep under check the excesses of the Dutch in the matter of slave traffic, a thing which would have been far differently dealt with by Krishna-Dēva or Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. XVII to XIX).

Founding of European Settlements.

During this reign, the English renewed their attempts to obtain a share of the lucrative trade that the Dutch were enjoying at Pulicat. But before narrating the circumstances that led to this attempt, we might note in chronological order the main events connected with the endeavour made by the English and other European nations to secure a foot-hold in the trade with the East:—

1496 Henry VI granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons to fit out three vessels for the discovery of the N.-W. passage to India. This attempt ended in failure.

1576, 1577 and 1578. Failure of Martin Frobisher's attempts to pierce a northern passage to India.

1579 Rev. Father Thomas Stephens arrives at Goa, as Rector of Jesuit's College, Salssette. He was the first Englishman to arrive in India. His letters opened the eyes of his countrymen to the trade of India.

1583 Fitch (Merchant of London), Newberry and Leeds start for India. John Huyghen Van Linschoten, the Dutchman, reaches Goa.

1585 John Davis' attempt to discover a N.-W. passage to India under the patronage of a London Company.

1586 The famous Sir Thomas Cavendish sails round the world.

1587 Sir Francis Drake captures the *St. Philip*, which gave an idea of the commodities that the East could supply.

1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Growing contempt for the Portuguese and a determination to open up a direct trade with India strengthened.

1591 Failure of James Lancaster's mercantile expedition.

1595 The Dutchman Cornelius Houtman's fleet of 4 ships sails for Sumatra.

1596 Failure of Sir Robert Dudley's private expedition under Captain Benjamin Wood.

1599 Dutch raise price of pepper against the English. Meeting at Founder's Hall. Company formed. John Mildenhall, English traveller, starts on an overland journey to India to negotiate a treaty with the great Moghul.

1600 Company granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth.

1602 Dutch East India Company formed, amalgamating smaller concerns. First Voyage of English Company under James Lancaster to Achin and Sumatra.

1603 John Mildenhall reaches Agra and is admitted to the presence of Akbar. But he evidently failed to secure any treaty advantageous to his nation, owing to Jesuit influences against him and his nation.

1603 English Factory established at Bantam, in Java.

1604 The success of the above voyages induced private merchant adventurers into the field. Michelborne obtains a license from James I for private trade. His methods hindered English trade at Bantam. Second voyage under Sir H. Middleton to Bantam. Trade extended to Banda and Amboyna.

1606 East India Company's Third voyage, but the first which opened dealings into the Moghul Court, under the command of Keeling, David Middleton and William Hawkins. The "Hector" under command of Hawkins, the first English ship, reaches Surat.

1609 The success of above ventures induced further enterprize. A new charter was granted by king James I. Hawkins' Embassy to Jahangir reaches Agra to secure *firman*.

1610 Captain Best of the Tenth voyage wins a great victory over the Portuguese off Swally. His was the first armed expedition to the East. Resumption of negotiations between the English and Jahangir at Agra.

1611 Captain Hippon's voyage in the "Globe" sailed up the Eastern Coast. Touched at Pulicat, where the Dutch and the Vijayanagar Governor refused to allow him to trade. He sailed northwards, past the mouths of the Pennar, to Pettapoli (Peddapalli,) about 36 miles to the south of Masalipatam and established a factory there. From there, he sailed to Masulipatam. Factory at Masulipatam established.

1612 Establishment of an English Factory at Surat.

1613 Factories established at Gogra, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Ajmere—all connected with Surat.

1615 Sir Thomas Roe's visit as Ambassador to Jahangir. He remained three years.

1616 Factories established at Calicut and Cranganore on the West Coast, in the Peninsula.

1618 Prince Shah Jahan's *firman* for Surat Factory and Jahangir's genera. *firman* issued.

1618 Bantam erected into a Presidency.

1619 Treaty between England and Holland to put an end to differences between the traders of the two nations. Factory establisaed at Pulicat by the side of the Dutch factory there established in 1609.

1620 Portuguese attack the English but are defeated by Captain Shillingel Factories established at Agra and Patna.

1622 The English joining the Persians attack the Portuguese and take Ormuz from them.

1623 (27th February.) Dutch jealousies end in the massacre of ten Englishmen at Amboyna for an alleged conspiracy to take possession of the castle there.
1626 Factory established at Armagon, 70 miles off Madras. It was the first fortified place held by the English in India. It mounted 12 guns. Masulipatam temporarily abandoned.
1628 Bantam re-occupied by the English but made subordinate to Surat.
1632 Factory at Masulipatam re-established.
1634 Bantam again made independent of Surat.
1634 Shah Jehan granted a firman to the Company by which the trade of the whole of Bengal was opened to the English. Factory established at Pipplee, near the mouths of the Hughly.
1634 Portuguese expelled from Bengal by the great Moghul.

Dutch Settlements.

1596-7 Houtman's successful voyages.
1602 The Dutch East India Company formed amalgamating various rival companies. Exclusive privileges granted to this Company for 20 years. It gradually appropriated the whole trade of the Spice Islands.
1609 Factory established at Pulicat.
1616 Factory established at Surat.
1619 By a treaty between England and Holland a council of defence was constituted, composed of an equal member of numbers of the English and Dutch East India Company to put an end to the differences that had arisen between them.
1623 The privileges of the Dutch East India Company renewed for 21 years.

French.

1537 and 1578 Unsuccessful attempts made to trade with the East Indies.
1604 Henry IV granted the first exclusive charter to a Company for 15 years.
1611 Charter extended to a further period of 12 years.
1615 Letters patent granted.

Danes.

1616 First Danish East India Company established by Christian IV.
1618 Proposal to found a Colony in Ceylon at the instance of the King of Kandy.
1619 The Danish Admiral Ove Gjedde pushed into the Indian Coast. Port of ,Tranquebar formally ceded by Raghunātha-Nāyak of Tanjore, "Dansborg," a rudimentary fortress built and Hendrick Hess left in charge with 20 persons and a few cannon.

The above brief synopsis will show that the attempts of the more energetic and adventurous European nations to open up a trade with India in competition to the Portuguese, who had been enjoying a monopoly of it since 1497, when Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, nearly synchronise with the coming into power

Portuguese monoply in the East disputed by Dutch and English.

in the south of the Āravīdu Dynasty. Thus, in the the reign of Venkata I, the Dutch, as we have seen, established themselves at Pulicat. The Portuguese opposition did not succeed. The English attempt to establish a factory there was not allowed by Venkata's representative at the place, backed by his queen, to whom the revenue from the trade belonged.

English Settlement at Pettapoli, 1611.

The English were, however, in 1611 allowed to establish a factory at Pettapoli (Peddapalli), now called Nizampatam, within the territorial limits of Rāma-Dēva IV. This was evidently in fulfilment of the promise of Venkata's agent that he would allow them to open a trade centre at any place a little farther away from Pulicat. This place lies between the Krishna and the Pennar rivers and is about 70 miles to the north of Pulicat and 36 miles to the south of Masulipatam, at which latter place the English opened another factory in the same year (1611) under the protection of Abdulla, Sultān of Golconda. Masulipatam, in course of time, became a well-established trade centre and proved itself the real foundation of English trade in the East Indies. At the time it was founded, it had no territory attached to it. Abdullah had permitted the English only to build a factory or trade house, and transact business on the Coast. The factory was not a manufactory but comprised merely of a warehouse, offices and residential accommodation for the factors and their guard. The trade consisted in the importation from Bantam, to which Masulipatam was subject, (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. xxxviii) and occasionally from England direct, of specie and European manufactured goods, the sale of the latter, and the "investment" of the former in the purchase of calicoes, chintz and muslims by advances made to the local weavers. The calico, or long-cloth, was sent to England, while other cotton goods were readily

At Masulipatam, 1611.

absorbed by the Java market. (See H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* I, 12). Abdulla's exactions, however, soon induced the English to seek for a more convenient place lower down in the Southern Districts. But the jealousies of the Dutch prevented success for some time. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Introd. 1618-21, xxxvi-xliv, where the story is summarized). In 1616, the English, however, succeeded in opening factories at Calicut and Cranganore with the permission of the Zamorin. Three years later, in 1619, under a treaty between the Dutch and the English, concluded between James 1 and the States-General, the English were permitted to establish a factory at Pulicat, by the side of the Dutch on joint account. The Dutch and the English Companies, under this arrangement, had agreed to a modified partnership in the Far East, the English to have one-third of the trade in Moluccas, and one half of the Bantam pepper trade, and both parties uniting in providing a fleet for defence against the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The seventh article of this Treaty of Defence had declared that "the English Companie shall freely use and enjoy trafficque at the place of Pellicate and shall bear the moyetie of the charge of the maintenance of the fort and garrison there; this to begin from the tyme of the publication of this treaty in those parts." (*Ibid*, xliv, quoting *Factory Records, Java*, II, *i*.) The English factors actually arrived at Pulicat in June 9, 1621 and the joint trade continued for sometime. But the position was soon found to be an impossible one. The English factors were never in favour of the joint trade; nor were the Dutch. Matthew Duke writing from Masulipatam on 27th August 1621 to the Company remarked :—

Factories opened on West Coast, 1616.

Treaty of Defence between Dutch and English 1619. Their joint trading, 1621.

Its inconveniences.

"It is thougth (thought) good by Mr. Methwold (Chief) to desolve the factory at Petapolie (Pettapoli,) for saving of charges; but if I might have perswaded, Petapolie should have yet continued for one year, till better experience made of Policat, for divers reasons too longe here to insert." (*Ibid 262*).

This warning proved correct. Duke was dissatisfied with the cunning shown by the Dutch in turning the cloth investment to their own benefit. He said;—

"I cannot but thinke they finde that trade most profitable. But all things are carried by a single duble voice and not ordered by consultation; which I could wishe were otherwise, for considering that the factory of Petapoli is dissolved, wee are enow to have steered our owne course and not to saile by another mans compass. I doe not incert this caution, upon any certen ground or just cause of suspition other then common reason doth lead mee to; which is to doubt the worst, for thold fable is that woolves are often clothed in sheepes skines, and it is alwaies good to doubt the worst." (*Ibid. 304-5*).

In a letter dated 10th October 1921, Methwold complained in the same strain and concluded with the words "and thus they (the Dutch at Pulicat) hould us to the strict sense of all agreements, whilest themselves violate or infringe in part of all authentick and serious treatyes." (*Ibid*, 298.) The attitude of the Dutch was entirely in accordance with the instructions they had had from their Governor-General, who wrote on August 12, 1621, to the Dutch Agent at Masulipatam directing him to discontinue the practice at Pulicat and elsewhere, of buying cloth jointly with the English. He laid down:—

"We are not bound to do so by the contract and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter; so do your best, without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least, for we find it productive of no good. It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on our jurisdiction, honour, prerorgative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat and do not agree to the payment of any portion here (unless it be year advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English, and they on the other hand will have to come to us." (*Ibid, 208, f.n., 2; quoting Hague Transcripts, III; i, No. LI*).

Massacre of Amboyna, 1623. Joint trade given up.

The arrangement was found too inconvenient from a trading point of view, financially onerous to the English, and from a practical point of view, the Treaty of Defence (against the Portuguese) was found to be not only unworkable but also raised questions which led to acrimonious controversy. The English determined accordingly to abandon their factories from the Moluccas, Banda and Amboyna. Before this decision could be carried out occurred the famous "Massacre of Amboyna," ten Englishmen being tortured and put to death, after an irregular trial on a charge of conspiring to capture the Dutch fortress in that island (Feb. 27, 1623); and with this outrage vanished all hopes of future co-operation in the Far East. The English determined to establish themselves outside Dutch jurisdiction. By the end of 1623, the system of joint working was dissolved throughout the East, and the English retired, so far as the Coromandel Coast was concerned, to Masulipatam. The establishment at Pulicat was ordered to be withdrawn on April 11, 1623, and the English actually left the place on July 1st 1623. Meanwhile an event of great importance had occurred. In 1622, the English joining the Persians, attacked the Portuguese and wrested Ormuz from them. President Fursland at Bantam, writing on 22nd August 1622, to the Company pressed it to retain the place and maintain it. "To conclude," he said, "if you maye have possessione of Ormuz and will send meanes to mainteyne itt, Your Worships may reckone thatt you have gotten the keye of all India, which will bee a brydell to our faithlesse neighbours the Duch, and keepe all Moores in awe of us." (*Ibid*, 1622-23, 118; See also Introd. i-xiv.)

Yāchama's attack on Pulicat and its Governor Yātirāja, brother of Jaga-Rāya, 1622-23.

During the time the English traded at Pulicat, the Vijayanagar Governor of the Pulicat country was Yātirāja, the brother of Jaga-Rāya, the rebel leader. His grant to the Dutch enabling them to trade at Pulicat was made on August 28, 1600. In this grant, Yātirāja is said to have been governor 40 miles round Pulicat. Yātirāja's term of office was evidently drawing to a close and it was expected another person was to take his place and he was expected to "furnish likewise 4,000 men at all commands"—evidently for the use of Rāma-Dēva. The factors did not like the idea of a new governor, for they expected, as one of them wrote on July 26, 1622, "polling and taxing of the poore, I mean weavers and painters that have imployment in our affaires, that will peradventure cause them to forsake the placce, which is common in theise sorte of people to exacte." (W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1622-1623, 106-107). On October 20, the same factor intimated the advance of "Chemenique" (Yāchama-Nāyak) with a force about 2,000 or 3,000 strong, evidently against Yātirāja, whom, as we know, he had already defeated at Palemkotta, identified with Palayamkottai in the South Arcot District. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 305). His advance filled the people all round with such fear that some 2,000 of them with "bag and baggage" sought shelter in the Pulicat factory. (*Ibid*, 133). A few days later (Nov. 6, 1622,) there was news that Yāchama and his forces had set fire to a neighbouring village and "raysed a forte of mud and other combustable mixed together, which they finished in two dayes and two nights bringing with them coules (coolies) for the purpose." Yātirāja, however, proved himself equal to the occasion. He collected an army of 4,000 or 5,000 strong and "besieged the said forte, the enemye beinge within noe more then 300 persons, which notwithstandinge held out a day or two, till the Dutch were faine to send hym, the side Iteraja, two peeces of ordnance out of the forte, with two or three gunners to his assistance; which the enymye perceivinge, fearinge the worst," came to terms and delivered up the fort and retired. Through the intervention of a mediator, terms were settled, and the parties abided to restrict themselves to their respective territories which were separated by a river. Yātirāja also retired, but shortly after Yāchama re-occupied the fort in the night and put into it a garrison of 500, besides a force 1,000 strong to protect it. Yātirāja, learning this, returned with a large force, with "his brothers and other his friends." He was daily having accretions to his troops. One of the English Factors at Pulicat spoke highly of him and incidentally let out the true cause of the warfare indulged in by Yâchama and Yātirāja. "He (Yātirāja)," this factor reported to his masters at Batavia, "is a man by all reported of a stoute corrage; his onlye want is money to supply his occasions att present, whereof the other is well stored and therefore is of more forse. They bothe strive for that they have noe right unto, but patronise as their owne until the Kinge be established, which is yett younge; besides he is held in small esteeme as yett. What will follow theise chains of troubles, the conclusion will make appearance; but in the meane time we greatly feare, yea verily beeleeve, our negotiations wilbe greatly hindered, if not in our expectation wholly frustrated; for this Cemeniqua (Yāchama-Nāyaka), whose drifte and ayme is for Pallecat, to bring itt in subjection under his government, that he might have the sacken of the inhabitants, who is possesst they enjoye an infinitt of meanes, and therefore would faine be plucking of their feathers; which having soe subjected, would lett them rest they were growne out againe and fully ripe. This fort which he the enymye injoyes is just in the high waye from Pallicate into the country, whereby you may perceive the danger that depends thereon. Pullicate of itt-selfe affordeth noe manner of commiditye for our imployment, only most parte of the persons imployed therein; and for our best paintings, they are most parte salure and mayer (meaning that the best painters were at Salure and Mayer, identified with Salurpet on the Pulicat Lake, about 30 miles north-west of Pulicat, and Medur, on the road to Ponnēri) by reason of the water att other places abrod in the country, a Jentesh (Gentu or Hindu) league from hence; whereby you may partly imagin what incorradgment theise people can have to sett themselves aworke in these troblesome tymes, when on all sides there is burnynge and spoyllinge where they come." (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-1623, 139-140). As remarked already, Yāchama was practically Regent of the State during the minority of Rāma-Dēva IV and after the battle of Topūr was rounding up the rebels, among whom Yātirāja, Jaga-Rāja's brother, was evidently too important a personage to be left alone. Mr. Foster quotes a letter from the Dutch chief at Masulipatam to Batavia, dated about a month later, (January 15. 1623,) in which mention is made of the arrival at Pulicat of "Iteragie" (Yātirāja), to whom the Dutch gave sixty or seventy rials, with a promise to help him with cannon in his campaign against the invaders. (*Ibid*, 140, quoting *Hague Transcripts*, I, VI.) But the cloud eventually passed off, for it was reported in a letter from Pulicat, dated November 12, 1622, that Yāchama had retired, though he still retained possession of his fort. It is possible that Yātirāja's preparedness to give him battle, with the Dutch cannons, had the desired effect on Yāchama. (See *Ibid*, 143).

Invitation to the English to settle in Tanjore, 1622.

In 1622, it was reported that the "greate Naige" of Tanjore (evidently Raghunātha) proposed to the English that they might "trade with him as well as the Portugualls, sayinge they shall have pepper and any thinge the lande dothe affoarde and hee will buy those commodtteies which they bring, as tynne, leade, iron, and red cloathe, which is well sould." It was also reported that the "Danish trade under names of the Englishe and are marvalously well used. He hathe given them a towne and place to builde a castell, which is fynnished and hath 36 pecees of ordinaunce mounted therein." (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-23, 117-8.) Nothing, however, came of this.

The Danes at Tranquebar, 1619.

The Danes had founded an East India Company in 1616 and had attempted to establish a colony in Ceylon at the instance of the King of Kandy, who had desired, with their help, to drive out the Portuguese, who were his enemies. In 1618, a ship was despatched to Ceylon. It reached the Island in safety, and it after sending word to the King that a fleet was following, passed on to the Coromandel Coast. There the Portuguese attacked the ship and in the conflict the ship was driven ashore and Roelant Crape, the Dutchman in charge of it, sought refuge at Tanjore, where he was well received by Raghunātha, the Nāyak chief. The Dutch fleet under Ove Gjedde arrived in Ceylon in 1619 but failing to obtain suitable concessions, Gjedde moved on to the Coromandel Coast. Raghunātha ceded to him and to Crape, the port of Tranquebar, where they erected the "castle" referred to above. (*Ibid*, 1618-21, Introd. xlv.) The "Castell" was called the "Dansborg," a rudimentary fortress which was in charge of one Hendrik Hess, and twenty persons and a few cannon. Gjedde sailed for Copenhagen in May 1621.

The Dutch and the French.

As we have seen above, the Dutch, who had formed a Company in 1602, had established themselves at Pulicat in 1609, and had yielded, under the treaty of 1619, mentioned already, to the English trading with them jointly in their factories. The arrangement proved disadvantageous both financially and otherwise, and as has been pointed out above, was given up in 1626. Meanwhile, in 1623, the Dutch Company's privileges were renewed for 21 years. The French were also attracted to India about the same time. They obtained a charter from Henry IV in 1604. This charter was extended in 1611, and letters patent were granted 1615. But they took another sixty years before they established themselves at Pondicherry.

English determine to concentrate on Coromandel Coast, 1626.

In 1626, about two years after the massacre at Amboyna, the Company's agents at Bantam suggested to their masters in Europe that it would be more expedient to concentrate their attention on the trade on the Coromandel coast. They themselves took the initiative by sending, at the close of the season, a vessel from Batavia to a place called Armagon, 40 miles north of Pulicat, where through the kindness of the local chief known as P. Armugam Mudali, they established a small trading establishment. It was so called after him. This place, however, was not so well suited as Masulipatam, which was more close to the seats of local manufacture. The local governor at Masulipatam, however, exacted such heavy dues that it was temporarily abandomed in the autumn of 1628. Armagon was the first place fortified by the English in India. It mounted 12 guns. The business here consisted of cargo brought from England, intended for investment in piece-goods, which were to be taken to Bantam and Maccassar for the provision of a return lading of pepper and spices. The factory was to the north-east of Chandragiri and equi-distant from Nellore and Pulicat and lay within the limits of Pulicat governorship, though under a separate governor, called Rāja Chetty, who figures in the factors' letters of the period. (See W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1630-1633, 170, 262, 265, 312). The merchants of Masuli-

Founding of Armagon, near Pulicat, 1626.

patam were, however, anxious that the factory at their place should be re-opened and the English were anxious to do so as Armagon by itself was found to be insufficient to supply their commercial needs. The result was that the factory at Masulipatam was re-opened in April 1630, Henry Sill, from Bantam, being appointed to it as Agent on the Coast. Apparently commerce was resumed on the old lines and soon the English had five factories going—Masulipatam, Petapoli, Motipalli, Armagon, and Vīravāsaram, the last being a small town, 8 miles north of the fort of Narasāpur in the Godavari District. (See *Ibid*, Introd. xi.)

The Great Famine of 1630.

Just as the Masulipatam factory was being re-opened, there occurred one of the most disastrous famines that India has ever known. It affected the whole of the country, north and south, and the scarcity is said to have extended even to Persia. Harrowing descriptions are to be found in the letters of the English traders in India to their masters in England. Thus President Rastell writing from Surat on December 31, 1630, gave a vivid account of its effects. The famine had followed three bad seasons and culminated in 1630 in "an universall dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record; the country being wholly dismanteled by drougth..............the poore mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitations in multitudes, and instead of reliefe elcewhere have perished in the feilds for want of food to sustaine them." Many of the inhabitants fled into "parts of more hoped plenty," *i.e.*, the northern provinces, which had escaped the famine; while others in desperation attacked and plundered all but the strongest parties of travellers. From Gujarat to the Golconda Coast, the land became one vast charnel-house. (*The English Factories in India*, 1630-1633, Introd. xiii). An equally terrible account of this famine is to be found in the *Bādshanāma* (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* VII, 24) where it is stated that "destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love." Similar descriptions are to be read in the contemporary Dutch records quoted by Mr. Foster in his work, and in Peter Mundy's narrative of his journey from Surat to Agra. (W. Foster, *l.c.*, xiii, *f.n.*, 1.) On the Coromandel Coast, it was no less severe than in Upper India. "Mesulupatam and Armagon was sorely opprest with famine," wrote an eye witness, "the liveinge eating up the dead, and men durst scarsly travell in the countrey for feare they should be kild and eaten." (*Ibid*, Introd. xiv; 268). The factors at Armagon wrote in 1631, explaining the small returns they made, as due to the "miserable tymes, full fraught with the calamitie of war, pestilence, and famine." (*Ibid*, xxiii and 183). If so, the Chandragiri and Pulicat provinces should have been badly affected by the famine, though we have no references to it in any of the inscriptions or literary works of the period. The famine was evidently as bad in its effects as the one registered in a record dated in 1540 A.D., which comes from the Mysore District, in which it is stated that the prices ruled so high that men ate men (*manusa manusara tindaru*). (*E.C.* III, Chamarājnagar, 108).

Visit of William Fielding, Earl of Denbig, 1633.

William Fielding, Earl of Denbig, perhaps the first English nobleman to visit the East as a tourist, arrived in India in November 1631, and visited Masulipatam about the beginning of 1633. (W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1631-33, Introd. xix and 257.)

Indian policy towards foreigners: Remarks of Mr. William Foster.

Mr. Willam Foster in concluding his review of the relations of the Imperial Moghuls with the English settlers in their Dominions during this period, has drawn pointed attention to the fact that the Emperor and his leading nobles were actuated by "painstaking desire to act fairly by all and to consider the welfare of those under them," and quotes Sir Thomas Roe's emphatic declaration that "their justice is generallie good to strangers." This might be taken to have been the policy of Venkata I as well, though in the reign of Rāma-Dēva, the circumstances were such that effective control over the vagaries of some of the settlers went unchecked. Another point referred to by Mr. Foster is that "there is no trace of intolerance or persecution of any man on account of his religion—a statement which could scarcely be made of any European country at the same period." (*The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, Introd. xlvi). This remark is as applicable to the Hindu Kings and the chiefs of the South as to their Muhammadan contemporaries in the north. Another writer has gone one step further in this connection and has suggested that the free facilities allowed to travellers in India during this period is indicative of its high civilization. "From one point of view," he says, "there is nothing that gives us an insight into the comparatively high state of civilization in India during the mediæval period as the immunity with which strangers from a foreign country were able to take their womenfolk with them on their travels in India. In the fifteenth century, we saw Conti doing so with perfect safety ; at the beginning of the seventeenth, Pietro Della Valle supplies us with a second example. Had the positions been reverted, and an Indian traveller attempted to travel with his family through any of the more civilized countries of Europe between the beginning of the fifteenth and the close of the sixteenth century, it is doubtful whether the treatment he would have received would have been in any way comparable to that which the natives of India, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, meted out to their "Feringhi" visitors. (*E.F.* Oaten, *European Travellers in India*, 137-8).

Rāma-Dēva's residence.

Though his records uniformly mention Ghanagiri, (*i.e.*, Penukonda) as his capital, Rāma-Dēva was evidently mostly in residence at Vellore. A record of his dated in 1629, actually states that he was ruling from Vellore. (*M.E.R.* 1925-6, Para, 44; No. 305 of 1926.) The suggestion of Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri that "there is good reason to believe that he must have been ruling at Chandragiri" seems not quite well founded. (See *A.S.I.* 1909-10, 191).

His religious leanings.

Rāma-Dēva was undoutedly a staunch Srī-Vaishnava. But there is one record just indicating his interest, if not his leanings, towards the religion of Siva. Thus, he seems to have shown considerable interest in restoring worship in the Virupāksha temple at Mutinapura, in distant Chikmagalur Taluk. It is mentioned in a record dated in 1615 that the temple had once gone out of repairs during the reign of Vīra-Ballāla-Rāya, and that he came to the place and repaired it granting for the offerings, perpetual lamp, dancing girls, decorations and musicians of the God, eleven villages. But that since then the temple had again gone out of repair, and worship had ceased. Rāma-Dēva, it is said, repaired it and set up the God once again in it. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur, 103).

His death.

The date of Rama-Dēva's death is not known. His inscriptional records, so far discovered, stop at 1629 A.D., except one, and those of his successor Venkata II commence in 1630, though as Yuvarāja, a few of his records dated in 1621-22 and 1622-23, are known. (See above). The exception mentioned is the Muttugere copper-plate record dated *Saka* 1555 (wrongly printed as 1155) *Srīmukha* year, *Āshadha Su* 5, when he is still to be said ruling from his diamond throne at Penukonda. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 86). If this date is correct, the Saka and the cyclic year agree, and if the *Saka* date as printed is amended as above, then he should have reigned till about

July 1632, after which he should have died, probably at Vellore, his usual residence. It might be added that there is a record of Venkata II, his successor, dated in the same *Saka* and cyclic year as that of the Muttugere record, but nine months later in April *Chaitra Sudda panchami* (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, App. A. No. 17.) It is possible he died on some day between July 1632 and April 1633.

Venkatapati II, Peda-Venkata, or Venkata II, 1630 (? 1633)-1642 A.D.

Rāma-Dēva IV, having died without issue, was succeeded by Peda-Venkata, or Venkata II, styled in inscriptions as Venkatapatidēva-Mahārāya. He appears to have been made *Yuvarāja* in the seventh year of Rāma-Dēva's reign, as there are records dated in 1621-2 A.D., describing him with the full Imperial titles. (*Nellore Inscriptions* I, Atmakur 48, dated in 1621-22 A.D.; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 60; App. B. 377, dated in 1622-23 A.D.) He was the grandson by direct descent of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, and son of Srī-Ranga-Rāja IV, a son of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II. In a record dated in 1630 A.D., he is wrongly spoken as the son of Tirumala II. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. B. No. 388 of 1912.) As remarked in connection with the date of the death of Rāma-Dēva IV, it is possible that Venkata II became king in or about the beginning of 1633 A.D. In a record dated in 1634 A.D., he is called Ānegondi Venkatapati-Mahārāya (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 56; App. C. No. 20) probably because he lived with his paternal uncle Konda-Rāja, who is stated to have ruled at Ānegondipura. He is similarly styled "Ānegondi Venkatapati" in the chronological list included in the Mackenzie Mss. (Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, 265). This would seem to suggest that Venkata II (or his father Srī-Ranga IV) settled at Ānegondi, the old capital, after the battle of 1565 and lived there, probably ruling over the surrounding country. He married Bangāramma (or Bangāramāmba,) who, according to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, was the daughter of Gobbūri Obarāja. (See *Sources*, 310). This Gobbūri Obarāja was probably the son of the person of the same name who was the father-in-law of Venkata I. Venkata is said to have been crowned to the throne by Tirumala-Tātāchārya. Mr. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this may be the *guru* who conducted the installation of Venkata I. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 191, *f.n.* 2). It is, however, more probable that he was his son; as in two records which are undated and come from the Chingleput District, it is stated that the *guru* of Venkata II was Ettūr *Immadi* Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchārya, who was probably the son of Ettūr Kumāra-Tātāchārya, the *guru* of Venkata I. (*M.E.R.* 1921-2, App. C. Nos. 221 and 222.) These two records register the fact that this *guru* built an irrigation tank called Tātāsamudram at Tennēri, which breached, and that he repaired it, putting up 23 sluices for it. (*Ibid*).

His royal residence.

Though in almost all his inscriptions, Venkata II is spoken of as ruling from his throne in Penukonda, which continued to be the recognized royal capital, he is described in one record as ruling from Vijayanagar (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 45, probably assignable to 1635 A.D.). His royal residence was undoubtedly Vellore, wherefrom his predecessor also had ruled.

Nature of his rule.

His rule of about ten years appears to have been a quiet one. He seems to have held the various parts of the Empire together and ruled it with wisdom. But the power was slipping away from him, slowly but surely. The chief territorial loss of his reign was Udayagiri which, as will be shown below, was captured in 1642-3 A.D., the last year of his reign, by Sultān Abdullah of Golconda.

Relations with Madura.

In the south, his relations with Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura were cordial. Early in his reign, probably about

1633 A.D., there was a war between Chāmarāja VI of Mysore and Tirumala, these two subordinates of the Empire indulging in counter invasions. This indicates the weakness of the central power. These wars evidently benefited neither party, though each should have done some damage to the other, as they are spoken of as having carried the war into each other's territories. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 119-120). Chāmarāja VI also appropriated Channapatna and its dependencies, hitherto under the rule of the Jagadēva-Rāyas' family. Tirumala himself was dutiful, as his Kūniyur plates, dated in 1634 A.D., which recognize the suzerainty of Venkata II, amply testify to. But it is interesting to note that in this record Tirumala claims equality with the Emperor by inserting both his own and the Emperor's pedigree in it. (See *E.I.* III, 236; *M.E.R.* 1891-6.) While Kūniyur, the village registered to be granted in this record by Venkata II, at Tirumala's request, is said to be in Tiruvadi-rājya, there is an edict of Unni-Kērala Varma, dated in 1634-5 A.D., the Tiruvadi King, excusing the taxes due from the cultivators in the territories that suffered from Tirumala's troops. (V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, 302-3.) Evidently, this edict was issued after the war in which Tirumala engaged against the Tiruvadi-rājya, in the name of the Emperor. (*A.S.I.* 1911-2, 195). The Kūniyur grant would seem to suggest that the invasion was a success.

Relations with Seringpatam.

Chāma-Rāja, the Mysore King, in a grant dated in 1634 and Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja I, in another dated in 1640, recognize the suzerainty of Venkata II. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 22-23, No. 6; *E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 10 and Gundlupet 49, which repeats 10). Chāmarāja's war against Tirumala, the Madura Nāyaka, has been mentioned above.

Minor subordinates.

Among the minor chiefs known from the inscriptional records of the period are a few that might be mentioned. Two of these were Mahāmandalēsvara Kadirināyani Kōnapa-Nāyaka and Hande Dēvi-Nāyudu. (*M.E.R.* 1925-6, Para 44; No. 299 of 1926). Others were Sante Bennur Hanumappa (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 19 dated in 1639); Bairappa-Nāyaka (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 115; copper-plate grant from Chiknayakanhalli dated in 1639 A.D.); Immadi-Baire-Gauda (*E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 31 dated in 1640 A.D.); and Sāluva Mahārāja-Tirumalarājayyadēva-Mahārājayyadēva-Mahārāya, son of Srī-Ranga and grandson of Mahāmandalēsvara Kattāri-Sāluva-Mahārāja, who ruled over the Kārvetinagar country. Evidently he had become loyal since the battle of Topūr. (See *ante*). Records of Venkata II have also come from the Kolar, Tumkur, Anantapur and Nellore Districts. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 60 dated 1636; *E.C.* X, Kolar 246 dated 1637; *M.A.R.* 1923, page 123-4, No. 129 (spurious); and *Nellore Inscriptions* III. 753, Kavali 50 dated 1636-7; Kavali 49 dated 1638-39). In the last of these, there are two records dated in 1637 and 1639 A.D., from Kavali, registering the settlement of *mēras* for certain irrigation tanks in the Udayagiri-*sīma*. A copper-plate record which comes from Penukonda is dated in Saka 1560, (or A.D. 1638) and agrees word for word with the Kūniyur grant, above mentioned. (*M. E. R.* C. P. No. 17 of 1911). It records the restoration of certain villages originally granted by Vīra-Narasimha-Rāya, Sadāsiva, and Venkata I to the *darga* of Bābayya at Penukonda. The renewal was necessitated, it is said, by the loss of the original documents on the occasion of the seizure of Penukonda by Immadi Hāvali Baire-Gauda. The Baire-Gauda of this record has been identified with Baire-Gauda, the chief of Dodda-Ballapur. He evidently rebelled about 1638 and seized Penukonda itself, in 1638, in the reign of Rāma-Dēva. (See below). As regards

Bābayya *darga*, Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has identified it with the shrine of the Muhammadan Saint Bābanatta, to which much veneration was paid by the people for the success of its horological forecasts. Hence the villages granted were styled as *hōra* villages. The reputation reached even the far south as we see queen Magammal of Madura making a grant to it. (*M.E.R.* 1911, C. P. No. 19 of 1911).

Some forged grants of the period.

There are, besides, a few forged copper--plate grants dated in this reign, which may perhaps be taken as indicating the attempts made during unsettled times to pass them off as valid documents of title to real property. Three of these mention grants by Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya. The first of these bears no *Saka* date but mentions only the cyclic year, which is Yīsvera (Īsvara), probably Saka 1499, corresponding to *Saka* 1499, or A.D. 1577, which is an impossible date for Venkata II, who began his rule as Yuvarāja in 1621 and as King in 1633. This grant describes Vijaya-Venkatapati as the son of Virupāksha and grandson of Narasimha and as the chief lord of the Karnātaka throne of Vijayanagar and registers a grant of the village of Vengere in the Vadaga Rāttūrhōbli, attached to the Paramati-*sthala*, to Suvarna-tīrtha, disciple of Sankarshana-tīrtha and disciple's disciple of Adirāja-tīrtha, the establisher of the Vaishnava Siddhānta. The *guru* mentioned evidently belonged to the Srīpādarāya-*matha* at Mulbagal, from which the grant comes. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 1). The second grant (consisting of only one plate) is dated in Saka 1290, cyclic year Īsvara, (or A.D. 1268) and mentions Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya. The date is impossible for Venkata II. The *Saka* and cyclic years also do not agree, for Īsvara is *Saka* 1200, while the professed *Saka* date of the grant is *Saka* 1190. The titles ascribed to Vijaya-Venkata are also peculiar, as they seem to be derived from those of the Dynasty of Mysore

Kings. Vijaya-Venkatapati is also described as the son of Virūpāksha, and grandson of Narasimha-Rāja of the Ātrēya-Gōtra, Asyanu (Āsvulāyana) *Sūtra* and Rick-Sākha. At the professed date of the grant, the Vijayanagar Dynasty was not yet born. Venkatapati, besides, belonged to the Āpasthamba-Sūtra and Yajus-Sākha. The plate is in modern Kannada. It records the grant of the village of Vengere to Suvarnavarna Parasurāma-tīrtha of Mulbagal (of the Srīpadarāya-*matha*) who is described as the disciple of Sankarshana-tīrtha and *prati-Sishya* of Ādirāja-*tīrtha*. The latter is the donee in *E.C.* X, Mulbagal, where the same ancestry is given to Venkatapati-Rāya. (*M.A.R.* 1908-9, Para 94). The third grant of Vijaya-Venkatapati-Rāya comes from Sringēri and is dated in Saka 1240, Vibhava, which do not agree, Vibhava corresponding to Saka 1250. Saka 1240 would be A.D. 1318 and Saka 1250 would be A.D. 1328. The grant is in modern Kannada characters. Vijaya-Venkatapati is described as the son of Virūpāksha, and grandson of Narsimha-Rāyarāiya. It registers the gift of the village of Vengere in Paramati-*sthala*, to the Goddess Sārada at Sringēri, the donee being Narasimha-Bharati of Sringēri, disciple of Rāmachandra-Bhārati and disciple's disciple of Govīnda-Bhārati. This grant resembles *E.C.* X, Mulbagal, which grants Vengere to another *matha*. But what has been spoken as a typical forgery of the period is a lithic record dated in *Saka* 1581, Prabhava, or A.D. 1659, which comes from Kuvattur, in the Chingleput District. (*M.E R.* 1923-24, App. C. No. 158 of 1924; the date is given as *Saka* 1584 at page 166 of the *Report*, which seems a mistake). It registers a gift of 17 villages to the goddess Angāla-Paramēsvari, for the merit of Sadāsiva-Mahārāya and Timmarāyan, the former of whom is described as the son of Sāluva-Mangu-Udaiyar Dēva-mahārāya." Not stopping here, it quotes a previous gift by Rāmarāsayyan (Aliya Rāma-Rāja II) to the same temple!

Avati chief's raid on Penukonda, 1638.

In 1638, there was evidenty a plundering raid on Penukonda, the capital, by Immadi Hāvali (? Avati) Baire-Gauda of Dod-Ballapura. (*M.E.R.* C. P. No. 17 of 1911). As we hear of Penukonda being the capital in numerous grants after 1630 A.D., Baire-Gauda should have been beat off.

Progress of the English: grant of Madraspatam for a settlement, 1639.

The progress of the European nations in the South during this reign is indicated in the following chronological table, which, except for one event, need not be enlarged.

Feb. 26, 1634 Golconda Firmān issued by the Sultān of Golconda to the Company exempting the Company from all manner of duties in the kingdom on condition it allowed the royal officials to purchase all the horses and curios imported by the Company.

1635 "Accord" with the Portuguese by which hostilities ceased with them in the East.
This was approved and affirmed by the famous treaty between the two nations dated in May 1642, which still subsists.

1635 Courtens' Company formed.

1639 Founding of Fort St. George (subordinate to Bantam until 1654.),

1642 Regular despatches received by Fort St. George.

1636 English making investments in Pondicherry and Port Novo, (W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1634-6, Introd. xxxviii.)

Armagon had not proved as advantageous to the English as they were led to expect that it would be. It, however, enjoyed an ephemeral importance between the years 1626 and 1630, when Masulipatam once again became the chief settlement. The Nāyak of Armagon proved unfriendly and the fort was going to decay. Thomas Day, the factor in charge of it, apparently thought that instead of repairing it, it would be best to seek a new and more hospitable place on the coast and build a fort there in the Company's interests. Thomas Ivie, who had been appointed to Masulipatam as chief, passed through Armagon, on his way from Bantam, and authorized Day to explore the coast for a better station. Day made a voyage of exploration in 1637 as far as Pollecheere (Pondicherry) and evidently selected "Medraspatam," three miles to the north of San Thomē and negotiated for its grant with

Venkatādri-Nāyaka, son of Chenna, the famous general of Venkata I, who defeated Vēlūri Linga, the son of Chinna-Bomma, Nāyaka of Vellore. (See *ante* under *Venkata* I). Venkatādri evidently had become the Commander-in-chief and Chief Minister of Venkata II, as he is spoken of as the "lord General of Carnatica" and "Grand Vazier" to the Rāja. It would seem as though he had his (perhaps temporary) head-quarters at the time at Wandiwash (in the present North Arcot District) and had left one Aiyappa, Nāyaka of Poonamalli, to attend to the affairs on the coast. This Aiyappa is described in the English records as his (Venkatādri's) "brother," (see Love, *l.c.*, 14) and in the Dutch records of 1642 as the "brother-in-law" of Venkata II himself. (*Ibid*, 14, *f.n.*, 1). He is probably identical with Akkappa-Nāyaka, described as the brother of Venkatappa-Nāyaka and son of Dāmal Channappa-Nāyaka, mentioned in a record dated in 1642 in the reign of Venkata II. (See *M.E.R.* 1923-4, Para 56; App. B. No. 421 of 1923; lithic inscription from Tiruppanangadu, Cheyyur Taluk, North Arcot District). Dāmal Chennappa, the father of Venkatādri and Akkappa (also called Aiyappa) will be referred to further below. With the aid of Akkappa, who was in charge of the Poonamalli country, in which Madraspatam was included at the time, Day obtained from Venkatādri-Nāyaka, a grant of territory and privileges, and license to build a fort and form a settlement. Copies of this grant are extant. Erroneously called a *farmān* by Day, it states that it was issued by the Nāyaka out of his "spetiale Love and favour to the English." Among its terms were:—

(1) That the English could build a fort and castle "in or about Medraspatam," the first mention of that name in the Madras Records, the charges for the first instance being met by him and then defrayed by the English on their taking possession of it;

(2) The English to have full power and authority to govern and disposal of the fort of Madraspatam during the space of two years from their occupying it;

(3) The English were to receive a moiety of the customs and revenues of the port;

(4) The English were to import into or export goods from Madraspatam for ever customs free;

(5) The English were to pay customs duties on goods passing through the Nāyak's territories or those of any other Nāyak;

(6) The English at Madraspatam were vested with the right of perpetual free coinage;

(7) The Nāyak was to make good money advances by the English to merchants, painters, (*i.e.* dyers), weavers, etc., in the said port, in every case where he has guaranteed such repayments, or deliver up such persons if they be found in his territories;

(8) The English at Madraspatam to buy provisions for themselves and for their ships free of all duties in the Nāyak's territories; and

(9) The English to have restitution upon demand of everything found in ships which suffered shipwreck in any part of the Nāyak's territories, provided they belonged to the English or any nation whatsoever which came to trade at the port of Madraspatam.

The grant of Dāmarla Venkatādri-Nāyaka was dated 22nd July 1639, though Col. Love thinks that this date is really a slip for 22nd August 1639. (H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras* I, 16-17). It would seem from certain records that it was confirmed by King Venkata II but no copy of the latter's grant has so far been discovered. (See *Ibid*, 67). The debts at Armagon were paid off and Madraspatam (both the forms *Medraspatam* and *Mādraspatam* are to be seen in the records of the period) was occupied on 20th February 1640. (*Ibid*, 25). Evidently the village of "Medraspatam" already existed at the time of the grant, the English Company being granted the whole of the village for two years certain. Its total length was from north to south about 3¼ miles and its mean width one mile. (*Ibid*, 27 and 28). The fort was lined out newly square plain, with a bastion at each angle (*Ibid*, 28). There were evidently *in the site of the fort* about fifteen or twenty fisher-men's huts, which soon gave place (about 1641) to 70 or 80 houses. (*Ibid*, 35 quoting *Dagh Register* 1640-41, 185). The expenditure on the fort was met by borrowing, Day being personally liable at first for the interest due on the loans. (*Ibid*, 35 and 37). On 24th September 1641, Madras became the chief factory on the coast, Masulipatam yielding its place to it. (*Ibid*, 41). The earliest letter extant from "Fort St. George" is dated 17th July 1642. (*Ibid*, *f.n.*, 1). A few months elapsed, and Venkata II himself died and his minister Dāmarla Venkatādri lost his position at the Imperial head-quarters. (*Ibid*, 59). The English, however, were secure by now in their new possession; so secure, indeed, that they were able to withstand the disturbances of the next half a century and more. Col. Love has suggested that the name "Madraspatam" ought to be derived from the name of "Mada Razu or Rāju," who, he conjectures, "may have been some local ruler of the district in the forgotten past." (*Ibid*, 87). There can be no question that "Medraspatam" existed prior to the settlement of the English at or on it. From the grant of Srī-Ranga VI, dated in October 1645 and to be referred to below, the grant of Venkatādri-Nāyak, confirmed by king Venkata II, had included both "Medraspatam" and the land on which Fort St. George came to be built. To the latter, on which originally a few fishermen had lived and had been compelled to vacate it to make room for the English settlement—the name of Srī-Ranga-pattana had been given by Srī-Ranga VI. This is the name by which it is referred to in Srī-Ranga's grant above mentioned. In this grant, Srī-Ranga-Rāya distinguishes between the village of Medraspatam and the new town springing up around the Fort, which he calls "Zero-Ranga-Rāyapatān, my towne" (*Ibid*, 83). The fort and the new town near it seem to have been also collectively called as the "Fort and town of Chinapatām," as this is the name under which it occurs in Nawab Neknām Khān's grant dated in 1672. (*Ibid*, 82-3). Thus, it has to be inferred that "Srī-Ranga-Rāya-pattam" and "Chinapatam" are different names for the new town, while "Madraspatam" continued to be the name of the old village which probably lay contiguous to the new town. (*Ibid*, 83). On the basis of a document dated in 1660, it has been stated that it was called "Chinapatam" because Aiyappa Nāyak, brother of Dāmarla Venkatappa, wrote to Francis Day at Armagon, in 1639, expressing a desire to found a town in the name of his father, Chinnappa Nāyak, and offering liberal privileges if the English would come and settle in it. The name of "Srī-Ranga-Rāyapatam" given in 1645 should, Col. Love suggests, have been rejected in favour of "Chinnapatām," which should by 1660 have come into current use. He also suggests that the original site on which the Fort was erected should have had a name and that original name would have been displaced with difficulty. "Chinnapatam may therefore," he thinks, "have been that original name, the assigned derivation from Chennapa being evolved later." (*Ibid*, 83-84). The first appearance of the name occurs in a record of 1652 but it should have been in use among the residents of the place much earlier than that date. That this should have been the case is suggested by a private grant dated in 1646, which records an endowment of the Chenna-Kesava-Perumal temple at Madras. (*Ibid*, 84). This Chennapa may be identified with Chennapa Nāyaka of Damal mentioned in a lithic inscription from Ayyangar-kulam, in the present Chingleput District, recording a private grant made by the merchants of various countries present at Tātasamudram *alias* Ayyan-kulam or Ayyangar-kulam, after Ettūr Tirumalaiya ningāru, the *guru* of King Venkata I and probably of Venkata II as well, to a newly founded for Hanumān temple at the place in the year *Subhakritu*, (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 98; App. C. No. 95). The year Subhakritu corresponds to A.D. 1662.

That Damarla Venkatādri's desire was to perpetuate his father's name is borne out by three other inscriptions found on the bund of the Narasamangalam Tank in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 98; *M.E.R.* 1906-7, Para 74; App. B. Nos. 261, 262, and 263 of 1906). These three lithic records are dated in 1638-9, the very year in which the site at Madraspatam for the future Fort St. George was granted, and register the fact that Venkatappa-Nāyaka built a tank at the village and called it *Chenna-Sāgaram.* That Venkatappa's brother, Aiyapa, also took an active interest in the grant of the site to the English is also clear from later records. (See Love, *Ibid,* I 346, where he is referred to as the "man that made and begun Chinapatam").

Foreign travellers in the South.

It was during the time of Venkata II that William Bruton, the English traveller, passed through the Coromandel Coast, in 1632. He describes "Massulipatam" (Masulipatam) as "a great town of merchandise" and gives a picturesque description of a little expedition to Cuttack sent by John Norris, the English agent at that place. (*E.F.* Oaten, *Travels in India,* 173). But a greater traveller than him was the German Albert de Mandeslo, one of the most active and intelligent who ever visited India. He reached India in 1636. He did not go farther down south than Bijāpur, which was then subject to the Moghul Emperor. (*Ibid*, 176-179).

Gōlconda attack on Udayagiri, 1642-43.

In or about 1642-43 A.D. Abdulla Kutub Shāh, the Gōlconda Sultān, attacked Udayagiri, and took it. He evidently did much damage to the temples on the hill, as he prides himself in a record of the year mentioned above that Ghazi Alī, probably his general, "from one end to the other," "burnt away the sweepings of idolatry" and that "his justice cleansed the garden of its impurities." He adds:—

> "With the fire of his sword, (he) burnt in one moment the idol worshippers; (he) killed all, that breaker through (annihilator) of the army; when he captured the fort of Udayagiri, the world became full of jessamine; (he) began to construct the mosque and the date was, "Founder of the mosque—(Ghazi) Alī, the iconoclast." (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III. 1385, Udayairi 39).

Evidently he demolished the famous temple on the hill and erected in its place the mosque, on which this Persian record is to be seen. That Abdulla was at the time in possession of the adjacent country, including Vinukonda, is proved by a record dated in Hijra 1050 (or A.D. 1640-1) found at the latter place, at which he sanctioned the erection of a mosque (*M.E R.* 1913 No. 53; of 1913). Several other inscriptions in Udayagiri attest to this conquest of Sultān Abdulla. One dated in 1661-2 states that Saiyid Muzaffar, a courtier of his, laid a beautiful garden of his own device in the fort of Udayagiri. (*Nellore Inscriptions* III, 1370-1. Udayagiri 26). From another dated in the cyclic year Plava, corresponding to *Saka* 1583, or A.D. 1661, it would seem that Saiyid Muzaffir Zil-ul-lah-u Tayala (his full name is given in Udayagiri 27) gave to the garden laid out under his orders the name of *Pārsmisāl* and that he erected an inscribed pillar there. (*Ibid*, 1371, Udayagiri 27). Parsmisāl means Persia-like, Persia being noted for its gardens. Evidently the garden had been laid out on the Persian model. It would appear from this inscription that the garden was the work of one Sheik Hassan, as it is styled his garden. Another record at Udayagiri states that Sultān Abdulla destroyed a temple and constructed a mosque for the purpose of prayers in 1660-1. (*Ibid*, 1381, Udayagiri 36). It might be inferred from these records of Abdulla that he took interest in the place (he actually ruled till 1672 A.D.) he had captured and that he countenanced its beautification by mosques and gardens. In the cyclic year Jaya there is mention made of a grant to a temple at Tirumlisai in the reign of Rāma-Rāja Venkatapati-Dēva-mahārāja, which, it has been suggested may refer to Venkata II as he was the grandson of Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 59; App. C, No, 22). The cyclic year Jaya, however, corresponds not only to *Saka* 1517 and 1577 but also to *Saha* 1637, equivalent to A.D. 1595, 1655, and 1715. This record cannot refer to Venkata I as he was neither the son nor the grandson of Rāma-Rāja; it cannot also apply to Venkata II, as we know definitely that he died in 1642; and as regards Venkata VI, he was the son of Kōdanda-Rāma (see *ante*) and was ruling, nominally or otherwise, up to 1717 A.D. He may have lived longer than that date. Another is a record in 1645-6 (see *M.E R.* 1912, Para 61; C. No. 80) which, in registering the repair of a temple in Penugonda-*sīme*, states that the repairs were carried out under the orders of Venkata (II). As we know now definitely that the latter died in 1642, this record has to be construed in the sense that the order was issued before his death in 1649 and that it was carried out in 1645-6 after his death and not in the sense that Venkata II was still alive in 1645-46 A.D. when they were carried out.

Death, 1642 A.D.

Venkata II appears to have died in October 1642 at Narayanavanam, in the present Chittoor District. (William Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 25, *f.n.*; H. D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras* 1, 53, *f.n.*, 3, which entirely agree with the available dates for Srī-Ranga VI as a *ruling King*. The earliest of these is dated in

Saka 1663 *Vishu* (Vrisha), Asvayuja 30, September-October 1641). There are, however, a couple of lithic records that conflict with this date. In these records, he is spoken of as still ruling. These are dated in 1645-6 A. D., (*M.E.R.* 1912 Para 61, App. C. No. 80; also *Nellore Ins.* II, 798, Nellore 33). These two records should be construed as recording in 1645-6 what Venkata II had ordered before 1642, when he was still alive. Probably he was a devotee of the temple of Kalyāna Venkatādri Perumāl at this place, founded in 1541 A.D., in the name of Venkatādri, son of Achyuta-Rāya (see *ante*) as we find an inscription of Venkata II himself in its outer *gōpura*, dated in 1622 A.D., recording a grant to it by the mercantile community headed by Prithvisetti Rāyanimantri Bhāskara, the local chief of the time being Sāluva Mahārāja-Tirumalarājayyadēva, already mentioned. This Mantri Bhāskara was evidently a high-minded and charitable Brāhman who befriended the trading classes and obtained for them many immunities from the rulers. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 60; App. B. No. 377). There are many ministers of the name of Rāyani Bhāskara known to Telugu literature and inscriptions. One of these probably belonged to the 16th century, for Krishna-Rāya is said to have appointed one of his generals Bhāskarayya to govern the fortress of Vinukonda, after its capture by him. (See *ante* under *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya*). He must be the person praised by the poet Ravipāti Tripurāntaka in his verses. There was another of the same name in the reign of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya in charge of Kondavīdu. (See *ante* under *Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya*). Another was in charge of Gandikōta in 1602 in the reign of Venkata I. (See *Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, 1, 621, Cuddapah 512). One of the time of Kātaya Vēmā-Reddi is also known. (See V. Prabhakara Sastri, *Chātupadya-manimanjary*, 75-86, for further information).

Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI 1642-1664 (? 1681).

Venkata II was succeeded by Srī-Ranga-Rāya VI, his nephew, who had been adopted by Venkatādrī's grandson Gōpāla (see Table at the end), though not without a struggle as will be mentioned below. He appears to have been co-ruler—probably as Yuvarāja—since at least 1623, when we have a reference to him in a lithic record from the Kistna district. (*Ins. in the Madras Presidency*, II. 894, No. 218 C. to U). Other records dated in 1630, 1631, 1637, 1640, and 1641 confirm this inference, as some of these describe him as seated on the jewelled throne at Ghānagiri (or Penukoda) and ruling the Empire. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 1. dated in 1630; *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 105; *M.E.R.* 1905-6, Para 49 dated in 1631; App. B. No. 388 of 1905 dated in 1637; *M.A.R.* 1913-14, No. 111 dated in 13th June 1640; and *E.C. X*, Kolar 225 dated in 1641 and 86 dated in 1641). In a record dated in 1642-3, *Saka* 1565, Subhānu, Panguni, 7 Friday, he is styled *Mahāmandalēsvara*, evidently because his coronation had not yet taken place. If this inference is correct, then his actual accession should have taken place after the above date which falls in March-April 1643. (See *M.E.R.* 1913-14, App. B. No. 271 of 1913).

Duration of his rule.

Srī-Ranga's rule is not yet finally determined. According to the letters sent out by the English at Fort St. George, he ceased to reign, at least on the coast, from about October 1647, from when they date the occupation of the country by Mir Jumla, the general of the Sultān of Gōlconda. Srī-Ranga did not lose the whole of his empire by then, though he might have been dislodged from the Pulicat province about that date. (See H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras*, I. 75-76). The latest record mentioned by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in connection with him is one dated in *Saka* 1586 or A.D. 1664. (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 193). But there are a few records of his dated in 1674 and 1681. These would seem to indicate that he probably ruled over a dismembered or an attenuated empire up to at least that date. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 5 dated in 1674; *E.C.* IX Magadi 8, dated in 1681 and Pavagada 59, dated in 1681).

Character of his rule.

The reign of Srī-Ranga VI was cast in difficult times. Between his ministers and his chief vassals—the chiefs of Gingee, Tanjore and Madras—he had no easy time. But he was evidently a man endowed with political insight and vigour. He tried to alternately subdue them and use them against their common enemy. Though his efforts were not crowned with success, justice requires he should be given credit for putting them forth. The Empire at last gave way in his reign. His recognized capital was taken; he himself was compelled to flee for his life; and his vassals were also reduced and their kingdoms subverted before long.

His capital.

During the first half of his reign, Penukonda continued to be the recognized capital of the Empire. From that place, his records are found dated up to about 1649 A. D. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 1 dated in 1630; *M.E.R.* 1917-18, Para 77 and App. B. No. 691 of 1917 dated in 1643 A.D.; *Nellore Ins.* II, 798, Nellore 33, dated in 1645-6; *M.A.R.* 1924., 64-5, No. 75, dated in 1st. April 1645; *M.E.R*, 1916, App. A. No. 1, dated in 1647; and *E.C.* IX. Hoskote 71, dated in 1649.) During this very period, there is independent evidence to believe that his actual residence was at Vellore and not at Penukonda or Chandragiri. (*La Mission Du Mddure* III. 42, letter dated in 1659). This evidence is supported by the *Rāmarājīyamu*, which states definitely that Srī-Ranga VI ruled from Vellore. (*Sources*, 311). The Gōlconda invasion of 1644 was successfully beaten off by Srī-Ranga and hence there is no interruption observable in the dating of the records from Penukonda, up to 1649 A.D. Even the temporary loss of Vellore in 1645 did not make any impression. In 1649, there was evidently a renewed attack on Penukonda, for the decade 1649 to 1659 A.D. is barren of inscriptions. If a Mackenzie Manuscript can be believed (*Mackenzie Mss.*, *Local Records*, LXIII. 1-8), Penukonda was taken by Bijāpur in 1652, through the treachery of its governor one Konēti Nāyudu, who obtained as its price Kundarti in Kalyānpur as Jaghir. A few inscriptions which have been traced in the vicinity of Conjeeveram, show that parts of the country had been in possession of Abdulla, the Gōlconda Sultān in 1658, 1664 and 1665 A.D. We know that Abdulla was recalled to his capital by a Moghul invasion in 1656. On his return, he appears to have left some of the lieutenants in charge of his new conquests. Thus a record, which is dated in 1658 A.D. and which comes from Dēvulacheruvu, in the present Chittoor district, mentions Hazart Anāra Sāhib of Gōlconda as governing over Gooty, Gurramkonda, Chandragiri, Ghandikota and other provinces "when the reign of Vīra-Rāma-Dēva of Ānegondi had ended." This is a reference to Rāma-Dēva IV, whose reign closed in 1630. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, Para 99; App. B. No. 323). Another record dated in 1664, which comes from Ekanāmpētta, in the Conjeeveram Taluk, registers a cowle that was given to the people who colonized the hamlet of Ekanām-Khān Sāhib in Tangi, a village of Kāliyūrnādu. (*Ibid* App. C. No. 80). Another record dated in the cyclic year Visvāvasu (*Saka* 1587 or A.D. 1665), that comes from Puttēri, Conjeeveram taluk, mentions Kōchchalamu Sāyabu, the manager of Kutumu-Parsa of Gōlconda *i.e.*, Kutb Shāh Abdulla. (*Ibid*, App., C. No. 131). There are a number of Telugu inscriptions at Belur commencing from 1659 and ending in 1663 which suggest that Belur in the Hassan district had become both Srī-Ranga's actual capital and residence. Evidently that place became Srī-Ranga's temporary capital and residence during the quinquennium. These records bear testimony to the period of his rule from Belur as it is said in one record that he was seated on the jewelled throne in Vēlāpuri and ruling the empire of the world. (*E.C.* V. Belur 80 dated in 1659 ; *E.C.* V. Belur 196 dated in 1659 ; *M.A.R.* 1925, 24-25 No. 11 dated in 20th November 1659; *M.A.R.* 1927, 43 No. 10 dated in 1659 ; *E.C.* V. Belur 81 dated in 1660; *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 94 Smartha Matha C. P. grant dated in 1660 ; *M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 8. C. P. grant dated in 1660 ; *M.A.R.* 1916 Para 105. C. P. Grant dated in 1661 ; *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123, three C. P. grants from Belur dated in 1660, 1662 and 1663, in the last of which the Emperor is said to be ruling at Belur ; *M.A.R.* 1911-12. Para 114, record two grants C. P. dated in 1642 and 1663). In keeping with this, in a record dated in 1660 A.D. (*Saka* 1582, *Sārvari*) which comes from Pavagada and belongs to this period of Srī-Ranga's reign in which it is simply recorded as "in the days of Srī-Ranga." (*E.C.* XII. Pavagada 599, which is wrongly assigned by Mr. Rice to 1681. See Translation of this record). About 1663, there was a movement back again to Ghanagiri, (*E.C.* V. Hassan 40 dated in 1663) though the fact that a few records dated in 1664, occurring in the Belur country, do not mention the place he ruled from, *eg.* *E.C.* V. Hassan, 39 dated in 1664; *E.C.* V, Manjarābad 21 in 1664 ; *E.C.* VII. Seringapatam 12 dated in 1664), would seem to indicate that he was still at Belur. As a matter of fact, a record dated in 1664 actually registers that he was still ruling from Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116, inscription at Raghunātha temple at Abbinahole, dated in 1664). But from 1665 Belur is no longer mentioned as the capital or the seat where the jewelled throne was located. A copper-plate grant dated 15th March 1665, which records a grant in the Gudluru-*sima* of the Penukonda-*Rājya*, omits all mention of the capital. (*M.A.R.* 1924 ; 11-12 No. 5). Another dated in the same year, however, refers to Srī-Ranga VI as seated on the throne in Chandragiri and ruling the Empire from there. This record registers a private grant in Koramangala-nād in the Penukonda-Rājya, (E.C. X. Goribidnur 3). Evidently Srī-Ranga was still endeavouring to get back his capital Penukonda, which had been occupied by the Muhammadans. A record assigned to 1668 shows that Hazarat Sāhib Abdulla Hassan Sahib, probably, the Gōlconda Sultān, Abdulla, who is referred to here, was still "ruling from the throne of Penukonda," a grant being made by his Subhedar for building a *matha*. (*E.C.* XII Pavagada 93). By 1669 evidently Srī-Ranga, had regained Penukonda. A record of that year actually represents him as seated on the jewelled throne at that place and as "ruling the secure Empire of that world." (*E.C.* X. Magadi 2). A record dated 16th April 1669, found at Venganur in the South Arcot district recognizes Srī-Ranga VI as the ruling sovereign. (*M.E.R.* 1912-13, 62; App. C. No. 2). The death of Abdulla, the Gōlconda Sultān, in 1672 should have enabled Srī-Ranga once again to re-assert his authority with even greater vigour over his lost dominions. We have accordingly a few records dated in 1674 A.D. actually registering his rule over the "Empire of the World" from Penukonda, "seated on the jewelled throne" at that place. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 5; Magadi 29; Magadi 30 all dated in 1674 A.D.). But in a record dated in 1681, he is simply described as "seated on the jewelled throne" and ruling the Empire, the capital not being mentioned. (*E.C.* IX. Magadi 8). As we know from other sources, in the interval between 1674 and 1681, other events of great importance had occurred. Venkāji, the son of Shāhji and brother of Sivāji, had, as the Bijāpur representative in the south, taken Tanjore; Sivāji himself invaded the south and captured Gingee in 1677, on behalf of Bijāpur Sultān and claimed a part of the conquests of Venkāji as his part of the inheritance. Evidently Penukonda was not yet finally lost. We have records dated in 1693 (*E.C.* IX. Hoskote 105), 1712 (*E.C.* IX Magadi 42), 1713 (*Ibid*, Magadi 3), 1717 (*M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 13) and 1759 (*M.A.R.* 1923, 55, No. 36) mentioning it. Of these records, the last is not quite reliable as the date is not correctly given in it. All these records, however, mention the name of the reigning king as Venkata V, VI, and Srī-Ranga VII, and speak of him as ruling from the jewelled throne at Penukonda. We know that Penukonda was taken by Morari Rao in 1746 and from that date its inscriptional importance wholly ceased.

Dispute as to the succession: the story as told in the Fort St. George records.

The death of Venkata II, in or about October 1642, was followed by domestic broils, which are reflected in the records of the English East India Company's agents at their new settlement of Fort St. George. The accession of Srī-Ranga coincided nearly with the appointment of Francis Day as agent at Fort St. George, (4th January 1642-3. See H. D. Love *l.c.* 51), though he did not stay long in his post and was succeeded by Thomas Ivie in August 1643. According to these records, the succession to the throne was disputed and Dāmarla Venkatādri, who was in high authority in the reign of Venkata II, was evidently not in favour of the accession of Srī-Ranga VI. He apparently championed the cause of some other claimant, whose name is not known, and called in the Muhammadans to his aid. But before he could attain his ends, the plot was discovered and he was seized and placed in confinement. The greater part of the country in his charge as governor was also wrested from him and occupied by Srī-Ranga's troops. Dāmarla Venkatādri's brother (probably Aiyappa) and kinsmen were, however, not unmindful of what was occurring. They raised a large army aud with the aid of the Muhammadans, whose arrival they were hourly expecting, they hoped to restore Venkatādri to liberty or to ruin the whole kingdom. Who these Muhammadans were it is not mentioned. The English, fearing harm to themselves, improved their defences. Cogan and his colleagues thus describe the position on the 29th December 1642:—

> "The wars and broyls increasing in this countrey, and now by reason of Great Naiques (*i.e.*, Dāmarla Venkatādri's) imprisonment drawing nere to us, we latelie raised a third Bulwarke of turfe (which they, before 1643, cased with stone); and wanting Gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the (ship) Advice shall spare us foure Minion (a Minion being a 3-inch, 4-pounder gun) for that purpose, because there is noe danger of enemie in her way to Bantam, and when shee comes there she may be againe supplyed." (H.D. Love, *l.c.* 53).

Again, on 4th January 1642-3 they resolved:—

> "This Countrie being all in Broiles, the old King of Karnatt being dead; so is the Naique of Armagon, whose Countrie is all in the hands of the Moores, and whoe will ere long by all likelyhood bee Maisters of all this Countrie. For our Naique (*i.e.*, Venkatādri) not findeng the Respect from the New Kinge as he expected, did made profer to assist the Moores; but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'itwas discovered, (and) he apperehended by the Kinge, who hath seazed a greate parte of his Countrie. But wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and release him, for our Naiques brother and kinsmen are levying an Armie for his rescue, whoe, with the help of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayes Journey of each other), will force his libertie or ruine the whole Kingdome." (*Ibid*, 53-54).

As remarked above, there is no clue in the passages quoted above as to who the competitor of Srī-Ranga VI to the throne was and who the Moores were with whom Damarla Venkatādri had opened negotiations. The *Rāmarājīyamu* does not throw any direct light on these points. But there is some negative evidence as to the identity of the competitor. While this poem mentions three sons of Chinna Venkata (III), of these it particularly refers only to two of them, Srī-Ranga (VI) and his elder brother Venkatapati (or Venkata IV of the table). Of Tirumala, the eldest brother of Srī-Ranga VI, it does not state anything. It is just possible that he was the competitor, all reference to him being omitted in the *Rāmarājīyamu*, because that poem was dedicated to Kōdanda-Rāma, the eldest son of Venkata IV, whose descendants eventually ruled over what remained of the Empire. (See *Sources*, under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 311 and Text, 313-6). As regards identifying the "Moores" whose aid Dāmarla Venkatādri called in, there seems less difficulty. The *Rāmarājīyamu* mentions that the heroic Srī-Ranga VI obtained great fame by advancing as far as Udayagiri against the forces of Kutb Shāh (of Gōlconda) and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. (*Ibid*, Text, 314). This event should have occurred in the early part of his reign and should be identified with the campaign referred to in the extracts from the Fort St. George records quoted above. Records of a later date go to confirm this inference. It would appear from them that Dāmarla Venkatādri was finally disgraced and the authority exercised by him was conferred by Srī-Ranga VI on Mallai (or Molli), probably Mallaya *alias* Chenāna Chetty, an Indian merchant, who had been broker to the Dutch at Pulicat. This Mallai was not overfriendly to the English at Madras and his appointment was looked upon with grave concern by the Agent and factors there. He was apparently an astute man, who not only managed to supercede Venkatādri in the Pulicat province but also did good business as the Indian merchant through whom the Dutch made their investment on the coast. Evidently a part of the bargain was that Mallai should obtain Dutch aid for Srī-Ranga VI in order that the latter might completely secure possession of Venkatādri's territories.

The following extract from the letter of the Agent at Fort St. George to his superiors at Bantam, dated 28th January 1643, shows the fears that he and his colleagues entertained of this combination of the Dutch and Srī-Ranga through Mallai's agency :—

> 'Such a storme is prepareing for us that 'tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch bave bine long a projecting, and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their Merchant, is Like to be as Powerfull with the king as the Serkayle is at Gulcandah. And to ingratiate him throughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and Gunns for the subdueing of Castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their owne use; by which means our Nague is Casherd and hee substituted, and is also made his Treasurer, and dus even in a manner Command all. And 'tis very probable that he will governe all the Seaports even to the very verges of Cealon; and what this may come to in a short time is no hard matter to Judge of. Beleive itt, 'tis not for naught that the Dutch assist him in this manner, for their ayme is to have the sole Trade of the Coaste; and if you doe not sett to the helping hand, and that suddenly, adue to all; but of this more at Large in an after Clause...........
>
> 'For our Competitors the Dutch dus dayly draw many advantages by our Long and tedious vacations, for, beleive it, they ayme att the sole trade, thereof never being such possibillities as at present. For the Portugalls, they play Least in sight; nay, 'tis to bee Dubitated whether they will have any abideing place in these parts within this few months, for the Dutch gives itt out that they intend to take St. Thomay at the returne of their Fleete from Goa: and as for the Danes, hee is in as bad or worse Condition. And 'tis very probable wee may bee in the same predicament in a short time, being soe far removed and estranged from our Masters and your good opinions that all that goes from hence meets with disrespects and scorne..............' (*Fort St. George to Bantam*, O. C. No. 1859, 28th January 1643-4 quoted in H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Madras I*, 59).

Mallai seems to have made common cause with the Dutch and tried to secure control over Fort St. George as well. The Agent was prepared for "retalliation but regretted he had not sufficient hands to reinforce the garrison." He wrote:—

'Wee have in a former Clause made Nomination of Mollay. Wee are sorry wee have occasion to treat of him farther. Some few daies sence hee made demande to have the Governmentt of this place and all the profetts to himselfe, which is Contrary to those Cowles of the former King and our Nagues, for by those the Government is given to us, with halfe its proffitt. (No record has been preserved of this confirmation by Rajah Venkatapati of the Nayak's grant. The confirmation must have been prior to October, 1642, when the Raja died). Which if wee should yeeld thereto, by surrendering our previledge, the Towne would bee suddenly Ruinated by the Raiseing of the Customes, for therein they (the Dutch) ground their pollice to worke us mischiefe. But wee intend not soe Easily to part with our emunities; and if hee shall any way mollest us, if opportunity presents for a retalliation, wee shall make the Best use thereof. And indeed wee beleive there may bee such a Course taken that may fright Mollay for entertay (n)einge such thoughts. This wee conceive facill if wee had some more hands to reinforce our Garrison, and a small vessell of a reasonable force to attend, if occasion should require, some of his vessells; both which should not bee alltogether unproffitable, but should serve for many other uses and well merritt their charge..............' (*Ibid*, H. D. Love, *Vestiges I*, 59-60).

But the Dutch at Pulicat were not spared by the Gōlconda troops. Because they had joined Srī-Ranga, the Gōlconda general who had come to help Dāmarla Venkatādri against his sovereign laid siege to Pulicat. The English at Madras were afraid that their turn would come next, for they wrote, on 5th July 1644 "of the great troubles and broyles of theis parts, both homebred and fforreigne, and how our neighboures the Dutch are besieged in their castle of Pollicatt by the Moores; and for anything we know wee may bee in the same predicament in a few dayes" (Love, *l.c.* 62).

Mallai, however, was as cunning as he was astute. He had tried to be friends as much with the Emperor Srī-Ranga VI as with the invading Moores. When he heard of the differences that had arisen between the Emperor and Venkatādri, he had sent on behalf of the Dutch presents to both Srī-Ranga and to the Sultan of Gōlconda. (*Ibid*, 54). While he succeeded with the former, he was not spared by the Gōlconda general, for the latter, once on the spot, should have understood his duplicity. Hence the siege of Pulicat by the Gōlconda troops. But relief came to the Dutch from Srī-Ranga. By about the beginning of (September) 1644, the Gōlconda troops had advanced within three miles of Pulicat and sent for the Dutch governor to surrender up the castle and it was expected that he would do so. But shortly after, the Hindu forces (of Srī-Ranga) came down in great numbers, gave the Gōlconda forces battle, routed them and put them "to flight beyond Armagon," where they tried to gather their forces again. (*Ibid*, 64). This is evidently the fight referred to in the *Rāmarājīyamu* where we are told that Srī-Ranga VI obtained a great victory at Udayagiri—this place being not far away from Armagon—against the forces of Kutub Shāh. Apparently, the Gōlconda forces were pursued and defeated at Udayagiri.

Meanwhile, Day had retired from the position of Agent at Fort St. George and his place had been taken by Thomas Ivie on 4th August 1644 A.D. Mallai, strange as might seem, fell out with the Dutch. These changes created a new situation. Evidently the Dutch had given cause for dissatisfaction to Srī-Ranga VI and this in its turn involved Mallai in the affair. He had seized one of their merchants and even defeated a contingent of Dutch forces sent against him from Pulicat. Srī-

Ranga VI had ordered a general taking over of all the goods belonging to the Dutch in the hands of Hindu merchants within his dominions and Mallai, as the local feudatory, got them collected at a place not far away from Madras. Here they were sold on behalf of the Emperor, and they were bought by merchants belonging to Fort St. George and indebted to the English Company. The Dutch threatened reprisals, but they were besieged by Mallai, with the aid of the Emperor's troops, and under his directions, at Pulicat. It was reported that the Emperor was "sending downe great Ordinance and more power against Pullecatt to burne the towne and beate downe the fort." So wrote the Agent and his colleagues in a letter dated 1st October 1645 A.D. and added in the characteristic fashion the sardonic words:—"the former may be done but for the latter they will finde a harde Taske to performe." Four months elapsed and still the siege of Pulicat by Srī-Ranga was going on. Within this time other events had occurred. For reasons which will be mentioned below, Srī-Ranga became involved in bigger wars and three of his chief feudatories—probably the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee—and their countries had been overrun by both the Gōlconda and Bijāpur forces. The forces sent up against Pulicat had, therefore, to be withdrawn for opposing the invading foreign hosts. The position is well described in a letter dated 21st January 1645/6 from Thomas Ivie and his colleagues at Fort St. George, to their superiors at Surat.

'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the king hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore, and in Civell wares with three of his great Nagues; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie te send a considerable foorse against Pullacatt, more than 4,000 soldiers that lay before it to stopp the wayes, that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his Generall, Meir Gumlack, with a great Armie to appose this King, who is advance (d) to the Jentues Cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers, as reporte saith, whereof 3,000 he sent for from Pullacatt to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry. Soe their is now remaining before Pullacatt but one thousand, of which Dutch made no esteeme of......... (*Fort St. George to Surat*, O. C. No. 1974, 21st January 1645/6 quoted in H. D. Love, *Vestiges*, I. 73).

Srī-Ranga evidently found it no longer useful to continue the siege of Pulicat. He closed up with the Dutch and sent Mallai to secure his old position of trust and responsibility with the Dutch. Keen as the Hollanders were on their trade, they were not any more anxious to continue hostilities. Mallai accordingly returned to them and was "by them kindly entertained," though, as the English at Madras reported, he was of little use to them," having regard to "the greate alteration and present poverty of those parts," evidently owing to the ravages of the famine referred to below. (See Love, *l.c.* 74).

The English at Fort St. George, while the siege was in progress and the Dutch, their great rivals, were in disgrace with the Emperor Srī-Ranga, tried to improve their own position. Thomas Ivie and his colleagues made up their minds to send a mission to Srī-Ranga at Vellore to win his friendship and obtain a confirmation of their rights and privileges at Fort St. George. They thought this was the most opportune time for the purpose and sent Mr. Henry Greenhill on a visit to him. The circumstances under which he was despatched are thus detailed in a letter to the Company dated 1st October 1645:—

'Wee have bin often tymes sollicted by this Kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessors since our first arivall heere, which is now 7 yeares allmost; soe if wee any longer deny his reasonable request, wee may suddainely Expect his Just displeasure, and peradventure have a Seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defence, who hath twenty for one more then wee; soe that if the like should happen unto us, what can you except of fifty well and sicke men to defend your estate and Fort against the King's power; …………soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civill Comportment and respect to the kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders Potencie, and at present are in such esteeme with the king and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Hon'ble English East India Company. And for the mayntenance of the same and the kings favour wee are……resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry Greenhill, with foure other English souldiers for his attendance, for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the great Nague under whose protection formerly wee liv'd; but now the king hath taken his power and this Cuntry from him, soe that his power and protection is of noe longer vallue. So now findeing a fitting opportunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the Addition of a great many more, by this now Reigneing king which hath brought all his great Lords unto his Comand, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before: this by Mollayes Assistance wee make noe question to obtayne………

'This instant wee received a letter from the king by two of our owne Servants whome wee sent to him for that purpose… ………' (*Fort St. George to the Hon'ble Company*, O.C. No. 1952, 1st October 1645, quoted in Love, *Vestiges of old Madras* 65).

This letter from 'Zree Seringo Raylo' at 'Arlour' announced that the Raja had declared war on the Dutch. (Here *Zree Seringo Raylo* stands for *Sri Sri-Ranga-Rayaloo* and *Arloor* is probably *Vellore*, the royal residence). Srī-Ranga directed the British to assist his commander Chenana Chetti with munitions of war, and expressed pleasure at the prospect of receiving 'a man of quality,' such as was Ivie's senior councillor. (See Love, *Vestiges*, I. 66).

Greenhill's visit came off probably at Vellore, the Royal residence, and he there obtained a Cowle, securing to the English at Fort St. George their "old privaleige, with some addition, niew confirmed by this King under the Kings owne hand." Col. Love states that there are three contemporary copies of this Cowle, from which it would seem thst the place in the occupation of English at Madras was called Srī-Ranga-Rāyapatam at the time. Srī-Ranga registers the fact about the town—which he proudly calls "my towne" and the "towne which bears our name"—was "at first but of small esteeme," and that the English after settling there from Armagon had "there built a fort and brought trade to that port." He, therefore, that they "may be the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the towne," excused them all customs or duties upon all goods brought or sold in that place for and in behalf of English company. He also added slightly to the territorial extent of the town and entrusted "the government and justice of the towne" to them for the better managing of their business. He took them into his personal jurisdiction, making the town one under his protection and not, as hitherto, under the Nāyak of Poonamalli. (See Love, *l.c.* 67 *et seq*). The Cowle was signed "Sree Rama," which, without doubt, stands for "Srī-Rāma," the usual sign-manual of Srī-Ranga VI, as is known from several other grants of his referred to below. According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Chinna Venkata (III), the father of Srī-Ranga, was a great devotee of Srī-Rāma, the deified hero, who, it would appear, had appeared before him in a dream and told him that he would be born as his grandson. (See *Sources*, 311, text, 313-4). The Cowle is dated in the cyclic year Pārthiva, *kārtīka* month, the Moon in the wane, (*bahula*). Mr. Sewell has suggested that the date indicated lies between the 26th October and the 9th November 1645. (*Ibid*).

Scarcity of grain and famine, 1647 A.D.

The evil effects of the war were augmented by a famine of unusual severity which broke out in Southern India in 1647. The English factory at Madras was so badly attacked that it requested provisions from Masulipatam. "The famine is so great," wrote the Agent and his colleagues to their immediate superiors at Surat, "in this Kingdome that we beleive it will be the Destruction thereof, for there hath not fallen any rayne this yeare for the increase of any graine to relieve the people; and now the season of the Raynes are past so that if the Almighty does not send supply from other parts, the Country will be so dispopulated that it will be impossible to recover itselfe againe in five yeares time." It evidently wrought havoc among the inhabitants. In Madras 4,000 people died in five months; at Pulicat, 15,000 died; and at St. Thomē, another 15,000. The weavers, painters and washers at Fort St. George were reduced to a third of their original number. No wonder Thomas Ivie, the Agent, wrote home to the Directors, that the violent character of the famine was such that it would scarcely "be credited." (See Love *l.c.* I, 74-75).

Srī-Ranga's authority universally recognized. Evidence from extant grants.

Judging from the numerous copper-plate grants issued during his reign, Srī-Ranga VI would seem to have been not only a pious sovereign but also one whose Imperial authority, at any rate during a considerable part of his reign, was evidently recongnized all over the Empire. Among these grants may be mentioned the following as the more important :—

(1) 1639.—Grant of Medraspatam to the English at Madras to build a fort on the site of Fort St. George.

(2) 1644.—Kasaram grant, registering the grant of the village Kasaram to the temple of Kālahasti for midday worship and for the maintenance of a feeding institute. (Similar to No. 3 below). (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 60; App. A. No. 22).

(3) 1644-5.—Kallakurisi grant. (*E.I.* VII No. 545).

(4) 1644.—Another grant similar to the Kallakurisi grant. (*M.E.R.* 1913, App. A. No. 15, date lost, but cannot be earlier than 1644).

(5) 1645.—Āvani *matha* grant, registering a grant to Rāmachandra-Bhārati-Svāmi of that *matha*, disciple of Vitthala Bhārati Svāmi and disci-

ple's disciple of Visvarūpa Bhārati-Svāmi. (*E.C.* X Mulbagal 60). This grant gives a full geneology of the Āravīdu Dynasty.

(6) 1647.—A grant by the people of Nandyāla for the merit of Hazrat Khān Sāheb, probably the local governor, the grant taking the form of a contribution of fees for God Venkatēsa. This Muhammadan worthy was probably the local Governor, who had befriended the Hindus and governed over the area as a subordinate of Srī-Ranga VI (*M.E.R.* 1915-16, App. A. Nos. 1 & 2). It is said in this grant that the contributions had been stopped for sometime owing to the political disturbances, evidently a reference to the disturbances which resulted in the driving out of the Muhammadans from Ahōbalam.

(7) 1647-8.—Utsur grant, registering a grant at Srīrangam temple of the village of Utsur, in the Chandragiri-rājyam, to one Anantāchārya. This agrees throughout with the Kallakurisi grant above mentioned.

(8) 1655.—Copper-plate grant from Kanadiputtur, Coimbatore District, included in the Nāyak Kingdom of Madura, in the reign of Tirumala, who recognizes the suzerainty of Srī-Ranga VI in this record. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate record No. 190).

(9) 1659.—Grant issued from Belur in the presence of God Chennakēsava and signed "Srī-Rāma," just like the grant of "Medraspatam" to the English. It records the grant of the village of Sambaga, renamed Vyāsarājapura, in the Belur-*Sīme* by Srī-Ranga, seated on the diamond throne, to Raghunātha-Yōgi, disciple of Lakshmi-Nārāyana-Yōgi, descendant of Vyāsa-Rāja, author of *Tarkatāndava*, etc. (*M.A.R.* 1915, 24, 25 No. II).

(10) 1659 A.D.—Grant recording the gift of a village, 5 miles off Belur, by King Srī-Ranga VI to the Madhva *Guru* Raghunātha-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmi-Nārāyana-tīrtha of Kundāpur-Vyāsa-Rāya *matha*. (*M.A.R.* 1927, 40, No. 10).

(11) 1660 A.D.—Grant from Smārtha-*matha* at Muluvagal, Thirthahalli Taluk, Shimoga District, registering the gift of a village in Belur-*Sīme* in favour of Smārta-svami, Agnimudra Krishnānanda-Svāmi.

In this record Srī-Ranga VI is described as the son of Gōpāla-Rāja and Gangamāmba; grandson of Ranga and Timmādēvi, who in other copper-plate grants is called Vengamāmba, and grandson of Venkatēsa (*i.e.*, Venkatādri) and Rangamāmba. (See *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 94).

(12, 13 and 14) 1660, 1662 and 1663 A.D.—Three copper-plate grants from Belur: (*a*) One dated in 1660 recording a gift of lands made from Penukonda while in residence there to a Brahman favourite named Venkatēsa; (*b*) Second dated in 1662, registering a grant of land for a car festival at Belur; and (*c*) third and last, dated in 1663, recording another grant in favour of Venkatēsa, grantee in (*b*) above, for constructing a canal at Gōrur. In the last of these the king is said to be ruling at Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123).

(15) 1661 A.D.—Kanabur grant, recording the gift of a village in Belur-*Sīme*, signed "Srī-Rāma." (*M.A.R.* 1926, 36-8, No. 5).

(16) 1661 A.D.—Sringēri-*matha* grant, recording a gift in the presence of Chennakēsava at Velapuri *i.e.*, Belur, in favour of Krishnānandasvāmi signed "Sri-Rama." (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 105).

(17-18) 1662 and 1663.—Two grants from Sosale Vyāsa-Rāya-*matha*, registering gifts of villages made in the presence of Chennakēsava, on the banks of Vishnusamudra, in Vēlāpuri, *i.e.*, Belur, to Lakshmikānta-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmi-Vallabha-tīrtha, for the service of God Gōpāla-Krishna. The villages gifted are described to be in Yelahanka Hosavūru belonging to Belur. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 114).

(19) 1662 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Srirangam registering gift of land to a temple priest by Chokkanātha, grandson of Tirumala-Nāyaka of

Madura, in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper-plant grant No. 51).

(20) 1662 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Bellary registering the gift of a village by Srī-Ranga VI, then at Velapuri, on his jewelled throne, *i.e.*, Belur, Hassan, (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper plate grants, No. 128).

(21) 15th March 1665 A.D.—Copper-plate grant, from Sōmayājulapalli Kolar District, rocording a grant of lands in several villages Karnika-mānya by Mahānāyakāchārya Rāmappa in Gundulur-*Sīme* of Penugondarājya. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 91-92, No. 5).

(22) 1665 A.D.—Copper-plate record from Kaniyur, Udamalpet Taluk, Coimbatore District, registering gift of land by Chokkānatha-Nāyaka of Madura in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate grant No. 396).

(23) 1665.—Copper-plate record from Kannadiputtur registering grant of land in the reign of Visvanātha-Nāyaka-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura, when Srī-Ranga VI was Emperor. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, I, 562, No. 394, quoting *Inscriptions in Southern Districts, Mackenzie Mss.*, 224).

(24) 1667 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Kumaralingam, Udamalpet Taluk, Coimbatore District, recording a gift of lands by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate No. 188).

(25) 1678 A.D.—Copper-plate grant from Madura registering the grant of a village by Muddu-Alagūdri-Nāyadu, grandson of Visvanātha-Nāyani-Tirumala-Nāyadu of Madura, in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Copper-plate grant No. 20).

(26) 1692 A.D.—Copper-plate grant Kanakagiri, Tinnevelly District, registering grant to a mosque, by Vijaya Ranga Chokkanātha, of Madura in the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. (See Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, copper-plate No. 53).

Support for religions and public charities.

These grants, not only confirm the statement in the *Rāmarājīyamu* that Srī-Ranga made gifts and maintained *dharma* but also show that Srī-Ranga VI was not a sovereign merely in name. (See *Sources*, 311). The gifts are in the main to religious institutions such as the Sringēri, Smarta, and the Vyāsa-Rāya *mathas* and to Brāhmans for services to be rendered at the temples or for securing the maintenance of public charities. These grants also indirectly bring out the fact that even after his flight to Belur, he was still recognized as sovereign and that he bore rule at Belur without any interruption. It will be noticed that Srī-Ranga's copper-plate grants run from 1639 to 1665, or a period of twenty-six years, though he appears to have lived down to at least 1681 A.D. The first of these grants was in favour of the English at Madras, which is separately referred to below.

Srī-Vaishnavism still the predominent religion.

Srī-Ranga VI was evidently a pious Srī-Vaishnava, a fact which throws a side-light on his selection of Belur as his temporary capital after his flight. A record of his dated in 1659, actually calls him a daily worshipper of Kēsava at Belur. (*E.C.* V Belur 80). A grant of his dated in 1641, in favour of Nallān-Chakravarti Venkatāchārya, belonging to a family of what are called *Svayamāchārya-purushas* among the Srī-Vaishnavas, shows also his regard for Srī-Vaishnava teachers. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 86). He also carried out, in or about 1643 A.D., certain repairs to the famous Gōvindarāja shrine, in the Chidambaram temple, including its *gōpura* and the *vimāna* of the goddess shrine, etc., and made a grant, rent free, of five villages, in which Srī-Vaishnavas permanently lived. He also fixed, it is added, the processional roads at the place, thus evidently setting at rest the disputes that should have arisen and been long subsisting between the followers of the Siva and Vishnu temples at Chidambaram. (*M.E.R.* 1913-14, App. B. No. 271 of 1913). Vaishnavism, indeed, had by about this time, permeated into almost every part of the Empire. A record of some interest, in this connection, is one dated in 1644, in which Pemmasāni Timmaya-Nāyadu, possibly a descendant of the more famous minister of Srī-Ranga II, a subordinate of Srī-Ranga VI, appointed one Bukkapatnam Tātāchārya to be the head of all Samayācharam of Gandikōta District. He was to receive *gurusēva*, to be present at Harisēva, and to punish people who swerved from the right path. This record indicates the manner in which the Tātāchāryās spread Vasihnavism in the land and became powerful as a family of teachers. (*Inscriptions in Madras Presidency*, II, 607, No. 394). Religion was still closely connected with almost every detail of daily life. A record dated in 1664 A.D., which comes from the Ranganātha temple at Abbinahole, gives an account of the settlement of a dispute by the ordeal of dipping the hand in boiling ghee. (See *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 116).

Political geography of India about the middle of the 17th Century.

Here we might take a glance at the political geography of India as it existed about the beginning of the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. In Northern India, Shāh Jahān had ascended the Moghul throne in 1628 A.D., and had run through nearly half of his reign of thirty years. His dominion extended over the same provinces as that of Akbar, his grandfather; it included Kabul, the Punjab and Hindustan; it also extended over part of the Deccan. The Moghul Empire had been gradually encroaching upon the Deccan ever since Akbar's time. In the reign of Shāh Jahān, the conquered provinces in the Deccan were formed into a Viceroyalty, which was known as the "Deccan." Bijāpur and Golconda, the two Muhammadan kingdoms of the Southern Deccan, still remained unconquered. Bijāpur, however, about 1634 A.D., concluded a treaty and became tributary to Delhi. This enabled her to direct her army to the south, above the Ghāts. Randulla Khān, with Shāhji, father of Sivāji, as second in command, overran the open country of Bankāpur, Harihar, Basavapatna and Tarikere, and as far even as Bednur. An attempt was made on Seringapatam, but it was repulsed with loss. Kempe Gauda of Yelahanka was reduced and Bangalore taken in 1638 A.D. Next, other local chiefs, subordinates of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Kolar District, were reduced and practically the whole of that District was seized. Later, the invading army descended the Ghāts and took Vellore, the capital of Srī-Ranga, and Gingee, the seat of one of his feudatories. Turning back and ascending the Ghāts, Dodballapur, Sira and the southern part of Chitaldrug were taken in 1644 A.D. Over all these acquired territories—both above and below the Ghats—Shāhji became the Governor, the territories above the Ghāts forming his Jaghir, with capital first at Bangalore and then at Kolar and Dodballapur (See below under *Bijāpur*). Gōlconda had annexed a good part of the territories below the Ghāts, on the eastern-side. It had thus reached as far as Masulipatam on the coast and had even, as we have seen, made attempts on Penukonda as well. The Vijayanagar Empire was thus being occupied from both sides by its two old enemies, Bijāpur and Gōlconda. The internal dissensions that commenced on the death of Venkata II ended in the treacherous conduct of Dāmarla Venkatādri calling in Gōlconda aid. This treachery appears to have proved infectious; it was copied by Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura, who seduced the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee as well against their liege-lord. Though, as we shall see, Tanjore remained loyal, the other two failed to remember that their own existence was primarily bound up with that of the Empire. As it was, their disloyalty ended not only in their own ruin but also in the break-up of the Empire. The circumstances which led to these disastrous results deserve attention in some detail.

The return of the Gōlconda forces, 1645 A.D.

After the defeat at Udayagiri, Mīr Jumla, the general of the Gōlconda forces, came up with a large army, and evidently penetrated as far as Vellore. This is the invasion referred to by the English at Madras in their above-quoted letter dated 21st January 1645/6. Mīr Jumla's route lay through the East Coast *via* Masulipatam, Ongole, Nellore, Chittoor and from thence to Vellore. At about the same time, the Bijāpur forces appear to have converged on Vellore from the Western side *via* Gadag, Harihar, Kadur, and Yelahanka.

Siege of Vellore and the first flight of Srī-Ranga, Feb. 1646 A.D.

The combined forces laid siege to Vellore, about the beginning of 1645 A.D. Srī-Ranga's attempt to draw away Mīr Jumla from his advance by directing Mollai to despatch 3,000 out of the 50,000 troops raised by him appears to have failed of its purpose. Mollai appears to have been a better merchant than a soldier. What happened subsequently might be gleaned from the contemporary records of the English at Madras. Beaten by the combined forces of Bijāpur and Gōlconda, and his royal residence of Vellore occupied by them, Srī-Ranga had to flee for his life, leaving the defence operations to Mollai, who, as might have been expected, proved treacherous to the Imperial cause, surrendering the "strongest hold in this kingdom (*i.e.*, Vellore) to Mīr Jumla upon compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free." The following two extracts (see H.D. Love, *l.c.*, I. 76) tell the story briefly but quite distinctly :—

"This countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores armie is come into this country on the one side, and the King of Gulcondah upon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is General for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings Castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this Kingdom ; where Molay was sent to keep it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumla, uppon Compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free. But how hee will be received by the King, we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday ; and how wee are like to doe in this troublesome Cuntrey that hath neither shipp nor boate to secure the Companies estate, wee leave you to judge...........Thomas Ivie Henry, Greenhill, George Travell." (O. C. No. 1975, 10th February 1645/6).

'We had allmost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the Coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondahs Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this Kingdome, and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob. This 16,000 rials he lent us for one twelve month gratis ; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*, So, in requitall of the Annabobs Curtezie, wee gave him one of the two Brass Guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which he would not bee denied of whither he had lent us this money or no ; otherwise hee would not have confirmed our old privilidges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So, upon the deliveringe of this Gunn, hee gave it us here under his hand that he received the Gunn in full and Contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire anything elce for the same; and withall confirm'd under the King of Gulcondahs great seale all our former privilidges in ample manner as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King, Soe by this means the Gun hath saved you three times the value of it by accomplishing two good Acts at once.......... Thomas Ivie, William Gurney.' (O. C. No. 2046, 9th October 1647).

Though the English at Madras were treated considerately by Mīr Jumla, who so far trusted them as to place in deposit with them 16,000 rials, he compelled them to part with one of the two brass guns they had recently imported from England. The English congratulated themselves that they were let off so cheap, when things could have so easily gone worse with them.

Recaputure of Vellore and restoration of Srī-Ranga VI by Sivappa-Nāyaka of Keladi, 1646 A.D.

To what place Srī-Ranga fled, is not indicated in the Madras records of the time. Col. H.D. Love has stated that he "fled to Mysore," but this should be understood in the restricted sense that he sought the help of Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi, who at this time was, perhaps, one of the most loyal and affluent feudatories of the Empire. Sivappa, according to Father Leonardo Paes, who travelled at the time in Kanara, possessed enormous wealth and maintained a standing army of from 40 to 50,000 men. (See Volume V of this work under *Shimoga*). It is possible Srī-Ranga sent his emissaries to Sivappa and he consented to come to his aid. According to the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, (Wilson, *Māckenzie Mss.*, 154 and *Sources*, 347), Srī-Ranga was "wandering without a home" after the loss of Vellore. Vellore, it would seem, from the same poem, had been occupied by the

Muhammadan forces and that Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi (1645-1660 A.D.) whose kingdom had suffered at the hands of Randhulla-Khān, the general of the Bijāpur Sultān, seized the opportunity and advanced with a large force against the Muhammadans in occupation of Vellore. He commenced a regular blockade of it and soon reduced it to submission. Srī-Ranga, says the poem, on hearing the glad tidings, returned to Vellore and presented Sivappa with many titles, among which were *Rāmabāna* and *Paravārana-vārana.* It is also said that he gave him a costly ear-ornament made of sapphire, an equally costly pearl and an umbrella called the *Jagahjampa* and endowed him with the emblems of the conch and the discus. It is, besides, stated that Srī-Ranga presented Sivappa with the head of his enemy—which must be taken to refer to the general of the Gōlconda forces in charge of Vellore, at the time it surrendered to Sivappa. It would seem as though he had been killed during the course of the siege operations. Sivappa is also said to have reduced to subjection some of the recalcitrant feudatories of the Empire and handing over their territories to Srī-Ranga, returned to his own capital. (See *Sources* under *Sivatatvaratnākara*, 347). As we have a number of inscriptions dated from 1645-46 to 1649 A.D. signifying to the continued rule of Srī-Ranga, with his recorded capital at Penukonda, and probably his personal residence at Vellore, we have to infer that the restoration of the *status quo ante* by Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi helped him to continue in possession of practically all his territory with the exception of the Pulicat and Poonamalli provinces on the Coast, within which the factories of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English lay. These, it would seem, continued in the possession of Mīr Jumla, the Gōlconda general, who appears to have called himself the Nawāb of the Karnātic from about the close of 1647 A.D. (H. D. Love, *l.c* , *I.* 76). How long this relief from wars continued there is no means to determine, especially as the decade 1649 to 1659 A.D. is wholly unrepresented in inscriptional and other records. But the proximity of Mīr Jumla to Vellore, the residence of Srī-Ranga, should have proved destructive of real peace. Though we have no direct evidence from any quarter of wars between 1647 and 1659 A.D., when we find Srī-Ranga settled at Belur, Hassan District, as his temporary capital, and issuing grants from there, it has to be assumed that circumstances should have forced on Srī-Ranga a war of no mean dimensions for him to seek safety in a second flight from his royal residence. As a Jesuit letter of 1659 (*La Mission du Madure,* III, 41-45) mentions his flight as already a *fait accompli,* it has to be presumed that the war in question should have occurred not long before that year. Since that letter states that it sums up "the political events of the last three years," the war should have occurred between 1656 and 1659 A.D. This second flight is the one mentioned in such detail in the *Chikka-dēva-Raya-Vamsāvali* (see *Sources,* 309-310). This subject is further refered to below.

War against Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura, 1656-1659.

It has been remarked in connection with the account of the reign of Venkata II, that Tirumala-Nāyaka of Madura, though he made preparations to defend his territories against aggression from outside, was loyal towards Venkata II, to the end of the latter's reign. Even after the death of Venkata II, in 1642 A.D., he appears to have been loyal to the Imperial House until about 1655 A.D., the date the Kannadiputtūr copper-plate grant, in which he recognizes Srī-Ranga's suzerainty. (See list of his copper-plate grants given above). From the date of that grant to 1659 A.D., though there are a few grants of Tirumala-Nāyaka, the overlordship of Srī-Ranga is not registered in any of them. Though this omission by itself need not be taken to imply a denial of Srī-Ranga's suzerainty on his part, yet, taken in conjunction with the other evidence available on the matter, it would seem to indicate that he was overlooking his primary duty as a feudatory. Taking note of the disadvantageous position in which Srī-Ranga was placed between Bijāpur and Golconda, the former with its representative alternating between Kolar and Bangalore and in possession of Penukonda from 1652, and the latter probably not far away from Masulipatam, with agents dotted over at Conjeeveram, Chittoor, Gooty, Chandragiri, Gurramkonda, Ghandikota and other places (see above), Tirumala saw his opportunity and tried to assert his independence. According to a Jesuit letter dated in 1659 A.D., it would seem he refused to pay the tribute due to his suzerain. Srī-Ranga prepared himself to enforce his claim. He collected a force and declared war against the recalcitrant feudatory. Tirumala tried to win over to his side the Nāyaks of Gingee and Tanjore and formed a league with them to defy the common sovereign. The heart of Vijayarāghava, the Nāyak of Tanjore, was not in the league and he informed Srī-Ranga of the ambitions of Tirumala. (The fact that he joined Srī-Ranga in this war is also mentioned in Vijayarāghava's drama *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, see *Sources*, 255 and 258). As Srī-Ranga advanced on Gingee, in execution of his design of putting down the two confederates of Gingee and Madura, Tirumala opened up negotiations with the Sultān of Gōlconda and arranged for an attack on Srī-Ranga from the rear. Vellore being thus threatened, Srī-Ranga, turned his forces on the new enemy, and attacked and repulsed him. The whole story is told in an animated manner in the letter of Father Proenza, quoted above, from which the following is taken:—

"The Nāyaks of Madura had been punctual, for a long time, in paying the annual tribute ; but their arrogance growing with their strength, they began to feel this subordination irksome. Tirumala Nāyaka, who rules now, walking in the footsteps of his father, resolved to free himself. Too weak to resist his sovereign openly, he resorted to artifice. During several years he gave only rich presents, as marks of deference and friendship, without paying his tribute. The old Narasinga, (Sri-Ranga VI) dissembled, to avoid the embarrassments of a war. But, after his death, the new king, far superior to his father in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army and declared war. The Nāyak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingi, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter, informed of everything through the Nāyak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingi. Swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nāyaka secretly addressed the *subah* of Gōlkonda, and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga, (Sri-Ranga VI) obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy, who was repulsed with loss." (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 264).

In the above extract, it is hardly necessary to explain that "Narasinga" stands for the king of Vijayanagar, the kingdom of Vijayanagar being called by the Portuguese and other foreign nations by the name of Narasinga since the time of Sāluva-Narāsimha I. The particular "Narasinga" referred to is undoubtedly Srī-Ranga VI.

Srī-Ranga's change of tactics: forms a league against Gōlconda but fails to work it to advantage.

Though foiled in his attempts, Srī-Ranga soon saw the difficulty of his position and realised the critical situation he was reaching by reason of the internecine war that had been going on between himself and his feudatories in the South. Instead of quarrelling between themselves and thus ruining the Empire and making it a prey to the aggressive Gōlconda forces, he tried to bring his feudatories into a league against the foreign invader. But his action was wholly unequal to his ambitions. Instead of making the most of the league thus formed and preparing himself in every possible way to drive the enemy out of the numerous places he had occupied from Coast to Coast, he wasted his time in vain frivolities with results disastrous to himself and his co-adjutors. He had once again to flee for his life. Father Proenza writes:—

Second flight of Srī-Ranga. 1650 A.D.

> "The King of Golkonda, resolved to vindicate his honour, raised an army more numerous than before, resumed the field, regained his vantage-ground, and actively attacked Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI.) The latter, finding no chance of success but in an alliance with the three Nāyaks, invited them to join him against the common enemy and offered them favourable conditions, which were accepted. Pleased with their good disposition, he joined them to better concert together the means of defence and attack. But here the Indian character was revealed: Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI) spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts, and pleasures, during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. Rejected again by the Nayaks, Narasinga (Sri-Ranga VI) established his court in the forests of thieves (Kallans), lying to the north of Tanjore, where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him, and this grand monarch, one of the richest in India, was forced to beg for help from the King of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown. He received from him invitation to choose, for his stay, a province more agreeable to him, and assurance of a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; he eagerly accepted the offer, so obliging, and found a hospitality, which even surpassed the promises made to his ambassadors." (*Ibid*, 264-265).

The victorious Gōlconda troops continued their march and Tanjore soon surrendered. Proenza thus chronicles the fact:—

In search of the Emperor: Submission of Tanjore Nāyaks.

> The Golkonda army, resolved to add to the conquest of Narasinga's (Sri-Ranga's) dominions that of the kingdoms of

his tributories, advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nāyak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to an enemy, whose mere number had created so much terror; but, he could no longer count on his ally of Madura, whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obliged to take sides, he did what one would always do, under the influence of terror; he decided on the most senseless and disastrous step; he delivered himself up to the King of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion." (*Ibid*, 265).

Capture of Gingi and its plunder.

Then followed the conquest of Gingee, which fell under the most regrettable circumstances. Proenza, as a contemporary, writes with feeling if not with bitterness:—

Tirumala Nāyaka, seeking safety in his unsound policy, committed a second folly, which brought about the ruin of all these kingdoms. His ambassadors went, in his name, to treat with Idal Khan (the Ādil Shāh) or the King of the Dekhan, who sent him seventeen thousand horse. With this imposing cavalry and thirty thousand infantry of his own he marched to Gingi. But the Muhammadans of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The *subah* of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan, and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the seventeen thousand cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry, continued the siege of Gingi, which they were called for to defend. The thirty thousand Madura infantry entered into the place and joined the troops of the king of Gingi. The fortress, protected by its advantageous position, was, besides, defended by good fortifications, furnished with a strong artillery and by a numerous army, provisioned for a considerable time; it could, accordingly, defy all the efforts of the besiegers. But soon disagreements and divisions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out; in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy, who rushed into it and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage. The booty was immense, consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value." (*Ibid*, 265-266.)

The ready arrival of the Bijāpur troops, above mentioned, seems to have been induced by a grievance which the Bijāpur Sultān appears to have nursed against Srī-Ranga VI. If Thevenot is to be believed, Srī-Ranga had failed to keep up a promise which he appears to have made to the Bijāpur Sultān against the Moghuls, who were continuously pressing on him for some time. This failure, says Thevenot, the French travellor, "so exasperated the King of Bijāpur that he no sooner made peace with the Moghul in 1650 A.D., than he made a league with the king of Gōlconda against the king of Bisnagar and entered into a war with him; they handled him; (*i.e.*, the king of Bisnagar) so very roughly that, at length, they ....stripped him of his dominions.....................so that........................ (he) was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains, where he still lives." (*Travels*, III, 91).

Exulting in their easy success at Gingee, the Bijāpur forces, turned their attention on Tanjore and Madura. What followed is narrated briefly by Proenza in these words :—

Renewed attack on Tanjore and advance on Madura.

> Masters of Gingi, the Muhammadans marched against the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura. The former hid himself in inaccessible forests; the latter shut himself up in his fortress of Madura, whose distance appeared to screen him from the enemy. But when they saw him (the Bijāpur general) over-running their dominions and carrying devastation everywhere, they opened negotiations and submitted to the law of the conqueror. Thus, after conquering a vast country, subduing two powerful kings, and gathering incalculable treasures, without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle, and almost without losing a single soldier, the Dakhan army returned to Bijāpur, where it made a triumphal entry." (*Ibid, Nayaks of Madura*, 266).

Retreat of Khān-i-Khānan, the Bijāpur General, towards Gingee.

This account would seem to indicate that Tirumala did not raise his little finger to defend his kingdom when attacked by Khān-i-Khānan, the Bijāpur general. It has been suggested, however, that this part of the Jesuit account is not quite correct, as there appears to be some evidence to believe that he beat off the Bijāpur forces with the aid of the Kallars. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 130, quoting Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonne of Mss*, III, 40). It is possible that he offered some resistance and that this induced the Muhammadan forces to withdraw towards Gingee.

Ill-advised policy of the Madura and Tanjore Nāyaks' war levy in Madura and Tanjore and its effects.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Tanjore at the time, does not appear to have taken any active steps to stem the torrent against him. Neither his own drama, the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* nor the *Tānjavūri-Āndhra-Rājula-Charita*, which gives an account of the Nāyak kings of Tanjore, makes any mention of this war. (See *Sources*, 255, 258, 324 and 335-356). After the Khān-i-Khānan, the Bijāpur general, retraced his steps from Madura, the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, instead of trying "to heal the wounds," as Proenza puts it, "of this disastorus war, and strengthen themselves against fresh attempts, which they ought to expect, more especially as they had not the intention to fulfil the treaties,......... .... they only thought of pressing their own subjects whom their impudence and cowardice had already delivered to the horrors of an invasion by the enemy. Their arrogance seemed to conceal the degradation and meanness which had dishonoured them, in revetting the yokes of despotism on their people. Extortions and spoliations recommenced with a cruelty which made them universally regret the domination of the Moghuls." This appears a severe castigation of their conduct but considering their omissions and commissions, not altogether undeserved. It is possible that they tried to make good the losses sustained by them in the war by a forced war-levy on the people of their respective territories.

Srī-Ranga VI at Belur in Hassan District, 1659-1663 A.D.

Srī-Ranga VI, however, settled himself down at Belur, at "the invitation," it is said, "of the king of Mysore" and from there arranged for the future. Father Proenza's letter of 1659 A.D., quoted above, does not, however, mention who is referred to by the phrase "the King of Mysore." It has been stated by Mr. Rice (see the last edition of this work, I. 356; *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 122 and 159) that Srī-Ranga fled to Sivappa-Nāyaka of Kēladi in 1644 A.D. (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 122, though at page 159 the date is given as 1646) and was by him installed "at Belur and neighbouring parts" including Sakrepattana. Sivappa is even said to have "laid siege to Seringapatam on the plea of restoring his sovereignty," an attempt in which he is said to have been unsuccessful. (*Ibid*, 122 and 159). These statements have been repeated by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri (*A. S. I.* 1909-10, 193) and by the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* (see page 129). There seems to be here some mixing up of events that appear to have occurred at different intervals of time. The statement that Srī-Ranga fled to Sivappa's capital in 1644 (or 1646) is not countenanced even by the *Sivatatvaratnākara*, which, as before mentioned, records that Sivappa repaired to Vellore and recovered the place for his suzerain. This, according to the records of the English East India Company's servants at Fort St. George, should have occurred about 1646 A.D. This is also the flight that is recorded by Wilks in his history when he states that Srī-Ranga (VI) left Dravida (*i.e.*, South) in 1646 and fled to Bednore. (*History of Mysore*, I. 36). Indeed it is to him that we should trace Mr. Rice's statement that Srī-Ranga "took refuge with the

Rāja of Bednore" (also called Kēladi or Ikkēri), for Wilks states that the Rāja of Bednore "availed himself of this useful pageant to extend his own dominions under the semblance of re-establishing the royal house of his liege-lord and now (1646) appeared before Seringapatam with an army sufficiently powerful to invest the place." (*Ibid*). These statements are based on the *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya-Vamsāvali* (see *Sources*, 309-310) where it is stated that Sivappa, failing in his attempt to secure an alliance with Chikka-Dēva, took Srī-Ranga-Rāya, who was then wandering over the country for want of support, and ceded to him the districts of Belur and Hassan. By the influence he thus obtained, he secured, it is added, the help of the chiefs of Aigur, Tarikere, Harpanhalli, Chintanahal, Maddagiri, etc., and went to war against Chikka-Dēva. The only objection to this story is that Sivappa died about 1660 A.D. and Venkatappa, his brother, came to power in the same year and that Chikka-Dēva ascended the throne in 1672 A.D., so that the suggestion of an embassy for an alliance from Sivappa to Chikka-Dēva immediately after the latter's accession seems to lack support. Channamāji, the widow of Sōmasēkhara, the son of Sivappa, was the ruler in 1672 A.D. when Chikka-Dēva came into power, her adopted son Basava succeeding her in 1697 A.D. The *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya Vamsāvali* and the actual facts as we find them may be reconciled, if we take it that "Seoppa Nayak's" (Sivappa-Nāyak's) invasion took place in 1646, after the *first flight* of Srī-Ranga from Vellore and when Sivappa (1645-1660) was actually ruling over Kēladi and that later, after the death of Sivappa in 1660, *i.e.*, just after the second flight, Srī-Ranga sought the goodwill of Kanthīrava and his successor Dodda-Dēva. That this reconciliation is both sound and reasonable will be seen from the fact that even Wilks states that "the Mysoreans extended their conquests to the west, and appeared to have received from the royal pageant (*i.e.*, Srī-Ranga VI) forced grants of conquered districts during this and the four subsequent years, after which we hear no more of Srī-Ranga-Rāya, or the House of Vijayanagar." (Wilks, *i.e.*, I. 36). Such forced grants would be impossible, unless Dodda Dēva-Rāja had won over Srī-Ranga VI to his side, as indeed his predecessors appear to have done. The flight of Srī-Ranga that occurred in or about 1656, according to the Jesuit letters, and is confirmed by inscriptional records found at Belur, with dates ranging from 1653 to 1659 A.D., occurred ten years later and on a wholly different occasion when Sivappa was in the penultimate year of his reign. If he had helped Emperor Srī-Ranga once again in 1659 A.D., and established him at Belur and Sakkrepatna, the fact would have found a place in that poem, which so particularly describes the earlier exploit of Sivappa at Vellore. As the statements made by Father Proenza that Srī-Ranga sought "help from the king of Mysore" and that "he received from him invitation to choose for his stay" a "province" cannot be held to be wholly without foundation, as they are made by a contemporary, it has to be inferred from the context and from what followed that the king of Mysore, whose assistance Srī-Ranga sought and who in turn invited him to choose his own province was the actual king of Mysore, *i.e.*, the Viceroy at Mysore, the descendant of Rāja Wodeyar who had displaced the Vijayanagar Prince Tirumala II, in 1610 A.D. This ought to be the more so, as the Jesuits knew that the "king of Ikkeri" was quite a different person from the "king of Mysore." Thus Andre Freire, in his letter dated in 1662 (*La Mission du Madure*, III, 307) when writing of Sāmbhāji states that he was "helped by Iquerian *i.e*, "he of Ikkeri"), or the king of Canara, and by the king of Golconda, both of whom are united against (the king of) Mysore (who is) regarded as the common enemy."

The ruling Mysore king at the time was Kanthīrava Narasarāja-Wodeyar I, (1638-1659), the successor of Rāja-Wodeyar II, and the predecessor of Dodda-Dēva-Rāja (1659-1672). He was, as might be expected, a dutiful and loyal feudatory. In a lithic record of his, dated in 1642 A.D., in the very first year of the reign of Srī-Ranga VI, he recognizes the latter's suzerainty over himself. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 5). It is worthy of note that in this record Kanthīrava describes himself as "the right-hand" of Srī-Ranga, who is given his full complement of Imperial titles, and as ruling a secure kingdom (the text having the words *tad-Dakshinabhuja-dandanāda*). This would seem to indicate that he enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperor and that he reciprocated whole-heartedly the trust laid in him. We have, therefore, to identify "the king of Mysore" of Proenza's letter with Kanthīrava-Narasarāja-Wodeyar, who was one of the most energetic in extending Mysore territory and power. As a loyal feudatory, he should have encouraged his suzerain to settle in or about his territory. The selection of Belur was probably dictated by at least three definite considerations; first, its proximity to Halebid, famous as Dvārasamudra, formerly the capital of the Hoysalas, the prestige attaching to which still lingered at the place; secondly, its popularity as a Vaishnavite centre, which, during the five and a half centuries that had elapsed since the foundation of the Kēsava temple there by Vishnuvardhana had become a place of importance, Srī-Ranga VI being himself a staunch Vaishnava; and thirdly its position, which lying as it did between Kēladi in the north and Seringapatam in the south, both of which were the seats of Viceroys of the Imperial House, whose loyalty was beyond question and through whose territories Bijāpur forces, which had been indented upon by Tirumala, the Nāyaka of Madura, had to pass and repass. How far, if at all, the identity of the name of Belur (Hassan) with that of Velur (North Arcot), the royal residence so far, influenced the decision of its selection by Srī-Ranga, it is difficult to determine. Though there is, so far from the records available from the Mysore side, no direct mention of Kanthīrava's having afforded any asylum to Srī-Ranga, the definite mention of him by the general name of the "King of Mysore" in Proenza's letter with the other available evidence as to the loyalty of his family and himself towards the Imperial House and his defence of its rights and privileges subsequently should be allowed their due weight. It might be added that Kanthīrava was no friend of Bijāpur, for he had successfully resisted its invasions and had made it yield to his annexing Chennarayapatna to his own territories and had even fortified it. (*E.C.* V, Chennarayapatna, 158, 160 and 165 and see below under *Mysore Rājas*). He asserts, in a record dated in 1646 A.D., that he was Srī-Krishna himself born to give peace to the world when it was troubled by the Turushkas (Muhammadans) and resounded with the noise of horse hoofs. (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 103). The Editor of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* has suggested that because he minted coins in his own name and issued certain records in his own name, without mentioning Srī-Ranga's name, he must be taken to have openly disavowed "Imperial authority" and that this was due to the fall of Vellore in 1646 A.D., which, it is hinted, rendered the Emperor "practically a fugitive without a capital of his own." (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 133, *f.n.* 60). Though this reasoning seems plausible, there is little substance in it. As regards coining, we know that almost every petty ruler in India at the time had his own coinage; then as regards not mentioning Srī-Ranga's name in one of his records dated in 1646 A.D. (evidently in *E.C.* IV Seringapatam, 103, a copper-plate record which comes from Melkote), there are records, as we have seen, dated as early as 1612 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajnagar 200), 1616 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 150), 1625 (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 117) and 1625 (*E. C.* IV, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 13) which register grants independently in the name of certain Mysore kings. It has not, on this account, been suggested that they pretended to be independent of the Imperial House. The record of 1642 A.D., already mentioned, in which Kanthīrava speaks of himself as the "right hand" of Srī-Ranga is more to the point in this connection as it indicates, in a *positive* manner, his real attitude towards his suzerain. The temporary loss of Vellore in 1646 A.D. did not evidently alter matters for him, as we see him an ardent Royalist between 1656-59, after the second flight of Srī-Ranga, as the result of the foolish and destructive policy of Tirumala Nāyak of Madura towards him and his aims of offering an united front against the foreign invaders.

The plan of his next campaign in the South; failure of his attempt to regain his lost territories.

Srī-Ranga's removal to Belur might, according to inscriptions found in the Belur country, be set down to about 1659 A.D. It lasted down to at least 1663, if not a couple of years later, when we find records mentioning him as ruling from Penukonda. (See above). While at Belur, he appears to have worked out the plan of his next campaign in the South. He took counsel with Kanthīrava of Mysore and with him soon moved against the foreigners who were occupying his territories. The story is thus told by Proenza in the letter of 1659 already quoted from :—

> "Narasinga had more wisdom; encouraged by the good reception and help of the king of Mysore, he took advantage of the absence of Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan), Idal Khan's general, to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces, and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him. It appears certain that, if then the three

Nāyaks had joined him with all the troops they could gather, they would easily have succeeded in chasing the common enemy, and depriving him of the advantage he had taken of their disunion and reciprocal betrayal. But Providence, which wanted to punish them, left them to this spirit of folly, which precipitated the ruin of princes and (their) dominions." (*History of Nāyaks of Madura, 367*).

What followed can only be stated in Proenza's words which are bitter to a degree. He writes:—

> "Tirumala Nāyaka, instead of co-operating in the re-establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, who alone could save the country, recommenced negotiations with the Muhammadans, opened to them again the passage through the Ghats, and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore, whom he should have sought for help. (The king of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed to the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life.........prince (made) unhappy by the folly of his vassals, whom his personal qualities rendered worthy of a better fate. Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan) did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur full of riches." (*Ibid*, 267).

Sri-Ranga's return to Belur, 1656.

Thus the campaign ended in a dismal failure. Srī-Ranga evidently returned to his temporary capital, Belur, "on the confines of his kingdom," as we know that he kept up state in some attenuated form there, till 1659 A.D. This campaign probably ended somewhere about 1656 A.D., when the Bijāpur forces retired with their booty and Kanthīrava's campaign against Tirumala, as will be shown below, began in 1656 A.D. Orme also dates the division of the conquests that ended with this war in 1656. (See *Historical Fragments*, 62).

Kanthirava's campaign in favour of Srī-Ranga, 1656 A.D.

The retreat of the Bijāpur troops was the signal for a fresh attack on Tirumala Nāyak of Madura by Kanthīrava of Mysore. He had now his long looked for opportunity and he was least inclined to let it set slip by. He opened war almost immediately in 1656 A.D. and invaded Satyamangalam, a province that had been part of Tirumala's territories since at least 1652. His *Dalavai* Hampaiya was in command and he had evidently orders to cut off the noses of all who fell into his hands—a punishment reserved to those who had proved treacherous to their sovereign. The troops advanced without much opposition on Madura itself and Tirumala was evidently at his wit's ends as to how to counter the new situation. Raghunātha Sētupati, the Marava chief, hearing of the danger, ran up to his aid with a large force. With these and his own troops, Tirumala beat off the Mysore army towards Dindigul, where a sanguinary battle was fought, each side losing about 12,000 men. Proenza in describing this campaign of Kanthīrava states:—

> "His (the Bījāpur general's) departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Nāyaka to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satyamangalam which borders on his kingdom. The general entrusted with this expedition did not experience any resistance, and made himself master of the capital, where he found considerable booty. Encouraged by the facility of the conquest, he exceeded the orders of his king and advanced to the walls of Madura without coming across the enemy. His unexpected arrival threw the Nāyak into such a consternation that, neglecting the means of defence in his hands, he was inclined to run away, without any following, and hide himself in the woods. It would have been all over with Madura but for the unexpected help of the Maravas. This warlike people, well known for the wars that they had conducted more than once with advantage against the Europeans of the sea-coast, gave their name to (the country) Marava, situated between Madura and the sea. The king of the Maravas, informed of the danger that threatened the Nāyak whose vassal he is, collected twenty-five thousand men in one day, marched at their

head, and placed himself between the walls of the town and the army of besiegers. A help so opportune emboldened the Nāyak, who, on his part, raised an army of thirty-five thousand men, and thus found himself superior in number to his enemy.

The Mysore general, too weak to hazard a general action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements, which his king had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the Maravas, impatient at this delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dungeon, pounced on the enemies, and cut them to pieces. The remains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expected reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat again began with such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battle-field.

The advantage remained with the Nayak, who utilised his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the theatre of this bloody war to their provinces. A special circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to cut off the nose of all the prisoners; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executed this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, men, women, and children, and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nāyak, resenting this procedure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered reprisals; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of 'hunt for noses.' The king of Mysore, the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved." (*History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 267-269).

The last statement seems an obvious exaggeration, for there is no record of it anywhere else. Nor is there any confirmation of it on the Mysore side; it is possible the general in charge possibly lost his nose in the retaliatory game adopted by the Madura forces, which, according to certain *Mackenzies Mss.*, hotly pursued the retiring Mysore army into its own territories. (W. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Mss.* II, 175 & 182). Evidently Kanthīrava desired to mark his displeasure of Tirumala's rebellion against his sovereign by ordering the infliction of this punishment on certain of his leading officials, a direction which was either carried to excess in its execution or grossly misrepresented as a regular "hunt for noses." The whole life and character of Kanthīrava seems to be against the ascription of such a "barbarity" to him. (See below under *Mysore kings*).

Death of Kanthīrava and the blasted hope of Srī-Ranga.

The war of Kanthīrava, on which Srī-Ranga built his hopes, thus ended in no decisive blow in his interests. Not long after the war, on the 16th February, 1659 A.D., Tirumala died at Madura. (Sathyanatha Iyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 148). The same year saw the death of Kanthīrava at Seringapatam. Shāh Jahān, the Moghul Emperor, had also died a few months earlier, in 1658 A.D. The last of these events had an important bearing on the fortunes of Srī-Ranga in his own territories. The reign of Aurangazīb, the successor of Shāh Jahān, covered half a century—from 1658 to 1707 A.D. The four prominent events of his reign were (1) the rise and growth of the Mahrātta power; (2) the persecuting wars against the Hindus; (3) the final conquest of Bijāpur and Gōlconda; and (4) the development of the three important English factories into Presidency towns. The third of these prepared the way for the conquest of the south, first by the Mahrāttas and then by the Imperial Moghuls, the internecine fights of whose representatives within less than half a century provided the requisite opportunity for the conversion of a trading Company into a sovereign power.

Ruinous policy of Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura.

Before passing on to the subject of the next step taken by Srī-Ranga VI in his endeavours to regain his lost Empire, we may take a brief review of the policy that Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, pursued towards his sovereign. There can be no question as to its effects: it proved disastrous to himself and the Empire. It destroyed the Empire; it wrought ruin to the three Nāyakships of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura; and it brought incalculable misery on the inhabitants of the Empire generally. Proenza, though a contemporary, appreciated the position correctly and the view he propounded of the duty of Tirumala towards his suzerain is, both on principle and from a consideration of what happened subsequently, absolutely unassailable. Tirumala's policy was not only politically unsound, but also morally indefensible. It opened the way to dire destruction of the Empire and the security against the foreign domination it stood for during so many centuries. While his efforts at an honourable independence, within certain well defined limits and within the orbit of the Empire, might have and even yet won sympathy for him, such endeavours cannot but earn disapprobation if they went beyond such limits and proved ruinous both to himself and his suzerain. Attempts have been made in recent years to rehabilitate his character in this respect but they have rightly failed to secure any support. (See Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 130-131). The Editor of the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* has refused to countenance the special pleading of the author of that work in this regard and has quietly-superceded it by comments of his own which are in the main both just and well merited. (*Ibid* 127, *f.n.* 52; and 131, *f.n.* 56.) To suggest that Tirumala could not join Srī-Ranga VI because he had allied himself with Kanthīrava, who by his "repeated aggressions" had shown himself hostile to Madura, seems historically inaccurate, as the aggressions, if any, of Kanthīrava commenced *after* the war of 1569 A.D. To state that Tirumala only followed the usual rule of seeking aid now of Gōlconda and now of Bijāpur, though these were Muhammadan States, because such alliances were common in those days between Hindu and Muhammadan principalities is to attempt to convert a truism into a political philosophy which is wholly unsound. The Sultāns of the north combined before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and though some Hindus fought in their ranks, as some Muhammadans did on Rāma-Rāja's side, despite the fact that the latter eventually proved treacherous, nobody denies that the Muhammadan States combined for a definite political purpose as against a Hindu State as such. To urge that Tirumala succeeded in his policy of safeguarding his interests, "though at much cost to his kingdom and those of his neighbours" is frankly to admit the falsity of the reasoning adopted and to confess its inutility as an argument in favour of the soundness of Tirumala's political conduct. Finally, to state that this policy of Tirumala had been "forced on him by the hasty and incautious action of Srī-Ranga" is to ignore the previous studied conduct of Tirumala which aimed at independence at any cost but which only bided its opportunity. Such are some of the reasons urged by the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* in justification of the policy of Tirumala in regard to his attitude towards Srī-Ranga VI and so unconvincing are they that they cannot but be characterized as special pleading. On the other hand, the Editor of the same work has remarked at one point (page 128 *f.n.* 52) that the "enterprise" of Srī-Ranga to form a combination of all the Southern Viceroyalties against the Muhammadans "cannot be regarded as foolish" in the circumstances in which they were conceived by him. "The responsibility for not acting," he adds, "in this effort must rest with the southern Viceroys, chiefly the Nāyak of Madura, and there was nothing in the situation, except perhaps selfishness, to justify his attitude, not merely of aloofness, but even of active hostility." At another point (page 132, *f.n.* 56), he is even stronger in his criticism. "While therefore," he says, "Tirumala's policy can be justified as a continuation of that of his predecessors towards the Emperor, neither political foresight nor even enlightened self-interest could be urged in support of the particular attitude that he took up as against Srī-Ranga." Tirumala, though otherwise a great and amiable ruler, was not blessed with political foresight. The verdict of history on him cannot but be in accordance with the dictates of inexorable truth.

Chief feudatories.
(i) Mysore.

Among the chief feudatories of Srī-Ranga VI were Kanthīrava I of Seringapatam, who was in power from 1638 to 1659; after him Dodda-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, from 1659 to 1672; and finally Chikka-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, from 1672-1704. Of these, Kanthīrava acknowledges the supremacy of Srī-Ranga VI in a record dated in 1642 (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 5), though there are a couple of records, dated in 1646 and 1652 (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 103 and Nanjangud 106) in which he makes no mention of his suzerain's name. But the earnest fight he put up for his sovereign's restoration in 1659 A.D. is evidence of his loyalty. (See above). His successor, Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, however, recognizes in a record dated in 1664 (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal 46), the overlordship of Srī-Ranga's son Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya. It is of interest to note that in this record Dodda-Dēva registers the grant of a village in favour of Kaggere Tōntada Siddhēsvara-Svāmi in fulfilment of a prayer for success on the occasion of Dalavāi Nandirāja's attack against Ikkēri. In 1660 Sivappa-Nāyak was still ruler of Kēladi and on his death in that very year, he was succeeded by Venkatappa, who ruled for only one year. This is probably a contemporary reference to the defeat that Dodda-Dēva is said to have inflicted on the army of the Kēladi kings which is mentioned in a record dated in 1686 A.D. in the reign *of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja.* It is there stated that he captured the elephant (of the Kēladi chief) called *Gangādhara* and took the impregnable fortresses of Hassan and Sakkarepatna. (See *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 14). Kunigal 46 shows that in this war, Dodda-Dēva's army was commanded by Nandirāja and that he had prayed for victory of Kaggare Tōntada-Siddhēsvara-Svāmi. The reference may be to the fight which occurred about 1664 A.D., after Sivappa's death in 1660 A.D., and during the reign of Venkatappa-Nāyaka II, his successor, for the record does not mention Sivappa's name. Dodda-Dēva also appears to have "defeated the army of the lord of Madura in the Irōdu (Erode) country, slew Dāmarla Ayyapēndra, and put to flight Anantōji. He captured the elephant "Kulasēkhara" (evidently belonging to the Pāndya king) and closely besieging them, took by assault Chamballi-pura, Ōmaluru and Dhārāpuram." These exploits of Dodda-Dēva are mentioned in *the record of Chikka-Dēva dated in 1686, fourteen years after his (Dodda-Dēva's) death.* The "Lord of Madura" in Dodda-Dēva's time was Chokkanātha-Nāyaka (1659-1682), and so he (Dodda-Dēva) should have defeated Chokkanātha and Dāmarla Ayyapēndra in the Erode country before 1672, the last year of Dodda-Dēva's reign. The Dāmarla Ayyapēndra referred to is evidently Ayyappa, the brother of Dāmarla Venkatādri, and the founder of Chennapatna in the name of his father, as mentioned in his half-brother Anka's work *Ushāparinayam,*(See *Sources,* 308-9). Anantōji was probably a Bijāpur general who helped Chokkanātha in this war. By a slip, the Editor of the *Sources* has set down these exploits to "Chikka-Dēva-Rāya of Mysore"—(See *Sources,* Introd. 21)—and he has been followed in this respect by the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* (page 172; see also Appendix D. Page 362, No. 194). The record, as we have seen, is dated in Chikka-Dēva's reign but the exploits are there set down specifically to Dodda-Dēva. Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, successor of Dodda-Dēva, began his reign in 1672, and describes himself, in his earliest record, dated in 1675 A.D., while Srī-Ranga VI was still alive, as seated on the throne of the Karnāta dominion like the great Indra. (See Chamarajanagar plates, *E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 92). This is a noteworthy record, for it is the *last* record, so far as is at present known, in which Srī-Ranga VI is described as ruling from Penukonda. (See under his *Capitals* above). Though there have been traced a couple of records of his dated respectively in 1678 (Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 20) and in 1681 (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 8), these do not describe him as *ruling from Penukonda* but simply from his "jewelled throne." It is probable that Chikka-Dēva as the champion supporter of the claims of Srī-Ranga VI aspired to the Imperial throne. It has been stated above that a record dated in 1639 (Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant, see *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198) implies that the Mysore kings had a right to the throne of Karnāta. A record dated in 1722 A.D., in the reign of Dodda-Krishna-Rāja, ascribes to Chikka-Dēva the conquest of Madura and states that he withstood Sivāji when the rulers of Agra, Delhi and Haiderabad were falling down before him. (Tonnur copper-plate grant, see *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 64). As in a record dated in 1686 A.D., in his own reign, he claims to have defeated the Mahrāttas, this may be correct. He also states that he reduced to abject terror Sāmbhāji, son of Sivāji; Kutb Shāh, the Sultān of Gōlconda; Ikkēri Basava; and Venkāji of Tanjore, (Seringapatam temple copper-plate grant, *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 14). The statements made in the record of 1722 A.D. cannot be mere boasts. The exploits set down in Seringapatam 14 to Dodda-Dēva are confirmed by the discovery of his records dated in 1670 and 1671 A.D. found in the Coimbatore District, then part of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura. These records show that his influence had extended so far into the Madura Nāyak territories as the result of that war. Chikka-Dēva's records dated in 1673 and 1676 have been found in the present Salem and Coimbatore Districts. (See below under *Mysore Rajas*). It has been suggested that Chikka-Dēva on his accession carried on an aggressive warfare at the expense of the Madura Nāyak and occupied part of his territories. (Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 172). It has also been stated that about the time of these records a combination of chiefs attacked Chikka-Dēva at Erode and were defeated by him. This confederacy was made up of Chokkanātha of Madura; a general of the Nāyak of Tanjore; Ayyappa, brother of Dāmarla Venkatādri and founder of Chennapatnam in Madras, and a Bijāpur general (evidently this refers to Anantōji mentioned in Seringapatam 14 who was put to flight by Dodda-Dēva in the fight in the Erode country) who, it is alleged, supported the claim of Srī-Ranga VI against Mysore. Ayyappa is said to have fallen in this battle. Having been defeated, Srī-Ranga VI, it is said, betook himself to Sivappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri. (S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Introduction to *Sources of Vijayangar Histroy*, 21; see *Ibid*, Text, 308-9, where the authority of *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 14 dated in 1686 is quoted). This last citation, Seringapatam 14, however, sets down these exploits to *Dodda-Dēva-Rāja* and *not to Chikka-Dēva-Rāja*. Though they are mentioned in a record dated in 1686 in the reign of Chikka-Dēva, they are, as remarked above, *attributed specifically* to *Dodda-Dēva*. The exploits of Chikka-Dēva himself are also mentioned in that record and these are stated lower down in it. These included the instilling of fear by Chikka-Dēva in

Sāmbhāji, Kutb Shāh, Ikkēri-Basava, Venkāji, brother of Sivāji and to the cutting of the limbs and noses of Jaitāji and Jasavata, *i.e.*, Yasōvant. It will be seen that there is no mention here of Sivappa, but of Basava of Ikkēri, whom Mr. Rice has correctly identified with Basappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri, adopted son of Channamāji, widow of Sōmasēkhara-Nāyaka, the second son of Sivappa-Nāyaka. (*Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions*, 130 and *E.C.* IV, Introduction 30). The period of Sivappa-Nāyaka was 1645 to 1660 A.D., whereas Chikka-Dēva ruled between 1672 to 1704. It is also a matter worthy of remark that Dāmarla Ayyappa, would not be expected to have joined a confederacy in support of Srī-Ranga VI, since we know definitely from independent sources (*i.e.*, Fort St. George records) that his brother Dāmarla Venkatādri had been publicly disgraced by Srī-Ranga VI and thrown out of the governorship of Pulicat province. (See above). The Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda against whom, according to Seringapatam 14, Chikka-Dēva fought was probably Abū Hasan, who was in power in 1686 A.D., the date of this record. Evidently Chokkanātha, the Madura Nāyak, with the aid of the Bijāpur Sultān and of Dāmarla Ayyappa, whose brother Venkatādri had been disgraced, made common cause against Dodda-Dēva-Rāja of Mysore and opened war against him. All the three had cause to be angry with Dodda-Dēva, each for his own reason. But the confederacy was defeated and broken by Dodda-Dēva, who was acting both for himself and Srī-Ranga VI, whom the confederates equally disliked. This signal defeat put a final end, as Wilks has pointed out, (*l.c.* I. 36) to Chokkanātha's attempt at the conquest of Dodda-Dēva and his territories. It will thus be seen that the events that occurred in the reign of Dodda-Dēva have been attributed to Chikka-Deva's reign by the Editor of the *Sources* and the author of the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, with the result that Chikka-Dēva instead of appearing as the supporter of Srī-Ranga's claims has been made to figure as his dire enemy against whom a combination of Chokkanātha of Madura, Ayyappa of Poonamalli, the general of the Tanjore Nāyak and even an officer of the Bijāpur Sultān, were, in the view of the Editor of the *Sources*, required to restore Srī-Ranga VI to his throne! (See *Sources*, Intrcd. 21; and Sathyanatha Iyer's *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 172, where this view is copied without any attempt at verification of the original record, *E.C.* IV Seringapatam 14, on a misreading of which these statements have been made).

Now that we know that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, like his predecessors from Rāja-Wodeyar I to Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, were loyal to the House of Srī-Ranga VI, it is easy to understand Chikka-Dēva's attitude towards the Madura Nāyakas from Chokkanātha (1659-1682) to queen Mangammāl (1689-1706.) He not only occupied the province of Satyamangalam and captured important fortresses in the North-West of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura, but also strengthened them with a view, if not to make further encroachments, at least to keep at bay Chokkanātha and his Bijāpur and other allies. That he was well advised is proved by the fact that Sivāji, coming to know of the exact situation from his agents, prepared himself to swoop down the Karnātic and conquer the whole of the South. His invasion of the Karnātic in 1677 with 40,000 foot and 30,000 horse is capable of no other interpretation. His minister came to a friendly understanding with the Bijāpur Sultān and concluded an alliance with the Sultān of Gōlconda, Sivāji subsequently agreeing to share the conquests with the latter. Sivāji also concluded a treaty with the Moghul Emperor. His march proved a triumphant one, place after place being taken. He captured Gingee almost by a trick and had designed to return home *via* Seringapatam, Bednur and Kanara, capturing those places, on the way. (See Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, 219-

30; Orme, *Historical Fragments*, 233; J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 363-99). As already stated, he strengthened its defences, and despatched a detachment to besiege Vellore, he himself marching to Tanjore. The country round about Vellore was next taken and the Palaigars were reduced to subjection. He then moved on to Seringapatam and is said to have levied tribute from it. Aurangazīb, meanwhile, was astonished at Sivāji's conquests and himself personally prepared to lead an expedition against him. Sivāji hurried northwards, not, however, before settling disputed matters with his brother Venkaji, who now became ruler of Tanjore. Vellore was finally taken in August 1678, by Sāmbhāji brother of Sivāji and Raghunātha Pant, his minister, after a protracted siege of 14 months. (Takakhav and Keluskar, *Life of Sivaji*, 439-40, *f.n.* 2; *La Mission du Madure*, III, 271, says one year). Thus passed Vellore once more into Hindu hands. We hear no more of it in the Vijayanagar records though Penukonda is referred to as the capital of Srī-Ranga's successors till about 1759 A.D., albeit it had passed into Mahrātta hands in 1746. Though, as stated above, Sivāji is said to have levied tribute from Seringapatam, there is no evidence to believe that he attempted its capture. If a record of 1722 (Tonnur plates, *E.C.* IV, Seringapatam, 64) is to be believed, Chikka-Deva is said to have withstood Sivāji at the time when the rulers of the country round Agra, Delhi and Haiderabad were falling down before him and presenting tribute. However this might have been, after Sivāji's death in 1680, the Mahrāttas appear to have tried to lay their hands on Chikka-Deva, who in a record dated in 1687, states that he advanced as far as Panchavati (Nasik) and there subdued Dādōji, Jaitaji, and other Mahrātta chiefs. It is said he slew Dādōji and cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitaji and Jasvanta. (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 14). The same record states that Sāmbhāji, son of Sivāji, fled in abject terror, Kutb Shāh of Gōlconda failed in his purpose and Ikkeri Basava was disgraced. Evidently these had combined in an attack on Chikka-Dēva and Chikka-Dēva routed them in a battle. (*Ibid*). It has been suggested that the object of Sivāji's southern expedition was to appear "as the acknowledged representative of the Empire of Vijayanagar recently become extinct" before Aurangazīb, the Moghul Emperor. (See Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Introd. to *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 27; also Text, 176, *f.n.* 71). Apart from the Empire becoming extinct, Srī-Ranga was still alive and was evidently supported by Chikka-Dēva as against his southern enemies. It was because of this support that we find the Madura Nāyaks continued to recognize the suzerainty of the Imperial dynasty, as will be shown below, even after the reign of Chokkanātha, who had behaved so disloyally towards him.

(ii) Madura Nāyaks.

During the reign of Srī-Ranga, Madura was governed by three Nāyaks in succession. Tirumala-Nāyaka (1623-1658); Muttu-Vīrappa Nāyakar II (1659) and Chokkanātha (1659-1682.) The history of their relations with Srī-Ranga VI has been set out above. It was Tirumala's disloyal policy, continued by Chokkanātha, that finally broke up the Empire and made it a prey to the Muhammadan Sultāns of the north, and in their wake to the Mahrāttas and finally to Aurangazīb, the Moghul Emperor.

(iii) Tanjore Nāyaks.

In Tanjore, Raghunātha had been succeeded by Vijayarāghava. He was loyal to the core to Srī-Ranga and this virtue brought on him the vengeance of his neighbour, Chokkanātha of Madura. He was attacked in his own capital and he died bravely fighting for his king and country. His son Mannāradāsa also fell with him. His woman folk put themselves to death. A child was saved and he was the Cheagamala Dās of history. The story of how he was restored to his throne by the aid of Venkōji, the brother of Sivāji, who came out with a large Bijāpur force, and then turned out the prince and himself usurped the throne has been told above. (See *Sources*, 323-327). Vijayarāghava, who fell so manfully fighting, was a scholar, being the author of the drama *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, and a pious king. His many charities earned for him considerable fame both at Srīrangam and Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District. (*Ibid*). It was during his reign, in 1666 A.D., that Negapatam was wrested from the Portuguese by the Dutch.

(iv) Gingee.

Little is known of the Nāyak of Gingee who governed over that province during the reign of Srī-Ranga VI. Whoever he was, he made common cause with Tirumala and Chokkanātha and was eventually wiped out of existence. Gingee was taken in 1644 A.D. by the Bijāpur forces and looted of its enormous wealth. Thirty years later, in 1674 A.D., Francois Martin founded Pondicherry. This settlement was within the limits of Gingee. In 1677 A.D., Sivāji, as we have seen, captured it and strengthened its fortifications. After the reduction of Bijāpur and Gōlconda in 1687, Aurangazīb sent his general Zulfikar Khān to take it to cripple the Mahrātta power in the south and make it the seat of a local Government which would stabilise his southern conquests. The siege lasted seven years and when it fell in 1678, Srī-Ranga VI had been dead seventeen years—Venkata II, one of his successors being then king. The Nāyak of Gingee thus contributed to the fall of the Empire as much as the Nāyak of Madura.

(v) Kēladi.

Of the chiefs of Kēladi who contemporaneously governed their country, with Srī-Ranga as the suzerain, Sivappa-Nāyaka, was thoroughly loyal to him. The successive fights he put up for his restoration in 1646 are among the more pleasing events of this reign. He evidently befriended Srī-Ranga on his second flight in 1659 but his death in 1660 appears to have had an adverse effect on the relations of Kēladi with the ruined Imperial House. Sivappa, as remarked above, was an enlightened ruler, and his administration of the country won for him the warm appreciation of discerning foreign travellers of the time. (See above).

Minor subordinate chiefs..

Among the minor subordinate chiefs may be mentioned Immadi Kempe Gauda, who recognized Srī-Ranga's suzerainty throughout the greater part of his rule. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi, dated in 1630; *M.A.R.* 1916, para 105; copper-plate grant from Magadi dated in 1631 and Magadi 2, dated in 1669, all of which are dated in Srī-Ranga's reign). A record, dated in 1674, states that Mummadi Kempe Gauda also made a gift in his reign, evidently as his subordinate. (*E.C.* IX, Magadi 5 dated in 1674). Three more records of this chief, all dated in Srī-Ranga's reign, dated in 1674 and 1681, attest to the same fact. (*Ibid*, Magadi, 29, 30 and 8). Another was Dēvappa-Nāyaka of Surgi (*M.A.R.* 1926, 94, No. III, lithic inscription dated on 13th June 1640) and Ōbirāja-Ramana-Rājayya of Kolar was still another. (*E.C.* Kolar 163 dated in 1642). The Hande Chief of Anantapur, who had rebelled in 1584 A.D., had evidently been reduced to submission, as a record dated in 1643 would seem to suggest. (*M.E.R.* 1917-18, para 77; App. B. No. 691 of 1917). One Mahāmandalēsvara Pōchirāja, son of Boggarājayya, registers a grant in 1654 A.D., in this reign. (*M.A.R.* 1924, 64-5, No. 75). Natur Chinna-Jaya-Gauda, who held a subordinate charge in the Mulbagal area, records a grant in 1646 A.D. The Hadinādprabhu, Lingarājayya, son of Tirumalarāja-Nāyaka, was another Chief in the Seringapatam area, who, in a grant of his dated in 1647, recognises Srī-Ranga's suzeranity. (*M.A.R.* 1917, para 118). Vīra Hottenripa, a local Chief in the Pavagada country, similarly recognises, in a record dated in 1660, his overlord-ship. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada, 59). Venkatādri-Nāyaka, in Arkalgud, Hassan District, also recognizes his suzerainty in a record dated in 1662. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud, 83). Timmanripa, the Harita Chief, was also loyal to Srī-Ranga, as a couple of his records, dated 1663 and 1670 A.D., show. (*E.C.* I XII, P avagada, 61, dated in 1665 and 46 dated in 1670).

A local chief or Governor, who probably belonged to the royal family, is mentioned in a record dated in 1663 A.D. His name is given as Ramanarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja, who is stated to have granted for the car festival of Chela-Nārāyana of Kalasapura, the village of Kalasahalli, included in the Kalasapura-*Sthala, after making application* to Srī-Ranga VI. (*E.C.* Chikmagalur, 153). It is difficult to establish the identity of this subordinate. It might be conjectured that he may be Kōdandarāma (Rāmarāja V, see *Table* at the end) who was a nephew of Srī-Ranga VI. Another prince who was occupying a subordinate position in Srī-Ranga's reign, was Venkata, at whose instance the Kasaram grant was issued by Srī-Ranga VI, in 1644. (See *M.E.R.* 1911, para 60, App. A. No. 22). He is described as the son of Kari-Channa and grandson of Peda-Venkata. It has been suggested that he was, perhaps, a grandson of Venkata II, who not being in the direct line of descent, did not succeed to the throne and was consequently occupying a minor position under Srī-Ranga VI. (*Ibid*). If so, he has to be identified with Venkata V (see *Table* at the end), an younger brother of Kōdanda-Rāma. It is possible that Kari-Channa was an alternative name of Venkata IV, elder brother of Srī-Ranga VI. (See *Table*).

Domestic life.

Srī-Ranga married, according to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, three ladies :—

Papamma, daughter of Gobbūri Vengala ; Rāghavamma, the daughter of Pōchirāja Venga ; and Vengamma, the daughter of Pōchirāja Venkata.

That he had no male issue by any of these queens, at least up to 1660 A.D., seems to be indicated by a copper-plate record of his which comes from Belur, dated in that year. This record registers a gift of certain lands to one Venkatēsa, a favourite Brāhman priest of his, on the occasion of the holy time of *Mahōdaya*. Srī-Ranga VI made this gift "being," we are told, "desirous of obtaining a son," the gift being intended for feeding Brāhmans. (*M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 123). His prayer was apparantly heard, for we hear of a son of his, rather dubiously referred to in a lithic record which comes from Keggare, Kunigal Taluk, where he is mentioned as "Srī-Ranga-Rāja's (? son) Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāyarāiya" (*Srī-Rangarāyara-Dēvamahārāyaraiyyanavaru Pruthuvi-Sāmrājyam-gaittiralu*). (*E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 46). If Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya was the son of Srī-Ranga VI, he could only have been about three years or so, at the time of this record, for we know Srī-Ranga had no sons up to 1660 A.D. As the record in question is one of Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar of Mysore, described as the son of Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar and grandson of Rāja-Wodeyar, to be identified with Dodda-Dēva-Rāja, who ruled between 1659 and 1672, A.D., the recognition of the suzerainty of the Dēva-Dēva, the son of Srī-Ranga VI, is of some interest. The *Rāmarājīyamu* does not mention any issue—male or female—of Srī-Ranga, VI. Nor is there any trace of this Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya in any other record of a later date. The fact that Srī-Ranga was succeeded by his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma (Rāma-Rāja V of the Table) seems also to indicate that Dēva-Dēva was probably still an young man. If he was only three years old in 1664 A.D., he cannot have been more than 17 years in 1618, up to which year we have records for Srī-Ranga VI. Whether Dēva-Dēva is identical with one of the two sons of Srī-Ranga VI, said to be mentioned in a silver-plate grant of Sivāji, registering some provision for them and their widowed mother, it is not possible te determine. (See *Sources*, 312, *f.n.*). We have, however, a number of records of Venkata V, son of Venkata IV and nephew of Srī-Ranga VI, with full imperial titles ranging from 1662 to 1669 A.D. In these, he is described as seated on the "diamond or jewelled throne at Ghanagiri, (*i.e.*, Penukonda), and ruling a secure kingdom" and protecting the world. As we know that Srī-Ranga VI returned to Penukonda from Belur about 1663, these records may be accepted as registering the actual state of affairs. The earliest of his records, which is dated in 1662-3 A.D., comes from Nellore and registers a grant for building a tank by Mahāmandalēsvara Kochari Jaggarāya (or Jaggayadēva) Mahārājalayya. From this it would seem that a good part of Nellore was still in the possession of the Imperial family in 1663 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, III, 418, Venkatagiri 24). The next two records, dated in 1665 or 1668, come from Gundlupet and register the grant of a village by the Mysore king Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, (*i.e.*, Dodda-Dēvarāja) to a Viraktamatha, which he caused to be built to the north of the Nadīsvara temple at that place. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet, 64 and 65). Then we have a record from Tarikere, dated in 1669, registering a grant by Balagiri Nāyaka of Sante-Bennur, who is described as the rod in his (Venkata's) right hand. (*E.C.* V, Tarikere 21). Finally comes the grant registered in the Tirumalāpūr copper-plate, dated in probably 1669 A.D. This records the gift of a village by one Sāli-Nāyaka, who had been appointed Amara-Nāyaka of Yarakatta in the Hoysala country by Venkata V. (*E.C.* XII, Chikkanayakanhalli, 38). It was at the instance of Venkata V that the Kasiram grant, dated in 1644, was issued by his uncle Srī-Ranga VI. (See above).

As a literary patron.

There is some evidence in the *Rāmarājīyamu* (V. 358) that Srī-Ranga VI was a lover of poets and a warm patron of authors and writers.

Authorises issue of coins by the E. I. Co. at Madras

Though Srī-Ranga VI himself did not issue any new coin, he is known to have authorized the issue by the *E. I. Co's* agents at Madras of what is known as the pagodas of the "Swāmi" type. Both the Dutch and the British Companies struck "Venkatapati pagodas" but with a granulated reverse. The Dutch coins acquired the name of "Porto Navo Pagodas" because they were chiefly issued from Porto Navo, South Arcot. The famous "Star Pagoda" was of this type, with only the addition of a star on the reverse. (See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*; E. Thurston, *History of the E.I. Co's Coinage* in *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, 52; *Hisory of the Coinage of the territories of the E. I. Co*; C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, 65).

Srī-Ranga's return from Belur to Chandragiri, and then to Penukonda, 1665-1669 A.D.

The Editor of *the History of the Nāyaks of Madura* has hazarded the remark that the "trend of the transactions connected with the final disappearance of Srī-Ranga III, (*i.e.*, VI according to the *Geneological Table* at the end of this section) is wrapped up in obscurity." (See *History of Nāyaks of Madura*, 133, *f.n.*, 60). The table of copper-plate grants given above does not disclose any such mystery as is suggested in this remark. Whether Srī-Ranga VI "ceased to be a force in South Indian politics" about 1675 A.D. as suggested by the last mentioned critic (*Ibid*, 134, *f.n.*, 60) or whether the Empire itself ceased to exist in 1646 as adumbrated by Mr. Krishna Sāstri immediately after the invasion of Mīr Jumla, the Gōlconda general, (*A.S.I.* 1909-10, 193), are questions that need not detain us for any length of time, for they appear to be made on insufficient data. The Empire survived, as we have seen, Mīr Jumla's campaign, and as regards the "disappearance" of Srī-Ranga VI after 1675 A.D., there is ample reason to believe he was active on the political stage till 1681 A.D., when we hear no more of him. There seems little doubt that he ruled from Belur up to about 1664. A record dated in 1665 would seem to suggest that he had regained Chandragiri from where it is dated. In 1669, he appears to have wrested back Penukonda, where his power appears to have been strengthened by the death of Abdulla, the Sultān of Gōlconda in 1662.

Recognised as Emperor in records up to 1681.

A number of inscriptions dated in 1674 refer to his rule from that famous City. A record of his, dated in 1681, however, while it mentions his rule, does not mention Penukonda as his capital. As before remarked, between the dates 1674 and 1681, certain important events had occurred in South India, which helped to put in the shade Srī-Ranga's authority. Venkāji, the son of Shāhji, had in 1678 taken Tanjore and superseded Sengamaladās, the youthful son of Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka, the last Nāyak ruler of Tanjore. He had been sent over by the Bijāpur Sultān to displace one Alagiri, a general from Madura, who had practically usurped all severeign authority in Tanjore. After defeating the latter and reinstating Sengamaladās, Venkāji seized the throne for himself. (See Wilks, *History of Mysoor*, I, 49; W. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, 176-79). Sivāji, his brother, next invaded Gingee, on behalf of the Bijāpur Sultān, and overran the Karnātic, in 1677. (Wilks, *i.e.*, I, 51. Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrathas*, I, 203; *La Mission du Madure*, III, 46). Thus the two Nāyakships of Gingee and Tanjore were in the hands of the Mahrāttas. Sivāji probably nursed the ambition of driving the Mahammadans out of the Karnātic and declaring himself King. He even repaired the fortress of Gingee. He is said to have "constructed ramparts round Gingee, dug ditches, raised towers and bastions and carried out all these works with a perfection of which European skill would not have been ashamed." (*La Missīon du Madure*, III, 81). But death supervened in 1680 and put an end to his designs.

Death of Srī-Ranga, VI.

About a year later, Srī-Ranga VI himself probably died, for we have no record of him after that date.

An estimate of his rule.

Srī-Ranga VI is a pathetic figure on the stage of Vijayanagar history. He had from the first year of his rule to engage himself in war to maintain his regal position. He was neither well served by those immediately around him (such as Mallai and others) nor by those far away in the Provinces (such as the Nāyaks of Gingee and Madura). Sivappa of Kēladi rendered loyal service to him. Similarly, Kanthīrava, Dodda-Dēva and Chikka-Dēva were true to him. The conduct of these redeem an otherwise traitorous chapter in South Indian History. By himself, Srī-Ranga was evidently a man blessed with no mean political insight, though he appears to have been singularly unfortunate in some of his instruments. Mallai as a soldier was evidently a great mistake. Srī-Ranga paid heavily for the folly of selecting him to oppose Mīr-Jumla. His quarrel with Venkatādri was probably unavoidable but, with some tact, might, perhaps, have been avoided with advantage to himself, when he was on the threshold of his career as sovereign. He fought for his territories again and again, and he deserved to succeed more fully than the Fates evidently allowed him.

Successors of Srī-Ranga VI.

The following is a tentative list of kings who, according to inscriptional records and the *Rāmarājīyamu*, appear to have ruled over an attenuated Empire after Srī-Ranga VI:—

Kōdanda-Rāma I (or Rāma-Rāja V).	Mentioned in *Rāma-Rājīyamu*; no inscriptional records available about him.
Venkata V (assisted his brother above named).	
Peda-Venkata or Venkata VI. ...	1690-1717.
Srī-Ranga VII (Crown Prince from 1693).	1693-1759.

Mahādēva-Rāya, represented as ruling at Ghanagiri, is mentioned in a copper-plate record dated in 1724.(Sewell, *Lists*, C.-P. No. 109). He may be identified with Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya mentioned as the son of Srī-Ranga VI in *E.C.*XII, Kunigal, 143 dated in 1664 A.D. He was probably ruling over a part of the kingdom in the year mentioned.

Chinna-Venkata or Venkata VII (Crown Prince 1742-1752).
Chinna-Venkata VIII. ...
Kōdanda-Rāma II (or Rāma-Rāja VI (ruled as independent prince in 1739).
Venkata IX.

The above list may be usefully compared with the list of the later kings of the fourth dynasty drawn up at the instance of Col. Colin Mackenzie in 1801. (See *Mackenzie Mss.*, translations &c. *X*, Nos. 9 and 10) :—

Venkatapati-Rāyaloo	1672-1692
Chinna-Rāyaloo	1692-1703
Dasa-Rāyaloo	1703-1720
Chikka-Dasa-Rāyaloo	1720-1733
Rāma-Rāyaloo	1733-1755
Tirumala-Rāyaloo	1756 (still alive at the time the list was drawn up in 1801).

Of the above, Venkatapati-Rāyaloo is identical with Venkata V, Chinna-Rāyaloo has probably to be indentified with Venkata VI, above mentioned; Dāsa-Rāyaloo with Srī-Ranga VII, who was crown prince of Venkata VI. Chikka-dāsa-Rāyaloo with Venkata VII, crown prince of Srī-Ranga VII above; Rāma-Rāyaloo with Kōdanda-Rāma or Rāma-Rāja VI; and Tirumala-Rāyaloo is probably identical with Tirumala, the son of Vīra-Venkata, the son of Gōpāla and the adopted son of

Chinna-Dāsa of the *Genological* table of the descendants of Chinna-Venkata III printed by Mr. Sewell. (See *A Forgotten Empire*, 216). This latter table differs somewhat in regard to the names and the relationships noted in it from the *Table* printed at the end of this section. It is not at present possible to reconcile these two tables. It is from the Tirumala last named, however, that the present Rāja of Ānegondi traces his descent. (See *Ibid*).

Brief sketch of their rule.

The "rule" of these kings will be briefly sketched out below, with the remark that what is mentioned of them is gleaned mainly from inscriptional records and that they are only set down to aid future study of this last phase of Vijayanagar history.

Kōdanda-Rāma I or Rāma-Rāja V, 1681-1704.

On the death of Srī-Ranga, his nephew Kōdanda-Rāma, eldest son of Venkata IV, succeeded him to the dignity of the Empire, which was only one in name. As already remarked, he was probably governing a part of the country during the distracted reign of his uncle as also his younger brother Venkata V. He may be the Ramanarājayya-Dēva-Mahārāja mentioned in a record which comes from Kalasapura, dated in 1663. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 153).

The *Rāmarājīyamu* states that he ruled the kingdom with fame assisted by his last brother Venkata V. This Venkata V, as mentioned in the account of the reign of Srī-Ranga VI, was a provincial ruler and had evidently some experience of administration. Hence the statement that he helped Kōdanda-Rāma, his elder brother, in governing the country, may be true.

Extent of his kingdom.

The extent of the kingdom ruled over by Kōdanda-Rāma is rather difficult to make out. Except part of the country round Penukonda, which figures as the recognized capital for about sixty years later, the country had been overrun by the Muhammadans and the Mahrāttas and even Mysore had extended her frontiers and consolidated her position. Probably there was fight even against his continued possession of Belur. (See above).

Domestic life and charities.

According to the *Rāmarājīyamu*, Kōdanda-Rāma had two younger brothers, Timma and Venkatādri. Of them, Timma (or Tirumala) has been described as a very pious devotee of Virūpāksha at the old Imperial Capital of Vijayanagar. It has been stated that he built here the tall eastern *gōpura* (tower) of the temple of Pampa, which had then gone to ruins. He is said to have composed the *Rāmāyana* in Telugu (in the *dvipada* metre) and dedicated it to his favourite deity. He is also said to have laid out an extensive and shady garden by the side of the Tungabhadra in Vijayanagar City and there built the temple of Srī-Ranganātha resembling Srīrangam on the banks of the Cauvery. He married Kōnētamma, the daughter of Konda of the Jillēla family, and Tiruvēngadāmba, the daughter of Pōchirāju Rāma. The first of these is said to have been a patron of poets. Tirumala had by her two sons Srī-Ranga (VII) and Chinna-Venkata or Venkata (VII). (See *Table* at the end). Kōdanda-Rāma himself had four sons—Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI,) Chinna-Venkata (Venkata VIII), Kōdanda-Rāma II (Rāma-Rāja VI) and Venkata (IX).

Conquest of Bijāpur and Gōlconda, 1686 and 1688.

It was during Kōdanda-Rāma's rule that the old enemies of his House, the Bijāpur and the Gōlkonda Sultāns, were conquered by Aurangazīb, the Moghul Emperor (1686 and 1688.) Their territories passed nominally under the Moghul sovereignty. But the destruction of Bijāpur and Gōlconda made the Mahrattas, after Aurangazīb's death, the undisputed masters of South India. Though Aurangazīb conquered the two Sultāns, he was compelled to let go his grip on Southern

India and lead back his troops to Ahmednagar. As has been frequently remarked, Aurangazīb continued even after Sivāji's death, to wage his victorious yet hopeless campaign against his spirit. These were the two great protagonists that monopolize attention during the forty years that elapsed from the first flight of Srī-Ranga VI to the end of the reign of Kōdanda-Rāma I. Aurangazīb died in 1707 and the Moghul sovereignty in the South ceased to exist. A strong ruler like Krishna-Dēva-Rāya would have recovered the lost sovereignty of the Imperial House. But that House was ill-blessed at the time and was itself in the last stages of its destruction and decay. Kōdanda-Rāma I, though a good and amiable ruler, was hardly the man to make the most of the opportunity that lay at his hand.

The lost opportunity of Kōdanda-Rāma I.

It was the break-up of the Moghul Empire by the Mahrāttas that made possible this opportunity and it was the same cause which allowed the successors of Srī-Ranga VI, from Kōdanda-Rāma I to Kōdanda-Rāma II, to still keep up a semblance of royalty and rule in diverse parts of the country from about 1681 to 1759. The success of Haidar in 1761 in effecting a virtual revolution in Mysore opened a new chapter in the history of India. It swept away the lingering remains of the Vijayanagar Empire throughout the South and made bold that ambitious soldier of fortune to try conclusions with even the British for supremacy in the South. (See below).

Battle of Jūtūru, *circa* 1688.

Kōdanda-Rāma I is said to have fought a battle against his enemies outside the town of Jūtūru and utterly defeated them. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu*, 312). Who these enemies were, it is not clear. Jūtūru, where the battle was fought, has probably to be identified with the place of that name in the Udayagiri-Sīma, Nellore District, for whose tank the *meras* was fixed in *Saka* 1558 (should be 1560) Bahudhānaya (A.D. 1638) in the reign of Venkata II. (See *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, 751-2, Kavali 49). According to this record, the village had been granted to Velugōti Venkatapati Nāyanivāru in that year as an *amaram*. It was presumably in the hands of his descendants and had been held by them. Udayagiri was overrun by Abdulla about 1658 and had been in his possession. Jūtūru should, therefore, have been included in the new Gōlconda acqusitions in that province. It is possible that after the fall of Gōlconda in 1687, these territories threw off their allegiance and the local Velugōti chief claimed possession, without any regard to the rights of Kōdanda-Rāma. Hence probably the fight, in which the latter was successful. If so, the battle fought at Jūtūru may be taken to have been fought about the year 1688.

Fight for the possession of Belur: battle of Hassan.

Another fight in which, according to *Rāmarājīyamu*, Kōdanda-Rāma distinguished himself was the one which was fought at Hassan against the Mysore troops under Kumārayya. Kumārayya, we know, figured in the siege of Trichinopoly in 1696 A.D. There can be hardly any doubt he should be the person mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu*. Two years before, there was a war between Ikkēri and Mysore, at the end of which a peace treaty was concluded, by which the whole of the present district of Hassan, except Manjarābād, was ceded to Mysore. The fight between Kōdanda-Rāma and Kumārayya at Hassan should, perhaps, be traced to a period later than this war between Ikkēri and Mysore, which occurred in the reign of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, as the *Rāmarājīyamu* mentions Kanthīravēndra the ruling Mysore king of the time. (See *Sources* under *Rāmarājīyamu*, Text, 318, line 15 of *Vijayasīsamālika*). Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja II was the son of Chikka-Dēva and ruled from 1704-1713 A.D.

The battle at Hassan, therefore, should have been fought, at the earliest, about 1704. (Chikka-Dēva had also a brother Kanthīrava, who is known only to genealogists and as such cannot be the Kanthīrava referred to in the *Rāmarājīyamu*). Evidently during the reign of Kanthīrava-Narasa II, an attempt appears to have been made to break off connection with the weakening Empire, which claimed to rule from Penukonda and evidently endeavoured to continue its hold on Belur. Though in the battle at Hassan, Kōdanda-Rāma was ably assisted by his Telugu feudatories (Kāsarkota Timmayya, Subnis Krishnayya and the invincible Matti, probably Matla Venkatapati and others, see *Ibid,* Text, 318) and was successful in it, he does not appear to have continued in possession of Belur much longer after this battle. Evidently the growing power of the Mysore Kings should have entirely ruled out any further claims of Vijayanagar in this area. The identity of Matla Venkatapati, the feudatory of Kōdanda-Rāma I, is disclosed by an inscriptional record which comes from Lēpāka, Cuddapah District, dated in 1712-13, of his son Perumalla-Rāja, who is said to have constructed a sluice to a tank at that place. (*M.E.R.* 1911-12, para 88, App. B. No. 430). He is there styled Venkatakrishnarāju-Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāju. There is a Matla Venkatarāmarāju-Dēva-Chōda-Mahārāju referred to in a couple of copper-plate records dated in 1689 and 1690. (*M.E.R.* 1907-8, App. A. Nos. 3 and 4). Whether he is identical with Venkakrishna-Maharāju above named remains to be cleared up.

A poetical picture of Kōdanda-Rāma's reign.

We have a pleasing picture of Kōdanda-Rāma I and of the ceremonial court held by him in the *Rāmarājīyamu* but it is impossible to say how much of it is poetical. He impresses one as an active and valiant prince who tried to maintain his vanishing power.

His interest in literature patron of Venkayya, author of *Rāmarājīyamu.*

To Kōdanda-Rāma we owe the *Rāmarājīyamu,* for it is to him that that great poem was dedicated by poet Venkayya. It is stated in the poem that it was written at Kōdanda-Rāma's request. It is to the Vijayanagar history what the *Lusiad* of Camoens is to that of the Portuguese in India. It is a poetical history of the Āravīdu dynasty of Vijayanagar. Its merits are many, not the least its general accuracy in regard to historical events and to the relationship that existed between the different members of the Imperial family and the families of subordinate chiefs. Though first discovered and edited by Dr. G. Oppert, now nearly thirty years ago, it still awaits a detailed study and careful annotation. The poem is known by the alternative name of *Narapati-Vijayamu* and sometime also as *Rāmarājīyamu* and is so named after Aliya Rāma-Rāja II, the famous son-in-law of Krishna-Dēva-Rāja, the virtual founder of the Āravīdu dynasty. It should accordingly be set down to the close of 17th century A.D. when Kōdanda-Rāma I ruled.

His death 1704.

As we have no more trace of Kōdanda-Rāma after 1704, it is probable that he died somewhere about that date. He does not appear to have long survived his success at Hassan.

Peda-Venkata or Venkata VI, 1704-1717.

Of his above mentioned sons, Peda-Venkata (Venkata VI) appears to have ruled with his father Kōdanda-Rāma. Venkata VI is represented by a number of inscriptional records dated from 1690 to 1717. A record from Kampli, in the Bellary District, dated in 1690, registers a right of way settled by certain merchants of the place. (*M.E.R.* 1922-23, para 88; App. B. No. 717 of 1922). Next comes a copper-plate record from Madura, registering a grant of land in 1701, by Queen Mangammāl, for a feeding institute. (*M.E.R.* 1910-11, para 62, App. A. No. 3 of 1911). Another copper-plate grant of the same Queen, dated in 1706, comes from the Tinnevelly District, registering likewise a gift of land. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 110). Next comes a copper-plate grant from the Sankarāchārya-*matha* at Kumbakonam, dated in 1708-9 A.D., registering the gift of a village to that *math* by Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura. (*M.E.R.* 1915; App. No. 4). Finally, we have a copper-plate grant, dated in 1717 A.D., registering the gift of a *chuttram* at Srīrangam to the Srīperambudūr Yatirāja-svāmi by Visvanātha-rāja-Vijayaranga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of Madura. (*M.E.R.* 1925, App. A. No. 13). As most of these grants give Venkata VI the full complement of Imperial titles and mention his rule from Penukonda, there can be no doubt he was recognized in certain parts of the country, including the Anantapur and Bellary Districts and probably portions of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, as exercising some regal authority over them.

Srī-Ranga VII, co-ruler with him from 1693.

During his reign, Srī-Ranga VII, his cousin, appears to have governed a part of the country with him, as we have records of him from 1693 onwards. (See below).

Venkata VI appears to have been, like his forbears, a literary patron. It was to him that the *Venkatapati-Rāya Dandakam* was dedicated by its author.

Srī-Ranga VII, 1717-1759.

Srī-Ranga VII was probably the next ruler. A record of the Sugatur chief Mummadi Chikka-Rāya Tamme Gaudayya, dated in 1693, registers his rule from Penukonda. Evidently he was in charge of a small part of the home province in which Sugatur was really or nominally included. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote, 105). Presumably he was the person on whom Shāhji in 1639 bestowed the Punganur district in place of Kolar, which he committed to his son Sāmbhāji. He is styled Rānga-Rāja-Wodeyar in a record dated in 1704. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 47). A number of records dated in the Cyclic year *Khara* (corresponding to *Saka* 1633, or A.D. 1710-11) will have to be assigned to him. (See *M.A.R.* 1925, Nos. 94 and 102; *M.A.R.* 1926, Nos. 86, 96, and 102; and *M.A.R.* 1927, No. 98). Two records dated in 1712 and 1713, in Srī-Ranga's period of rule from Penukonda, mention gifts by Mummadi Kempe-Gowda's grandson Mummadi Kempa-Vīra-Gowdayya. It is possible that Kempe-Gowda-Kempa-Vīre-Gowda of Magadi recognised the overlordship of Srī-Ranga VII in the year mentioned, as we know that Magadi was not captured by Mysore until 1728, when the chief was carried off to Seringapatam, where he, the last of the line, died. (*E.C.* IV, Magadi, 42 and 3). A few copper-plate grants from Madura and Tinnevelly recognize Srī-Ranga's authority in the old Nāyak viceroyalty. One, dated in 1716, registers a gift by Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha, son of Ranga-Krishnamuttu-Vīrappa and grandson of Chokkanātha. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 50). A second, dated in 1729, which comes from Madura, registers a grant by Sinna Kadirappa-Nāyaka, chief of Dindigal under Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha of Madura. (Sewell, *lc.* C.-P. No. 33; Burgess and Natēsa Sāstri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, 117-21, No. 27.) Another, dated in 1741, registers a gift to the Kumbakonam Sankarāchārya-*matha*. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 54.) Two other grants take us to still later dates One of these is dated 20th July 1758 and registers a grant by the Māsti chief Krishna-Rāja Gaudayya to Lakshmīdhara-tīrtha, disciple of Lakshmimanōhara-tīrtha, who was the disciple of Rāmachandra-tīrtha of the Vyāsa-Rāya-*matha*. (*M.A.R.* 1925, 20-21, No. 7). Māsti, though united to Hoskote on the conquest of Kolar by the Mahrāttas, was not annexed until the conquests of Haidar Alī were completed. Hence this chief's recognition of Srī-Ranga's authority over him. Another copper-plate record, dated 11th May 1759, in Srī-Ranga's reign at Penukonda, registers a grant by the Sugatur chief Mummadi-Chikka-Rāya-Tammegowda, named above. (*M.A.R.* 1923, 55, No. 36).

Mahādēva-Rāya, as subordinate governor of Penukonda, 1664-1724.

During this reign, Mahādēva-Rāya, identified above with Dēva-Dēva, son of Srī-Ranga VII, appears to have ruled over Penukonda and its suburbs. He is referred to in two records, one dated in 1664 (as Dēva-Dēva, *E.C.* XII, Kunigal, 46) and another in 1724, (as Mahādēva, Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 109, which comes from Tinnevelly). Probably he held a subordinate position under Srī-Ranga VII.

Venkata VII, another subordinate governor, 1715 to 1752.

Another prince who appears to have ruled over some small extent of territory with all the Imperial titles added to his name during this reign was Venkata VII (Chinna-Venkata), brother of Srī-Ranga VII. We have records mentioning him from 1715 to 1752 A.D. The earliest of these, dated in the *cyclic year* (the *Saka* date being omitted) records a grant of his to the Siva temple at Tirumalaisai, by his agent Dinakara Pillai. As has already been pointed out above, the Venkatapati-Dēva of this record has been sought to be identified with Venkata II but the difficulties in the way of such identification are:—(a) that the *Jaya* year mentioned has to be taken, in that case, as corresponding to *Saka* 1577, (or A.D. 1655) which would take the reign of Venkata II into the reign of his successor Srī-Ranga VII; and that (b) we have to concede that Venkata II lived in retirement up to that date, whereas we know as a matter of fact that he died in or about October 1642. It would seem to follow from these considerations that the *Jaya* year mentioned in this record should be taken to be *Saka* 1637, or A.D. 1715, which would make it one of Venkata VII. Another record of this prince is dated in 1733 and comes from Trichnopoly, registering a gift by Queen Mīnākshi, widow of Vijaya-Ranga-Chokkanātha. This record mentions that Venkata VII was sovereign at the time and ruling from Penukonda. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 49). The period of Mīnākshi's rule (1732-6) was, as we know, marked by internal strife, which was followed by foreign aggression and the final extinction of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura. (See Sathyanatha Iyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, 232 *et seq.*). Another record of this prince, dated in 1742, comes from Pāpināyakanhalli, Bellary District, and registers the gift of a village by a servant of the king. Another dated in 1752, coming from Muddāpura, Bellary District, registers the consecration of a village for the merit of king Venkata VII. It has to be conceded from a consideration of the above records that Venkata exercised some authority over the Nāyak province of Madura and later over parts of the present Bellary District.

Rāma-Rāya, probably another subordinate ruler, 1739.

Finally, we have another prince, Rāmarāya, who is described as "ruling the world" in a copper-plate grant from Trichinopoly dated in 1739. (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, C.-P. No. 43.) He is probably identical with Kōdanda-Rāma II (or Rāma-Rāja VI), son of Kōdanda-Rāma I (or Rāma-Rāja V), and the Rāma-Rāyaloo of the *Mackenzie Mss.* list above set forth.

Srī-Ranga VII, the last sovereign known to inscriptional records.

Srī-Ranga VII, accordingly, is the last sovereign of the dynasty known to inscriptions. As he was co-ruler with Venkata I in 1693, and we have records of him up to 1759, he should have had an unusually long reign—counting from 1693, it would be 66 years and from 1717, 42 years. Taking it for granted that he began to be co-ruler from his 18th year, he would have been, in 1759, 84 years of age. Ae we do not hear any more of him after that date, he probably died about that year.

His death, 1759.

Tirumala-Rāya dispossessed by Tīpu Sultān and Ānegundi sacked, 1776.

With him, the dynasty, as such, virtually closed. According to the *Mackenzie Mss.*, however, Tirumala-Rāya, who succeeded, in 1756, Rāma Rāyaloo (identical with Kōdanda-Rāma II or Rāma-Rāja VI) was still ruling in 1801 at Ānegundi. As he is the person from whom the present Rājas of Ānegundi trace their descent, he probably represented that section of the Āravīdu dynasty that settled down at Ānegundi after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. He is probably identical with Timmappa, who was dispossessed by Tīpu Sultān, when he overran the whole country in 1776 and burnt the town of Ānegundi and its suburbs.

The Vijayanagar Empire: its duration and causes of its decline and fall.

The story of the Vijayanagar Empire may be said to end here. This Empire had endured in one form or another, for nearly 440 years (1336 to 1776, when Ānegundi was burnt by Tīpu Sultān), under some thirty princes, claiming descent from four different dynasties, more or less connected with each other. Attaining its greatest magnitude in the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, including as it did practically the whole country south of the Krishna, it had gradually broken up and contracted its territorial limits, until it had come to occupy but the country immediately surrounding, at first Penukonda, and finally Ānegundi, its ancestral home. Its destruction had been caused partly by internal decay—the internecine quarrels for succession are a sure indication of this—and partly by the ceaseless invasions of the Muhammadan powers of the North. Vijayanagar attracted, by its wealth and glory, the invader, whose armies dispoiled its fertile plains. Her sack in 1565 by the Muhammadan hosts and conquerors was, perhaps, worse than what Rome experienced at the hands of Alaric or Genseric. Tirumala's retirement to Penukonda did not, as events showed it, save it or the Empire. The invasions followed until the invaders in turn were invaded and their capitals and themselves blotted out of existence by a higher power. Meanwhile, weaker sovereigns began to appear on the scene and province after province was abandoned to the Viceroys and local feudatories, who looked more to their own self-aggrandizement than to the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. The letter of Proenza forms a contemporary protest against the suicidal policy of Tirumala, which hastened the ruin of the Empire, and made South India lose every chance of retaining for her good a central Government, strong and well-knit, which would have stood out against the Moghul and the Mahratta. When the provinces fell off, the Empire could not maintain itself. From the time of the early Emperors —beginning from Dēva-Rāya I—it had been considered a matter of excellent strategy to take the invading Muhammadans themselves into pay and use them for military purposes. This policy, however, proved fatal, the bond of religion proved stronger than the love of lucre. What was witnessed at Raksas-Tagdi in 1565 was repeated at Gingee in 1644. The Muhammadan powers perceived their strength and determined to use it and have the country for themselves. They succeeded in their destructive work, but hardly had they dealt the mortal blow than they were themselves overwhelmed with disaster. The Empire they helped to destroy survived their own destruction, though in a feeble, attenuated and decrepit form, for another three quarters of a century (1688 to 1776), thus scorning at the mad thought that had taken possession of them. It seems a sad reflection that these neighbours could not have hit on a common course of action for their mutual benefit. But the idea of a more or less permanent League was foreign to the times as Federation appears to have been unthinkable to the congeries of States into which the Bāhmani kingdom broke up. The result was disastrous in either case. They fought until they all destroyed each other.

The good it wrought in Southern India.

Though the Vijayanagar Empire disappeared, the good it wrought is still with us. The people of the South of India are the children of that Empire—in religion, social life and philosophic ideals. Saivism and Vaishnavism spread through the land, the former with the first dynasty of kings and the second with the second, third and fourth dynasties. Literature and fine arts, architecture and sculpture, and learning and the secular arts flourished and they form a heritage to countless generations, yet unborn, in this land. Vijayanagar lives though dead. Its fall marks, in one sense, the death of the mediæval world and the birth of a new one—perhaps, the greatest transition in South Indian History.

Coinage of Vijayanagar Kings.

A few words may be added here on the coinage of the Vijayanagar kings. The four dynasties of kings appear to have issued coins from time to time. Probably there were re-issues again and again of the older coins, as the inscriptions do not refer to new coinage except at great intervals of time. The older coins of the countries included in the vast Empire—such as the Pāndya, Chōla, Hoysala, etc.,—should have also had considerable vogue, as some of them are referred to occasionally even in the inscriptions. The small dumpy pagodas issued by the Vijayanagar kings with their half and quarter divisions, appear to have set the fashion for the south. Coins, gold or copper, of more than twelve sovereigns are known. On these coins appear a number of devices, the commonest being the bull, the elephant, different Hindu deities, and the famous Gandabhērunda, a double eagle holding an elephant in each beak and claw. The Bull probably represents the Saiva cult, which was professed by some of the early kings, and the Elephant perhaps signifies one of their most important constituents of warfare. A pagoda, on the obverse of which a God and Goddess appear sitting side by side, was struck by Harihara I and repeated by Dēva-Rāya. These probably represent Siva and Pārvati, knowing as we do that the first Dynasty of Kings professed the Saiva faith. The reverse has the following legend in Nagari:—*Srī-Pratāpa-Harihara.* Gold and copper coins of Haribara II are still met with. (*I.A.* XV 302, XXII 321; *E.I.* III 118.) Dēva-Rāya is also said to have issued a pagoda of his own but the issue is so closely imitative of his earlier namesake that it is difficult to distinguish between the two sets of coins. They are well known as Dēva-Rāya *pon* or *hana* or *panam.* (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 40; *M.E.R.* 1910-11, page 85). *Vīra-Chāmpa-guligai*, evidently so called after Kampana, the conqueror of Padaividu, are also known. (*M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 42). Krishna-Dēva-Rāya was the first to issue a coin with the distinctive mark of Vishnu on its obverse, seated with discus and conch. (See under Krishna-Dēva-Rāya above). Similarly, Aliya Rāma-Rāja II is said to have issued another coin with God Vishnu on it, but the Vishnu figure is seen *standing* under a canopy on it and not *sitting* as on the coin of Krishna-Dēva. Tirumala's coin had also the figure of Vishnu on it but Vishnu is seen on it *standnig* with his two consorts, one on either side, *sitting.* Venkata I issued a new *varāha* in his name which has on its obverse God Vishnu *standing* under an arch and on its reverse the Nagari legend *Sri-Venkatēsvarāya Namah.* (See C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, 63-64, Plate VII.) From Krishna-Dēva to Venkata I, the *standing* figure of Vishnu may be taken to be that of Venkatēsa, the God on the Tirupati Hill, to which the Kings of Vijayanagar became deeply devoted from the time of Krishna-Dēva. The legend on the reverse of the coin issued by Venkata I gives the clue to this interpretation of the representations of the coins of Krishna-Dēva, Rāma-Rāja II and Tirumala I.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1416	8	For “Yādanas” read “Yādavas.”
1421	5	For “Madhura” read “Madura.”
1424	10	For “seats” read “seat.”
1425	29	For “unpracticable” read “unpractical.”
1426	5	For “Malabar” read “Ma’abar.”
1438	24	For “Kampābhūpati” read “Kampabhūpati.”
1439	12	For “born” read “boon.”
1439	15	Insert a comma after “*Bhārati-tirtha.*”
1439	22	For “these” read “His work.”
1439	30	For “founded” read “found.”
1440	2	Before “the” insert “Mādhava,”
1442	2	After “Sarvajnavishnu” add :—“The Arulāla-Perumāl temple inscription states that Srīkantanātha was the preceptor of Sāyana. (*E.I.* III. 119). Srīkantanātha was the preceptor of Sangama II, whose minister was Sāyana. (*E.I.* III. 22). From the colophon to *Tarkabhāsha-Prakāsika*, we learn that it was composed by one Chinnabhatta, who was the son of Vishnudēvārādhya, the younger brother of Sarvājna, and a dependant of Harihara II. (Aufrecht, *Oxford Catalogue* 244 *a*). Sayanā’s teacher was a certain Vishnusarvajna. (See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalagorum* under *Sāyana*). Sarvajna, the elder brother of Chinnabhatta, is probably identical with the Sarvajna, the teacher of Sangama. (*E.I.* III, 118).”
1446	12	For “1254 A.D.” read “1354 A.D.”
1447	5	For “or” read “and.”
1449	4	For “Sangana” read “Sangama.”
1450	22	For “break up’: read “break-up.”
1450	25	For “abovementioned” read “above mentioned.”
1453	Last line	For “Harihar” read “Harihara.”
1460	1	For “abovementioned” read above mentioned.”
1462	22	After the words “(*A Forgotten Empire* 27-28),” add within the brackets :—“Bitragunta Grant of Sangama II, grand-son of Sangama I and son of Kampana I” and then continue “Sangama II, according to this record, granted Bitragunta in the Nellore District to 28 Brāhmans at the suggestion of his religious preceptor, the Saiva Philosopher Srīkantanātha. After the latter, Bitragunta (or Bittaragunta) received the name of Srīkantapura. Another village called Simkēsari identified with Sunkēsaru, near Pushpagiri, in the Nellore District, was also granted by Sangama at the request of the same *guru*. The Bitragunta grant was made in *Saka* 1278(=1356 A.D.). The inscription was written by Bhōganātha, the court-jester of Sangama II. The

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
		object of the grant was two-fold :—to meet the request of his *guru* and to obtain immortality to his father, the grant having been made at the *Pratyābda-Kāle, i.e.*, anniversary of his father's death. It may have been the *first* anniversary of Kampa's death. Sāyana probably was also minister of Harihara II. (*E.I.* III. 21.)"
1467	3	For "*rāya-bahuta*" read "*rāyā-bāhuta*."
1473	15	Insert a point after "South."
1475	23	Insert a comma after "Kriyāsakti."
1477	35	Insert a point after "gōtras."
1477	36	Insert a comma after "*ratnamāla*."
1479	5	For "kannada" read "Kannada."
1479	22	After "brothers." add :—"He is said to have been the Governor of Udayagiri. (*E.I.* XIV, 97-100)."
1487	21	For "his" read "Kamapana II."
1488	28	For "his" read "Kampana's."
1488	30	For "Chitambaram" read "Chidambaram."
1491	7	After "Capital" add :—"Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out that *Maratakanagara* is a vulgar form of *Marakatanagara, the city of emeralds.* He quotes Bates' *Hindi Dictionary* and Platt's *Hindustani Dictionary*, which give both *Markat* and *Martak*. (*E.I.* III. 40, *f.n.* 5). The form *Marataka* for *Marakata* occurs also in the Ranganātha inscription of Sundara-Pāndya, where the latter is styled *Marakata-prithivibhrit, i.e.*, the emerald king. (*E.I.* III. 11 and 12, Verse 13). That Maratakanagara was situated in the present North Arcot District seems inferable from the fact that Ānda-nādu is described as a sub-division of Martakanagara-prānta in the Satyamangalam plates (*E.I.* III. 35) . Certain villages (*e.g.* Vēppambattu in the Vellore Taluk) were included in it ; also the *Sīma* of Gudiyātam, now the head quarters of a Taluk in North Arcot District, formed part of the Ānda-nādu. (See *E.I.* III. 35, *f.n.* 3 and the authorities quoted therein). So, *Martaka-nagara-prānta* must have included parts of the present Gudiyatam and Vellore Taluks. Mr. Venkayya has drawn attention to the fact that the goddess of the Mārgasāhāyēsvara temple at Virinchipuram in the Vellore Taluk is even now called Marakatavalli. He, therefore, was inclined to identify Maratakanagara (for Marakatanagara) with Virinchipuram itself. (*E.I.* III. Additions and Corrections VII). This place is now called Virinjipuram, a Railway station on the Madras-Jalarpet Line. The temple is about 3 miles south of the Railway line and attracts many pilgrims during the festival season.
1491	19	Insert "had" after "who."

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1496	15	Insert a comma after "Tiruppulivanam."
1496	18	Add at the end :—From certain Ms. copies of the *Sāyanīya Subhāshitam* by Sāyanāchārya, the well-known commentator on the Vēdas, it is understood that this work (*Sāyanīya Subhāshitam*) was compiled by Sāyana at the instance of *Kampabhūpati*, described as king of Vijayanagar. (*T. C, of Skt. Mss.*, Madras, I. i. C., No. 797, page 1054).
1497	24	For "In" read "in" and put a point after "region."
1499	32	For the word "those" appearing twice in this line read "these."
1499	34	For "were" read "was."
1504	14	After "1290" insert "(a mistake for 1299, see E.C. IX. Translation, Bangalore 132 f.n.1.)
1504	16	After "Anekal" insert "29,".
1504	17	For "1290" read "1298."
1504	20	For "1290" read "1298."
1508	30	For "he" read "Harihara II."
1523	10	For "Māgappa," read "Magappa—."
1528	19	After "(*M.A.R.* 1907-08, para 54)," add within the brackets :—"Nallur grant of Harihara II" and then continue :"From this grant we learn that he had the titles of *Vēdabhāshya-prakāsaka*, which refers to the commentaries on the *Vēdas* which were published under his authority by Sāyana, who was one of his ministers, and *Vaidīka-mārga-Sthāpanāchārya*. The title *Vēdabhāshya-prakāsaka* corresponds to the words *Vaidīka-mārga-pravartaka*, which is attributed to him by Sāyana in his commentary on the *Satapata-Brāhmana*. The Nallur grant states that Harihara II provided the priests with employment and that his eloquence was well-known. He is described in this record as having been surrounded with several pious and amiable scholars, who walked in the path of the Vēdas and who were full of eloquence. (*E. I.* III 113-126, dated in *Saka* 1321, or A.D. 1399)."
1530	13	Add at the end :—"A record dated in 1376 A.D., refers to the dedication of dancing girls to temples. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 32 and 34). Another record dated in 1376 A.D., mentions the prevalance of the custom of self-immolation of women with their dead husbands *i.e.*, the practice of *Sati*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 106). A further record, dated in 1358 A.D., also mentions the marriage of the *peepul* tree. (*E.C.* III, Malvalli 22)."
1530	28	For "gods" read "goods."
1532	14	After "record" insert a dash.
1535	22	For "by" read "of".
1535	25	For "Siddhāla" read "Siddhala."

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1537	...	Table of inscriptions. No. 4. Column, Remarks, line 4. For "amonth" read "a month."
1537	...	Table of Inscriptions. No. 10. Column: Gist of the record. Line 2. After "Dēva-Rāya Mahārāya" add "in the presence of God."
1540	8	After the word "father" add the following sentence:—"The title *Prānāchārya* assumed by Bukka II occurs in an inscription dated in the 12th century A.D. (See Professor Kielhorn's remarks on its connotation, in *E.I.* VIII. 154)."
1544	5	Insert a comma after "Friday."
1546	14	For "mimes" read "mimics."
1546	22	For "Firoz" read "Firuz."
1546	29	For "beatiful" read "beautiful."
1547	11-12	For "Meer Fuzzul his commander Oollah" read "Meer Fuzzul Oollah (his Commander)."
1547	23	For "besiged" read "besieged."
1547	Marginal note	For "1417 A.D.-1419 A.D." read "1417 A.D.-1419 A.D."
1551	3	After "spoken of" insert the words "as such."
1554	17	Omit the point after the bracket enclosing "Dēva-Rāya II) and insert a comma."
1555	4	After the words "the throne," add:—"(*E.I.* XIV 68-83). The Dandapalle (Chittoor District) plates refer to Vijaya Bhūpati, son of Dēva-Rāya I and Dēvāmbika, daughter of one Nuka-Bhūpāla of the Solar race. Nūka-Bhūpāla was probably the chief Nūka or Nalla-Nūka, who married Vēmasāni, sister of Annavēma. Similarly, the Rāmesvaram plates of Allaya-Vēma refer to a Kātayaprabhu as the son-in-law of Harihara III. Kriyāsakti-dēsika was his *guru*. He founded the village of Dandehalli *alias* Kriyāsaktipura, in Mulvāgilrājya and granted it to Krishnapandita. It was also called Abhinava-Vijaya-Bukkarāya-Samudra after the donor. (Dated in 1410 A.D., *Vikriti* year). Krishnapandita was the son of Mēchāmbika and Singarārya. He built a tank in the village called Vijaya-Samudra and with the permission of the King, made a grant of the village and the tank to Brāhmans.
1555	16	Eor the comma after "Taluk," insert a point.
1557	5	Insert a comma after "Āraga."
1565	30	Insert a comma after "matter."
1567	18	Insert a comma after "resplendent."
1572	28	For "Kāmpelumaloge" read "Kambelumalege."
1580	2	For "Hindu" read "Hindus."
1580	23	For "Jaffana" read "Jaffna."
1581	6	Insert a comma after "Codrington."
1583	31	For "only" read "jointly."
1584	5	Insert a comma after "built."
1584	26	For "Tōkal" read "Tēkal."
1584	35	Insert a comma after "District."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1586	7	For "E. C. XI. 29" read "E. C. XI. Chitaldrug 29."
1586	8	After "above" insert the words "(E. C. X, Malur 1 and 3)."
1587	3	For "Māragandanakatte," read "Māragaudankatte."
1587	19	For "*Karā-kavi*" read "*Karnātaka-Kavicharite.*"
1592	31	For "today" read "to-day."
1596	23	For the colon after "37" insert a semicolon.
1598	32	For "near" read "year."
1601	16	Omit the point after "41 years."
1606	33	Insert double inverted comma after "fighting."
1610	29	Insert a comma after "206."
1611	12	Insert a comma after "XV."
1612	26	Insert a comma after "IV."
1620	16	For "came" read "come."
1622		Table A. No. 5. E. C. XII. Pavagada 69, col. 4, line 5. Insert a hyphen between "re" and "called."
1625		*Ibid* No. 30. E. C. X. Bowringpet 24. Line 7 for "Iragattur" read "Irāgūttūr."
1625		Table A. No. 35. E. C. X. Bowringpet 18, col 4, line 6 for "Syayanbhūnātha" read "Svāyambhūnātha."
1626	...	Table B. No. 1. E. C. IX. Devanhalli 38, col. 4, last line. Insert a bracket at the end of the sentence.
1628	...	Table B. No. 11a. M. E. R. 1921-22, col. 3. For "Kumbha see pratana Monday uthiram" read "Kumbha, Su., Pratama, Monday, Uttiram."
1629	...	Table B. No. 13, col. 2, line 1. After "E. C." insert "X." Col. 4 line 4. For "Syayambhūtha" read "Svāyambhūnātha."
1629	...	Table B. No. 18. E. C. X. Mulbagal 104, col. 4, line 9. For "qeyutam" read "geyutam."
1632	...	Table C. No. 17. M.E.R. 1921-22, col. 4, line 2. Omi the comma after "his."
1633	...	Table C. No. 26 col. 2. For "Magha" read "Mēsha" and put a comma after it; after "Suddha" insert "*dasami;*" and for "Madras" read "Monday."
1633	...	Table C. No. 27, col. 2. For "Visvasa" read "Visvavasu;" and for "Asvigala" read "Asvijuga."
1634	...	No. 32, E. C. III, Mysore 38, col. 4, line 12. Insert a comma after "Hebbarava"
1636	9	Insert a bracket after "1459 A.D."
1636	10	Omit the bracket after "1485."
1636	29	For "Tomm-Iru-gattur" read "Tamma-Irāguttar."
1638	1	For "n" read "in."
1656	21	For "Its" read "their."
1658	1	Insert a comma after "Dēva-Rāya II."
1659	29	Insert a comma and the word "each" after "toleration".

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—concld.
1664	2	For "the" read "a."
1664	8	After "*Mallikārjuna-Vijaya*" insert a semicolon in place of the comma.
1664	9	Omit the words "of whose" occurring between "former" and "name."
1666	9	For "*Bhāgavati-Samhitīrtha*" read "*Bhāgavata-Samhitārtha.*"
1667	6	For "or" read "and."
1668	21	For "Sāluva-Manga" read "Sāluva-Mangu."
1669	2	For "Sāluva-Manga" read "Sāluva-Mangu."
1669	10	Omit the word "one."
1669	25	For "Sapara" read "Sabara."
1678	10	Insert a comma after "Narasimha."
1682	21	For "Puttar" read "Puttur."
1682	34	For "breakup" read "break-up."
1684	11	For "Terukāttupalli" read "Tirukāttupalli."
1685	26	For "usurpations" read "usurpation."
1685	26	Insert a comma after "Virūpāksha III."
1687	26	For "Bear" read "Boar."
1689	13	After the word "great," add:—"Mr. Gopinatha Rao has suggested that the *Sāluvābhyudaya* was written after the death of Sāluva-Narasimha and not during his lifetime. It would seem from the *last verse* of this poem that there is some ground for this suggestion. The author Rājanātha-kavi was the son of Sōnagirinātha (or Arunagirinātha) and was on the maternal side connected with the family of Sabhāpati and his son Kāmakōti and Svayambhū, the great composers of the inscriptions of Achyutarāya and Sadasivarāya. We know that a Rājanātha-kavi was the author of the *Achyutarāyā-bhyudaya*, *Bhāgavata Champu* and other works. If this latter may be identified with Rājanātha-kavi, the author of *Sāluvā-bhyudaya*, as suggested by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, then Rājanātha-kavi, the son of Sōnagirinātha, should have been the author of all these works. (See *E.I.* XII. 347–9). It should, however, be noted that the *Sāluvābhyudaya*, while it gives full details as to Sāluva Narasimha's conquests, does not refer to him as *Emperor of Vijayanagar*. On the contrary, it associates him intimately only with Chandragiri. Hence it has been suggested that it should be taken to be a work belonging to Narasimha's early career. (See *Sources*, 176 *f.n.*). Rājanātha was probably a native of Mullundram, near Arni, in the North Arcot District, the Mūlāndam of Tundīra-mandala, mentioned in the *Subhadrā-Dhananjaya-nātaka*, a work of Rāma-kavi, son of Svayambhū and grand-son of Sabhāpati. An inscription at this place (Mullandram) mentions a poet Dindima-kavi. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 72)."
1689	15	Insert a comma after "poem."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1689	16	Insert a comma after "Narasimha."
1690	3	For "*Bāla*" read "*Bala.*"
1692	6	For "*Chanhattamalla*" read "*Chauhattamalla.*"
1692	11	For "*Rāyachanhattamalla*" read "*Rāyachauhattamalla.*"
1697	2	For "*vāsu*" read "*vasu.*"
1701	13	Insert a comma after "administration."
1701	31	For "good will" read "good-will."
1702	10	Insert commas after "Narasimha I" and "1486 A.D."
1706	2	For "Kālāhasti." read Kālahasti."
1706	17	For "former" read "latter."
1708	19	For "Simha-Rāja-Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I" read "Simha-Rāja, Sāluva-Narasimha-Rāya I."
1709	6	After "Simharāj" in brackets insert a comma in place of hyphen.
1709	23	Insert a comma after "slain."
1714	Marginal note	After "Vīrabhadra," insert a comma.
1716	9	For "raiyats" read "riots."
1717	31	Omit the bracket after "1498 A.D."
1718	4	Omit the bracket before "Also."
1724	...	Table of Ins. No. 30, Col. 2. For "464" read "664"; for "Harese-Nāyaka" read "Narasa-Nayaka."
1725	1	Table of Inscriptions, No. 35, Col. 3. Line 1. For "Mention," read "Mentions" and omit the comma after the word.
1729	13	Table of Inscriptions No. 56. Col. 3, Line 13. For "Vīramārasayya" read "Vīramarasayya."
1737	35	Insert a comma after Simha-Rāja, in place of the hyphen after it.
1738	22	Insert a comma after "Simharāj," in place of the hyphen after it.
1739	24	For "Narasimha" read "Narasana" and insert a hyphen after "Narasana."
1739	27	For "Narasimha-Nāyaka" read "Narasana-Nāyak."
1740	19	For "Basakur" read "Barakur."
1740	20	After "No. 66" insert "dated in 1499-1500 A.D."
1740	27	For "Timmanāyanikgāru" read "Timmanāyaningāru."
1740	28	For "Timapanarque" read "Timapanāique."
1740	30	For "Nāridu" read "Nādu."
1740	31	For "Ghandikōta" read "Gandikōta."
1744	35	For the dash in this line insert a comma.
1746	1	For "as at" read "as far as."
1746	28	After "gift" insert "of."
1747	24	For "118, No. 98" read "118 and No. 98."
1748	4	For Kōyilōlugu" read "Kōyilolugu."
1753	35	For "Narasimha-Nāyaka" read "Narasana-Nāyaka."
1754	2	Do
1754	6	Insert a comma after "usurpation."
1754	17-18	Omit the brackets after "99" and before "Rice" and insert the words "also see" between them, inserting a semicolon after "99."

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1754	31	For "Hadarvalli" read "Hāduvalli."
1754	Pedigree facing this page	For "General Tymorsa" read "General Tymarsaa," For "Tammavadēva" read "Tammayadēva"; and for "Tamma Rao" read "Tamarao."
1755	17	Insert "of" after "one."
1755	25	For "Būdhēsabhavāna" read "Budhēsabhavana."
1755	28	For "Kshemapura" read "Kshēmapura."
1755	Last line	Insert a comma after "Tulu."
1757	15	For "apparently" read "justly."
1758	1-3	Insert the sentence beginning with the words "As he is" and ending with "(E. I. III 151)," after the words "at the end of this section" in line 6 on this page.
1758	27	Insert "occupy" after "came to."
1759	32	Insert "finally" after "and."
1760	2	Insert a comma after "chief."
1761	5	For "Mānavadunga" read "Mānavadurga."
1764	28	For "issues" read "issue."
1764	Last before line from bottom.	For "the Rāchirāja" read "Pōchirāja."
1765	5	Insert "the" after "from."
1765	8	For "*Basbabrao*" read "*Busbablrao.*"
1765	12	After "above" insert a semicolon in place of the comma.
1765	12	For "*Krismarao*" read "*Crismarāo*" "(or Crisnarao.")
1765	Marginal note	Insert a comma after "Krishna-Dēva-Rāya."
1766	4	Insert "to" after "referred."
1766	14	For "secrete" read "secret.
1766	29	Omit the comma after "attempt" and insert "and" after that word.
1766	30	Omit the word "and."
1766	31	For "Salvatimaya" read "Salvatimya."
1767	21	At the end of the quotation insert the following :—(See *Chronicle of Nuniz* in *A Forgotten Empire*, 314-315).
1769	Marginal note	For "Busbalarao" read "Busbalrao."
1769	30	Do
1769	33	For "*forgotten*" read "*Forgotten.*"
1769	34	For "135" read "315."
1770	28	For "against" read "amongst."
1774	...	Table of inscriptions, No. 9. Col. 3, line 5. For "Mahā-rāya" read "Mahārāya."
1775	21	For "*Guandaja*" read "Ogemdraho;" and for "Gandaraje" read "Gamdarja."
1775	25	For "351" read "327."
1776	11	Omit the comma after "Translation" and insert it after "Part."
1776	18-20	For "*Kalpakshitīnhālātikām*" read "*Kalpakshitiruhalatikam*;" omit the comma after "*Kānchanam*;" for "Kshmāyē" read "Kshamāyō"; for "*hiranyasvartham*" read "*hirānyāsvaratham*" and insert a comma after it; after "*gosahassram*" insert a comma in place of the hyphen.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1776	7	For "Fernae" read "Fernao."
1778	12	Insert the word "the" after "to."
1782	7	For "in" read "on."
1784	20	After "engineering" add "talents."
1792	6	Transfer the words "(who were also his sons-in-law)" to the end of the sentence, "after the word "gōpa."
1793	25	For "above" read "below."
1794	7	For "above" read "below."
1795	10	For "above" read "below."
1795	11-12	Omit the bracket after " Vēmarasayya" and put it after "record."
1795	31	For "Inscription" read "Inscriptions"
1797	1	For "Ghandikota" read "Gandikōta."
1798	28	For "descended" read described.
1800	8	Insert "the" between "of" and "Nayak."
1800	20	For "Ghandikota" read "Gandikota".
1801	28	Omit the word the between "of" and "Golkonda."
1803	17	Omit "three."
1804	19	Omit "three,"
1809	15	For "Forgotton" read "Forgotten."
1814	6	Omit the words "in the Vizagapatam District."
1817	13	For "getting" read "setting."
1822	40	For "those" read "these."
1825	30	Omit the word "the" between "with" and "Kutb"
1828	4	After the word "establish," add the following :—"but who may have been the Masanada Eli Kutumana Malka-Odeya of the Malkapuram record referred to below."
1831	19	For "good will" read "good-will."
1831	Marginal note	For "Bijapur" read "Bijāpur."
1847	Last but one line from bottom	For "surmised" read "surprised."
1852	23	For "there" read "these."
1869	15	For "Gāndikota" read "Gandikōta."
1876	24-25	For "Inscriptions of" read "*Inscriptions of.*"
1878	5 from bottom	Insert a bracket after "Construction."
1879	3	Insert a bracket after "175" and omit the bracket before "Mr."
1881	6	For "are" read "is."
1886	Last line at bottom.	For "fittedup" read "fitted up."
1889	10	Between "and" and "appointed" insert the word "Sāluva-Timma."
1890	10	For "aring" read "a ring".
1895	11-12	For "amendable" read "amenable".
1895	31	For "one" read "some".
1898	21	Insert a comma after "Sivangi".
1901	13	For "Madhwa's" read "Madhva".
1906	10	For "they" read "the players."
1908	10	Omit "easily" occurring after "may be."
1908	4 from bottom	For "Kāsapātrā" read "Kasavapātra."
1909	2-3	For "Katburgi" read "Kulburgi."
1910	1	For "whereever" read "wherever."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI--contd.
1911	28	After “Kokatam” insert “village.”
1914	25	After “also” insert “to his credit.”
1922	4 from bottom	For “fondling” read “foundling.”
1956	17	For “gets” read “get.”
1965	24	Insert “traced” after “also.”
1973	1	For “reapproachments” read “reapproachment”
1973	15	For 1536” read “1583.”
1974	19	For “every” read “very.”
1974	25	For “Sālaka” read “Salaka.”
1974	34	do
1982	4	For “Kālāhasti” read “Kālahasti.”
1982	20	Omit the comma after “chiefs.”
1986	8	Insert a semicolon after “Srivallabhadēva.”
1986	9	Omit the point after “also.”
1987	9	For “Sālaka” read “Salaka.”
1987	11	For “*alias* (Sāluva-Nāyakan)” read “(*alias* Sāluva-Nāyakan).”
1987	25	Omit the bracket at the end of the Para.
2006	16	For “Ghāndikōta” read “Gandikōta.”
2014	Last line at bottom.	For “Pedda Timma-Ranga” read “Pedda-Timma, Ranga.”
2018	25	For “*Anantāpuram*” read “*Anantapuram.*”
2019	28	For “*Svaramēlakalanidhi*” read *Svaramēlakalānidhi.*”
2020	6	For “Sālaka” read “Salaka.”
2027	14	Omit the bracket before the word “See.”
2048	8	For “abovementioned” read “above mentioned.”
2050	16	For “Pangalur” read “Mangalur.”
2057	29	For “Tārāmangalam” read “Tāramangalam.”
2087	32	For “regard” read “regards.”
2088	19	Omit the word “possibly.”
2094	28	For “Pandhārpur” read “Pandharpur.”
2096	13	For “*Vivasana*” read *Vivarana.*
2099	4	Insert after “53”, a point in place of the comma.
2099	8	Insert a comma after “later” and another after “death.”
2106	14	For “Date” read “1558 A. D.”
2106	15	Insert “in” before “which.”
2106	15	After “he” insert “(Rāma-Rajā).”
2112	16	Before “1477” insert the word “Saka.”
2112	Marginal note.	Insert a comma after “Tirumala I.”
2113	21	For “Cheruka” read “Cheruku.”
2127	30	For “Vengalāmma” read “Vēngalamma.”
2129	10	Add at end of the line:—One Timma-bhūpāla, described as his nephew (son of his sister Konāmbika, by Jābāla, son of Ananta and Siddhiraja of the Siddhi family) is said to have been his minister. This fact is mentioned in the *Prasannarāghavīya-Vyākhyānam*, a commentary on Jayadēva's *Prasannarāghavīyam* by Charukuri Lakshmana. This commentary is also called as *Timmabhūpālīya*, after Timmabhūpāla, who was the poet's patron. The author states that he was requested to write the commentary by his

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
		patron and dedicate it to God Gōpinātha worshipped at Kondavīdu. The author gives a geneology of the Āravīdu family and so far as it goes it agrees with the table given in this work. (See *T C. of Mss of Madras Oriental Mss. Library* III. i. Skt. A., R. No. 2388, pages 2320-3224).
2130	33	For "living" read "time."
2132	8	For "This was dedicated by him to Pōchirāju-Naraparāju and hence its name *Kāvyālankāra-Chūdāmani*" read "Hence its name *Kāvyālankāra-Chūdāmani*. This was dedicated by him to Pōchi-rāju Naraparāju."
2144	Marginal note.	Omit "(a)."
2149	33	For "described" read "discovered."
2153	3	For "757 A.D." read "1577 A.D."
2153	4	After "1913" insert a comma in place of the semicolon.
2154	19	For "Anantapur 17" read Anantapur 171."
2157	5 From bottom.	Before the word "See" insert a bracket.
2161	10	For "request" read "conquest."
2164	33	For "*Vēdamārgha*" read "*Vēdamārga.*"
2165	35	For "made" read "entrusted."
2166	14	For "lavished" read "lavish."
2167	30	Before "Aliya-Rāma-Rāja" add "of."
2169	13	After "simple" insert a comma.
2171	6	For "entitle" read "entitles."
2177	Table of copper-plate grants.	After No. 6 (a) add No. 6a :—Madras Museum Rpt. 1930 p. 15; Puthur grant; dated in Vikriti, Saka 1512 (Saturday, 4th July 1590 A.D.)
2177	Table of Inscriptions, serial number 12	No. 12, col. 4. For "1801" read "1601."
2178	28	For "1906" read "1609."
2191	13	Omit the comma after "left.
2191	14	For "on" read "an."
2191	30	Omit the word "lettrs" after "quoting."
2204	11	For "Father" read "Fathers,"
9204	16	Do
2204	24	After "Kingdom" insert the word "and."
2204	32-3	For "unfortunate" read "unfeigned."
2206	Last line at bottom.	For "my" read "may."
2211	27	Insert a point after "1612,"
2218	10	For "these" read "Issues of this."
2218	18	For "are" read "is."
2218	26	Add at the end of the Para :—During this reign, a part of Northern India appears to have been visited by a traveller by name Henry Defeynes, commonly called by the name of the Manor of Montfort. He was undoubtedly a real traveller, whose narrative, however, is so miserably barren that *An exact and curious survey of all the East*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd. *Indies* was perhaps the last title that it deserved. He started from Paris in 1608 and went overland to Ispahan, whence he travelled by Kasbin and Lar to Cambay. In the course of his travels, he visited Surat, Calicut, Sumatra, Macao and Canton and on his return from China visited Bisnagat, identified with "Bisnagar," "where," he says, "the King worships the tooth of a monkey," and the "Realm of Idalcan" (the Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, who was then Ibrahīm II). He returned home by the Cape route. (E.F. Oaten, *Travels in India*, 170, quoting *Purchas His Pilgrimes*). The "Bisnagat" referred to by Defeynes has probably to be identified with the ruined capital rather than with the country or the kingdom of the same name. The remark that the king worships "the tooth of a monkey," if it is not a travellers' tale, should perhaps be construed as referring to the worship of animals held secred by the Hindus, so common in India from primitive times.
2220	17	For "is" read "was."
2222	32	Add at the end of the para:—His nephew Srī-Ranga-Rāja (son of his sister Konāmbika by Jābāla, son of Ananta and grandson of Siddhirāja of the Siddhi family) is spoken of as having been his minister in Charukūri Lakshmana's *Prasanna-rāghavīya-Vyākhyānamu*, a work written at the instance of his brother Timmabhūpāla, who was the Minister of Tirumala. (See *ante, T. C. of Mss. of the Madras. Oriental Mss. Library*, III, Skt. A., R. No. 2388, pp. 3220-3224).
2227	11	For "*Nellore Inscription*" read "*Nellore Inscriptions.*"
2227	11	After "25" insert a comma.
2231	16	For "*Kālapūrnōdaya*" read "*Kalāpūrnōdaya.*"
2234	27	For "Kondāmma" read "Kondamma."
2240	17	For "deathbed" read "death-bed."
2242	18-19	For "Tirumalāmbāmpura" read "Tirumalām bāpura."
2246	27	After "Siva," insert double inverted commas.
2247	21	For "Chalukya" read "Chālukya".
2253	19	For "beneficient" read "beneficent."
2253	35	For "magnificient" read "magnificent."
2259	1	For "ill-fated" read "ill-fitted."
2259	22	For "causes" read "cause."
2263	Marginal note	For "Rescuse" read "Reseue."
2268	33	For "He" read "The putative Son."
2269	28	In place of the point after the word "Court" insert a comma.
2272	28	Insert a comma after "App. I."
2276	6	For the semicolon after "Series I," insert a comma.
2277	Marginal note	For "Ranga" read "Rāya"
2285	24	Insert the word "other" after "each."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
2286	7	Insert the word “he” after “and.”
2286	Line 4 from bottom.	Insert the words “at an” after the words “came in.”
2293	Marginal note.	For “opur” read “Topūr.”
2304	21	For “Crown prince” read “Crown-prince.”
2304	25	For the dash between “crown” and “prince” insert a hyphen.
2304	31	Insert the word “not” after “did.”
2309	22	For “fuel” read “funeral.”
2311	3	Insert a point after “eventualities.”
2313	32	Omit the hyphen after “comes.”
2325	11	For “from” read “in.”
2351	28	For “*Mddure*.” read “*Madure*.”
2352	14	For “the” read “his.”
2353	14	For “record” read “records.”
2353	15	For “grants C. P.” read “C. P. grants.”
2353	25	After “from” insert a bracket.
2362	17	Insert double inverted commas before “of” and for “to” read “unto.”
2365	26	For “recongnized” read “recognized.”
2371	28	Insert a comma after “Ivie” and omit the comma after “Henry.”
2376	7	For “Sri-Ranga VI” read “Venkata II.”
2380	13 Marginal note.	For “Nāyaks’” read “Nāyaks” and insert a colon after “Nāyaks.”
2381	3 from bottom.	For “*Mysore*” read “Mysoor.”
2387	7	For “367” read “267.”
2390	13	Add at the end :—Proenza’s statement referred to in the text deserves to be noticed at some length, the more so as other seventeenth century observers have referred to the “hunt for noses” attributed to the Mysore Kings. “The King of Mysore”, writes Proenza, “the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved.” This, as remarked above, seems an obvious exaggeration as it is not confirmed from the Mysore side. Kanthīrava-Narasa I was the Mysore king at the time referred to and there is nothing to indicate from the many lithic records we have of him, that he lost his nose in the wars against Madura. The practice of cutting off the noses was evidently an old one. There is probably an inscriptional reference to it in E. C. III Seringapatam 14, dated in 1686 A. D. Mr. Rice suggests that the words *sarvanga-nasa-chhidi* appearing in this copper-plate record might probably be translated into “cut off the noses of all arms (see *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, 130), quoting Manucci’s *Storia do Mogor* (Irvin’s translation and additional notes, Volume IV). He suggests that it was a practice adopted by the Mysoreans in order to instil terror into the

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
		enemy. He himself suggests that it might have been a survival of an old Indian custom, and quotes the following from Professor Macdonell (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* II; see also *Sanskrit Literature*, 427) :—"Probably the only valuable contribution to surgery to which India can lay claim is the art of forming artificial noses. This operation (rhino-plasty) has been borrowed in modern times from India, where Englishmen became acquainted with it in the 18th century." The Bedars are said in Manucci to leap on to the quarters of the horse behind and cut off the noses of the horsemen. This mode of attack is paralleled by that of the wild Irish at the end of the 14th century as described in *Froissart's Chronicle*, where it is said that they leap from the ground behind a horseman and embrace the rider so tightly that he can in no way get rid of them, and cut his throat.
		The following extract taken from the *Fort St. George Consultation* book of January 1679 refers to this custom as prevalent in Mysore:—
		"Their custom is not to kill, but to cut off the noses with the upper lips of the enemies; for which they carry an iron instrument with which they do it very dexterously and carry away all the noses and lips they despoyle their enemy's of, for which they are rewarded by the Naik of Mysore according to the number, and the reward is the greater, if the beard appear on the upper lip. This way of warfare is very terrible to all that those people engage with, so that none care to meddle with them; they being also a resolute people and have destroyed many that have attempted them, for though they kill them not outright, yet they die by lingering deaths, if they make not themselves away sooner, as for the most part they do that are so wounded, the shame and dishonour of it being esteemed greater than the pain and difficulty of subsisting."
		This account is fully confirmed by Dr. Fryer, who travelled in India from 1576 to 1681. He refers to the Mysore ruler as the "Raja of Saranpatam", which is, as suggested by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, doubtless the same as Seringapatam (see *Early Records of British India*, 74). The following curious passage is taken from Fryer's account:—
		"The Raja of Saranpatam (it should have been Chikka-Deva-Raja, 1672-1704) must not be slipped by in silence, because his way of fighting differs from his neighbours; he trains up his soldiers to be expert at a certain instrument to seize on the noses of his enemies with that slight either in

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd. the field or in their camps, that a budget-full of them have been presented to their Lord for a breakfast; a thing, because it deforms them, so abashing, that few care to engage with him; and this he makes use of because it is against his religion to kill anything. He enjoys a vast territory on the back of the zamorhin (Zamorin)." The reason assigned by Fryer would indicate that it was religious scruple that made Chikka-Dēva and his predecessors adopt this kind of warfare. But we know that neither Kanthīrava nor Chikka-Dēva were professing Jains in religion to be such strict adherents to the doctrine of the sacredness of human life. Neither Saivism nor Vaishnavism inculcates such a belief, though they foster a humane spirit towards animals and men generally. Even Jain kings have never desisted from war as such, from Chandragupta to Vishnuvardhana, because it involved the killing of human beings, though it was the horror that he witnessed after a war that made Asōka turn away from it for ever and become an ardent Buddhist. (On the subject of "nose-cutting", see, further, text of this work, Vol. II, page 2451, line 2 from bottom).
2399	13	Insert a comma after "Sāmbhāji."
2401	1	For "Cheagamala" read "Changamala."
2401	28	For "Venkata II" read "Venkata V."
2413	4	Insert a comma after "Kanthiravēndra."
2415	Marginal note.	Insert a colon after " "literature."
2423	12	For "*Chāmpa*" read "*Champa.*"
2423	Genealogical Table of the IV Dynasty of Vijayanagar Kings.	Add following notes:—Gōpa-Tippa, author of *Tāladīpika*, has to be identified with Tippa (or Timma) son of Gōpa, Goppa, or Gōpa Tippa-Bhūpāla mentioned in the pedigree of the Sāluva Dynasty. The name Gōpa-Tippa would then mean Tippa, son of Gōpa. As will be seen from the pedigree, Gōpa-Tippa has been identified with Tirumaladēva-Mahārāja of the inscriptions. He was evidently a minor ruling chief. In the colophans to his work, he describes himself as Gōpatippa-Bhūpāla and as the moon to the Sāluva family and as one who had known the depths of the Bharatamata *i.e.*, the art of dancing. His work *Tāladīpika* deals with the subject of *Tāla* or the measurement of time in music. Evidently he was a great proficient in music and dancing. (See for a notice of his work, *T. C. of Mss. of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library*, I. i. Sanskrit C., R. No. 770, pages 1015-16).

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